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HORÆ APOCALYPTICÆ.

HORÆ APOCALYPTICÆ;

OR,

A COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE,

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL;

INCLUDING ALSO AN EXAMINATION OF THE CHIEF PROPHECIES OF DANIEL.

ILLUSTRATED BY AN APOCALYPTIC CHART, AND ENGRAVINGS FROM MEDALS AND OTHER EXTANT MONUMENTS OF ANTIQUITY.

WITH APPENDICES;

CONTAINING, BESIDES OTHER MATTER,
A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION, CRITICAL REVIEWS OF THE CHIEF APOCALYPTIC COUNTER-SCHEMES, AND INDICES.

BY THE REV. E. B. ELLIOTT, A.M.

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FIFTH EDITION,

CAREFULLY REVISED, CORRECTED, ENLARGED, AND IMPROVED THROUGHOUT; WITH ADDITIONAL PLATES, AND A NEW PREFACE.

VOL. II.

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"Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein: for the time is at hand." Apoc. i. 3.

"The word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn." 2 Peter i. 19.

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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA FOR VOL. II.

Page 25, *line* 22; *for* 1746 *read* 1476

— 27, *line* 8; *for* Pius *read* Paul

— 36, *line* 7; *after* highly *add* and

— 281, *line* 21 *from bottom; for* sanctam *read* sanctum

— 357, *Note* [4]; *after* Reformation in Spain *add* Durand in 1207, having retired into Catalonia, formed a religious community, under the Papal sanction, of "Poor Catholics." They wore a decent habit of white or grey, with shoes open at the top; but distinguished by some particular mark from those of the Poor Men of Lyons (see p. 354), who were from this part of their dress sometimes called Insabbatati.

— 366, *Note* [5], *line* 2; *after Note* [1] *add*)

— 377, *line* 2 *from bottom; for* 1068 *read* 1086.

— 399, *Note* [1]; *for* Note [2] suprà *read* Note [3]

— 403, *Note* [1]; *for* Prince ubert *read* Prince Hubert

— 474, *line* 22; *for* were *read* was

— 476, *Note* [3]; *for* tribunal *read* tribual

— 512, *line* 7 *from bottom; after* eaters *put* .

— 543, *line* 6 *from bottom; for* in *read* see

PART III.

APOC. IX. 20—XI. 15.

THE REFORMATION,

AS OCCURRING
UNDER THE LATTER HALF OF THE SIXTH TRUMPET:
INCLUDING
THE ANTECEDENT HISTORY,
AND THE DEATH, RESURRECTION, AND ASCENSION,
OF CHRIST'S TWO SACKCLOTH-ROBED
WITNESSES.

A. D. 1453—1789.

CHAPTER I.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW FROM AFTER THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE OF THE PREVIOUS FOUR HUNDRED YEARS' HISTORY OF WESTERN CHRISTENDOM; AND SKETCH OF ITS RELIGIOUS STATE IN THE ÆRA BETWEEN THAT EVENT AND THE REFORMATION.

"And the rest of the men, which were not killed by these plagues, repented not of the works of their hands,[1] that they should not worship dæmons,[2] and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood, which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk. Neither repented they of their

[1] *ου μετενοησαν εκ των εργων κ. τ. λ.* The *εκ*, as in Apoc. ii. 21, implying the completed repentance by quitting the sins specified. [2] *δαιμονια.*

murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts."[1]—Apoc. ix. 20, 21.

What! would the voice of judgment from heaven be still unheeded? Would that astounding event, the political destruction of the Eastern third of Roman Christendom, by armies that bore onward with them from the Euphrates the false religion from the pit of the abyss, fail altogether to induce repentance and reformation in the remnant that was left? So indeed it was here declared in the Apocalyptic vision; and, at the same time, a catalogue of the sins of that remnant set in black array before the Evangelist.—The representation however was one that would not be likely to strike upon his mind with effect so startling, as if no previous intimation had been given of their apostasy from their God and Saviour. Very early, we have seen, (viz. after the vision of the 6th Seal, which depicted the overthrow of Paganism in the Roman Empire,) there had been foreshown to him by a significant figuration on the Apocalyptic temple-scene, the then general abandonment of the Mediator Christ Jesus by the men of Roman Christendom; just as if other intercessors and mediators (for man *must* have some) had been substituted in his place:—the first grand step to idolatry. And yet again, in the voice from the four horns of the golden altar, it seemed to have been not obscurely indicated that, down to the time of the loosing of the Euphratean woe, there would have been no return to the Saviour whom they had abandoned, in any of the four quarters of the Roman world;—in its *Western* half as little as in its *Eastern*;—no self-application and saving use of His offered means of reconciliation. All this, we may suppose, might in a measure have prepared the Evangelist for what he now heard. And yet, even so, it must have seemed to him an astounding as well as awful announcement. "The rest of the men,"—a phrase including possibly the Christian remnant of the *Greek* Church, who though slain in their *corporate political capacity*, as the third part of men, still survived as *individuals* under the yoke of their Turkman conquerors, but

[1] No variations of the least consequence between the received and the critical texts.

doubtless chiefly and specially referring to the men of *Western* Christendom,—"The rest of the men, which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship dæmons, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood, which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk: neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornications, nor of their thefts."

It is to the men of *Western* Christendom that I shall in the present Chapter confine myself, in the explanation of this passage. They constitute that division of the apostasy to which alone almost all that remains of the Apocalypse refers. Compared with the history and fate of her sister in the East, the case of the Western Church, as here represented, resembled that of apostatizing Judah after the fall of Israel. In the antitype, even as in the type, the treacherous Judah exhibited a guilt yet more unpardonable than even that of the backsliding Israel.[1]

The announcement is two-fold. 1st, it intimates the corruptions that *had been* in Western Christendom during the progress previously of the second woe, up to the fall of the Greek empire; for its asserted non-repentance in respect of them, after that catastrophe, implies the previous prevalence of the evils unrepented of:—2ndly, it declares the *continuance* of the same corruptions afterwards.—Under each of these divisions it is my duty to show, by historic facts, the truth of the prophecy. And,

I. THE PREVIOUS PREVALENCE OF THESE CORRUPTIONS IN WESTERN CHRISTENDOM, THROUGHOUT THE FOUR CENTURIES WHICH HAD PRECEDED THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Now, considering that the period is a long one through which we are called to trace them, and one of course of many changes, it seems to me that it may be well to preface our review on this head by a brief *general* view of the contemporaneous history of Western Europe. We shall be thus prepared for entering more intelligently into the *particular* and *religious* description of it, here distinctively set

[1] Jer. iii. 11.

before us. I the rather give this larger and more general view of it, because the period itself, the "hour day month and year," from A.D. 1057 to 1453, in the course of which the Turkish woe gathered, advanced, receded,—then gathered, and advanced again,—until at length it fulfilled its destined work of destroying the Eastern or Greek empire, was one in many ways worthy of observation in the history of Christendom.

First, it is to be observed that, during this period of four centuries, the kingdoms that formed the constituency of what might now begin to be called the great *western confederation* of Europe, had been steadily, though slowly and interruptedly, recombining their *political* elements, consolidating their strength, and, ere the xvth century closed in, (up to which epoch I shall just for the present include in my review,) re-adjusting their territorial forms and limits, to some near resemblance of those of the original Gothic kingdoms that emerged out of the ruins of the Roman empire of the West:—a form which in the main, I may add, they have retained ever since.—In a series of wars against their Mahommedan conquerors, the Christian remnant in *Spain* had in the earlier half of the period reconquered the greater part of the peninsula; confining the Moors for long afterwards within the straitened limits of the kingdom of Granada: until at length in the year 1492, under Ferdinand and Isabella, uniting their before divided strength, they conquered and expelled them altogether.—In the course of the same period the central *Frank* or *French* dynasty and kingdom had gradually, one by one, again subordinated to itself the principalities broken off from it, in its southern, western, northern, and eastern territory.—In similar manner *England*, after the Normans' conquest of it under William, (Thogrul Beg's contemporary,) had become united in government throughout its whole length and breadth, and had attached also to its dominions Wales and Ireland.—Thus alike aggrandized, there had begun between France and England that rivalry of above three centuries, which is one of the most marked features of their history in those middle ages: and in the prolonged wars of which, especially under the English

Edwards and Henrys, they had, both the one and the other, developed, rather than exhausted, their national resources. —The great elective *Germanic empire*, so famous under its Henry the Fowler and its Otho, of the xth and xith centuries, after a partial diminution of strength and glory through its wars with the Romish bishops and Italian and Swiss republics, in the xiith, xiiith, and xivth centuries, had now at last, under the house of Austria, assumed again an aspect of majesty and strength. It stretched east and north at this time, so as to include on the one hand the kingdoms of Bohemia, and in fine Hungary,[1] on the other Saxony and Pomerania, even to the Baltic, in its vast circuit. The added strength of the hereditary kingdom of Austria more than compensated to it for what it had lost by the emancipation of Switzerland; and moreover a nominal sovereignty still remained to it, and not a little of real influence, over the Lombard principalities in Northern Italy.—Finally, as regards *Italy* itself,—Italy, the original seat of empire, and which still continued in a most singular manner to be the centre and spring of the European politics,—very various in the same chronological interval had been the political phases passing over *it*. In its *northern* districts, for the first two centuries and more, the *Lombard cities* had fulfilled their brilliant course of republican life, and republican factions: and both *Pisa*, and *Genoa*, and *Venice*, had successively or contemporaneously triumphed in the Mediterranean, and made their flags eminent in commerce and in war; then one and all, excepting Venice, subsided into small and not independent principalities. To the *south*, i. e. in *Naples*, after the meteor-like rise and gradual fall of the chivalric Norman power in the xith and xiiith centuries, the right of sovereignty (still feudatorily however to the Pope, so as under the Norman princes) had come to be alternately claimed and exercised by the royal branches of France and Spain;—the fruitful germ of not far distant

[1] The Duke or King of Bohemia was a feudatory of the empire, and one of the seven electors. In 1458 Podiebrad, a Bohemian, was made king; in 1471 Wladislaus, son of the king of Poland, who also became king of Hungary. But for nearly the first half of the 15th century Hungary was essentially Austrian: and in 1516, on Wladislaus' death, Bohemia and Hungary fell to a son of the Austrian prince; in 1529, finally, to Austria. Maximilian was elected emperor in 1493.

wars. Once more, through *central* Italy, from sea to sea, the temporal sovereignty—not of the kings, the republic, or the emperors, but of the *Bishops of Rome*, had been about the middle of this period firmly established: so that this division in central Italy was now fully recognized in the European polity as the *Ecclesiastical State*, or, as it was in part singularly called, the *Patrimony of St. Peter*. —Amidst all which changes in Italian history, in the course of these four centuries, two results could not but strike the considerate mind that reflected on them: *first*, the perpetual abortiveness of every scheme to bind the whole country together in one great secular monarchy, like the other European kingdoms; *secondly*, the sustained ascendancy over all other Italian powers of the Roman See.

Thus, I say, had the states of the great European confederations of the West, in a *political progression* seldom interrupted, been gradually advancing in power; and assuming somewhat of the same form and relative importance that they have borne since. And during their various processes of change and fortune they had, one and all, been advancing also from a state of barbarism to comparative *civilization*.—*Chivalry*, during its reign of two centuries, and with the Crusades from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1300, as its most eminent field of display, had exercised an ameliorating influence of no little power on outward manners. *Internal trade*, and yet more *maritime commerce*,—the latter increasing until it might almost be said to have *flourished*, both to the north, in the German Sea and Baltic, and southward in the Mediterranean, specially with those countries of the East with which the Crusades had early and intimately connected the Western merchants,—this commerce, I say, had not only augmented the general opulence of the community, but prepared and led to *civil liberty*: so that many *free towns* and *cities* had come to be established for the benefit of trade; alike in Italy, on the Baltic coast, along the rivers of Germany, in England also, and Spain, and in a measure in France.[1] And both in England and

[1] "As in the dawn of morning we distinguish from a summit of the Alps, first the inferior mountains, then the lakes, towns, hills, and plains,—so in the xith century we first gain sight of the great reigning dynasties of Europe; soon after of par-

France, Spain and Germany, *feudal servitude*, that relic of the Gothic and Frankic conquests, had gradually disappeared before it.

Meantime also the *intellectual energies* had been awakened from their long comparative slumber. Universities had in the xiith and xiiith centuries risen up in every country, and in every country been thronged with students; at Oxford and Cambridge, Paris and Montpellier, Bologna and Padua, Salamanca and Prague. And although for some long time,—notwithstanding the full course proposed of study in the arts, medicine, jurisprudence, theology,—in consequence of the scholastic philosophy prevailing, it was only the intellectual exercise that profited, and but little real light of science accrued to the associated students, yet at length in the xivth century (a century illustrious as the æra of Dante and Petrarch) a fairer literature, and larger range of study and of thought, opened before them. Still more in the earlier half of the xvth, after the *invention of printing*, (an invention bearing date A.D. 1440,) and when the scholars of Greece, with their books and their learning, were fleeing westward, in numbers more and more, for refuge from the impending ruin of their empire under the Turkish woe,—with the stores of ancient classic literature thus fully at length set before them, the Western literati all eagerly pursued the study of it. Their ardour was that which is natural to the human mind on some new and vast discovery.

Yet once more, throughout the greater part of the period we speak of, *religious zeal* (if such it may be called) had been a feature in the character of these nations of the West, strongly marked and powerfully acting. The wars of the Crusades stand prominent on the military page of history, a singular and most remarkable memorial of it. And, as memorials of it of a very different kind, but in their way scarcely less remarkable, there rose up those magnificent ecclesiastical structures of the middle ages, which still excite the admiration of the beholder, in England, France, Italy,

ticular illustrious families; and at length of the associations of burgesses, which gradually elevate themselves from the enslaved multitude." Müller's Univ. Hist. ii. 132.

and Germany. Certainly in the minds of those who raised them religious zeal could not have been lukewarm.

But if it be asked,—and it is to this point that the apocalyptic prophecy, like the rest of the books of inspiration, specially and ever directs the attention,—if it be asked what was now the *character* of their *religion*, and whether advances had been made, during the progress of these four centuries, towards the recovery of those truths and of that moral purity of the religion of Jesus, which at their opening, as we have seen, had been so greatly lost,—the answer is altogether unsatisfactory. Notwithstanding the advance in the various kingdoms of the West towards political power, civil liberty, wealth, civilization,—notwithstanding the development of intellectual energy, the acquirements in literature, and wide-spread religious, or rather superstitious zeal, there is the indubitable testimony of the most authentic records of those middle ages to the fact, that the religion prevalent was the grossest superstition; and that it was accompanied by a grievous corruption of morals, as well as darkness of religious truth. Nor do I see how the whole could be better characterized than by that brief descriptive clause in the prediction before us, which speaks of the men that were not slain by the second woe as *worshipping dæmons*, and *idols* of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood; and of their *fornications* also, and *sorceries*, and *thefts*, and *murders*.—Let us now, in respect of each of these points, examine and verify by historic fact.

And *first*, as to the character of the *religious worship* prevalent through this long middle age, up to the time of the fall of Constantinople. It is described in the opening clause of the verses before us, as that of "*dæmons*, and of *idols* of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood." —In which statement it is the word *dæmons* that first demands notice. And, used as the term was in St. John's time, in the current literature of the Roman world, to signify those fictions of men's fancy *the heathen gods*, and adopted as *that* use had been in the Holy Scriptures,—at the same time that the more frequent New Testament

application of it to the *spirits that possessed dæmoniacs* suggested the fearful fact of *living evil spirits* acting, though unsuspected, in the heathen system,—I say, since such was the double use of the term in the apostle's time, what could he reasonably infer from the declaration here made but this ;—that there would have prevailed through the times referred to, and been established in the professing but apostatized Church of Western Christendom, a system of *dæmonolatry*, the counterpart (albeit under the Christian name) of that of heathen Greece or Rome :—a fact for which (as already observed) the early Apocalyptic notice of the abandonment of Christ's mediatorship and propitiation would have prepared him. More particularly that it would be one in which imaginary beings would be the objects worshipped, and for the most part *the spirits of dead men deified ;* that they would be characterized in their worshippers' fancy by about as much, or as little, of *moral virtue* as the gods of the heathen heaven before them ; that they would be supposed to fulfil to their suppliants, just like the latter, the offices of *mediators* and *guardian-spirits ;* that thus, false as it was and antichristian, the system would as truly be an emanation from hell as its precursor, and one in which *malignant evil spirits* would as truly be the suggesters, actors, and deceivers.—Such, I say, would, as it seems to me, appear to be the intent of the predictive clause under discussion, construed according to the recognized scriptural meanings of the word *dæmon*.[1]—And of the *fulfilment* of the prophetic declaration, thus far, what well-informed Protestant is ignorant? The Decrees of the 7th General Council,—a Council already some time since noticed by me,[2] as authorizing and establishing the worship of the saints and their images,[3]—were fully in force

[1] In the prophetic controversies of late years the true meaning of the word δαιμόνια, both here and in 1 Tim. iv. 1, and the propriety of its application to the *canonized saints* of the Greek and Roman calendars, has been sometimes called into question ; especially by Dr. S. R. Maitland. (Remarks on Christian Guardian, p. 110, &c.) The importance of the point in itself, and the strength of the assertions made against the propriety of this application of it, render necessary a more extended notice of the subject than could be properly given in a Note. I have therefore placed it in the Appendix at the end of this Volume : and must beg to commend it to the Reader's attentive perusal.

[2] Vol. i. pp. 468, 469.

[3] It seems to me well deserving of remark, that the very same term for *wor-*

throughout the period I speak of: and this by necessity more and more superseded all spiritual worship of the one true God, through the one and only true Mediator Jesus Christ. The parallel between the deified dead men of heathenism, and those deified dead men of apostate Christendom, especially as believed in and worshipped through the middle age, held in respect of *character*, (often *flagitious* character,[1]) and *offices*, as well as of *origin*.—Nor must I omit to observe on the similarity of *worship*, as in neither case confined to the abstractions of mental contemplation, but offered through the medium (as the prophecy further added, and as was sure to follow) of visible *images*:[2] or on the similar

shipping them, viz. προσκυνεω, is here used, that was the one adopted in the 7th General Council, with the special approbation of Pope Adrian, and all later Romanists, to designate the proper worship of the saints, in contradistinction to λατρευω:—ταυταις (sc. εικοσι) ασπασμον και τιμητικην προσκυνησιν απονεμειν· ου μην την κατα πιστιν ἡμων αληθινην λατρειαν, ἡ πρεπει μονῳ τῃ θειᾳ φυσει. Hard. iv. 456.

[1] A character as *flagitious* often in case of the *latter* as of the *former*. In regard of their similar *vindictiveness*, *warlike propensities*, and *thirst of blood*, the Albigensian and Waldensian crusades, the Inquisition, &c., &c., already alluded to, furnish abundantly sufficient evidence. It was in the names of *Peter and Paul* (i. e. of the Papists' ideal St. Peter and Paul) that the Albigensian Crusaders were urged on to their inhuman warfare and massacres. Sismondi Crusades, p. 24. (English Ed.) The Inquisition had the special favour of their *Virgin Mary*. Southey's Vindic. Eccl. Angl. pp. 465, 459; &c. As to their saints' similar *favourableness to impurity*, see Note [1] p. 13 infrà. See also my paper on δαιμονιον in the Appendix.—I must beg especial attention to this point. *Saints* they were called: but *saints* they were not.

[2] Dr. Maitland, the able and learned advocate of the "Dark Ages," (a period defined by him to extend from A.D. 800 to 1200,) admits this, at p. 75 of his Work bearing that title, with reference to the *latter half* at least of the period I have here under review. For in a notice of certain customary offerings to "*God and the patron-saints*" of churches and monasteries in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, he thus specifies and reprobates evils afterwards following. "The superstition of the age supposed the glorified saints to know what was going on in the world; and to feel a deep interest, and possess a considerable power, in the church militant on earth. I believe that they who thought so were altogether mistaken; and I lament, abhor, and am amazed at, the superstitions, *blasphemies*, and *idolatries*, which have grown [i. e. *subsequently*] out of that opinion."

He adds: "As to the notion itself, I do not know that it was wicked; and I almost envy those whose credulous simplicity so realized the *communion of saints*, [*saints!*] and anticipated the period when the whole family in heaven and earth shall be gathered together in one." A passage which I dare not pass over without expressing my deep regret that Dr. M. should have written it; and cautioning the reader against being led by it to any idea of the innocency of such superstitious views about *departed saints*, as were held in the earlier half of the dark ages. It was a view which, *by the substitution of those saints*, virtually displaced *Christ* from his office of *man's mediator*, *intercessor*, and *propitiation*; just as allusively intimated, if I mistake not, in the Apocalyptic figuration of the incense-offering, with reference to the exact epoch (the end of the 4th century) when this superstition began: (see Vol. i. p. 330, &c.:) and displaced him too from his office as the Christian's *ever-present*, *ever-watchful guardian and guide*. A sin surely that had no common measure of guilt and ingratitude attaching to it! From which time

variety, in respect of material and value, in the *idols* of either system; and the consequent adaptation of the Christian, as of the Pagan idolatry, to the circumstances of every rank in society. "Idols of *gold*, and *silver*, and *brass*, and *stone*, and *wood*."[1] The fact in this point, as in every other, answered precisely to the prophecy. And thus houses as well as churches,—the street-corners and the highways,—the cabins of the poor and the palaces of the rich,—had severally their images of suitable material: and before them, through the times spoken of, high and low, rich and poor, laics and ecclesiastics, did all, in contempt of God's command, just as their pagan forefathers,[2] alike bow down and worship.

the system of *saint-invocation* never intermitted; became soon the system of *saint-worship*, προσκυνησις δαιμονιων, as here stated; and then next, worship of their *images*.—In Dr. M.'s own list (p. 76) of sacred offerings in these ages the form is, "Deo, et sanctissimo martyri ejus Bonifacio;"—"Creatori omnium Domino, . . necnon et gloriosissimo martyri Juliano;"—"Creatori Deo, necnon Sancto Martino Domino meo gloriosissimo, quem toto affectu diligo;" &c.—Thus, though *Christ* was acknowledged to be *God*, (nor indeed, as we shall hereafter see, Part iv. ch. 5, could the system of the Papal Antichrist have been perfect without it,) yet Christ in his character of *the God-man Mediator*, was virtually superseded and denied, just as much as by the earlier Gnostics:—until at length the Papal antichristian apostasy, having come to its acme about A.D. 1200, found out a place consistently within itself for the worship of the *God-man* Christ, through its doctrine of *transubstantiation*: of which there will appear in chap. iii. of this Part a striking illustration.

An illustration of what I have said as to the supersession of Christ by this saint-worship occurs in the *Chronicle of Brakelond*, a monk of St. Edmund's Bury in the twelfth century, recently published by the *Cambridge Camden Society*. The translator, Mr. Tomlin, thus writes. "Through the whole of the Chronicle *our Saviour's* name is never once mentioned. *God and St. Edmund* is a phrase of common occurrence. Indeed nothing short of a narrative of this description could fully develope the depravation of the Christian religion by means of *saint-worship*."—Is not our Church's Homily more correct, as well as more authoritative, than Dr. Maitland, in making the *idolatry* of Christendom to have extended back full 800 years before the Reformation, and characterizing it as *damnable?*

[1] Compare Dan. v. 4, 23.

Fleury, ad ann. 599, speaking of Serenus of Marseilles, observes that all the ancient images were images or pictures of wood; "images de bois."—In the other materials mentioned there is a curious evidence of the *Latins* being particularly intended in this prophetic notice. The Greek Church allows of *pictures*, as *unsubstantial;* but anathematizes bowing before *statues*, as idolatry. Μεγαλη διαφορα ειναι, says Ricaut, chap. i. 17, αναμεσα των ειδωλων και των εικονων. I quote from Waddington on the Greek Church, p. 59.

In the year 1215 *deified bread* was added to the other material objects of worship, by Innocent III; who then, in the 4th Council of Lateran, authoritatively enjoined the doctrine of transubstantiation. However, as this was not a *saint*, but supposed however erroneously to be *Christ*, its worship was not *dæmonolatry*.

[2] A Romanist generally disclaims the charge of idolatry with indignation. He should remember that the arguments he uses, in support of his disclaimer, are just such as would be used by a Plutarch or a Julian, in explanation and defence of *heathen* idolatrous worship; viz. as themselves looking through the idols to God. (See Neander's Ch. Hist. i. 27, iii. 56, &c.) Said the 2nd Nicene Council of the *pseudo-Christian image-worship;* Η της εικονος τιμη επι το πρωτοτυπον δια-

If, in connection with this its superstition and idolatry, the *morals* meanwhile of Western Europe be inquired of, the answer is given in another emphatic word that we find in the predictive statement before us; which tells of "their *fornications*."—He who is at all acquainted with the history of the middle ages, must be aware of the wide-spread licentiousness then prevailing, most of all with the clergy. Historians and poets, ballads and acts of councils,[1] alike testify to the fact.—It may perhaps be intimated by the juxta-position and intimate association of the words in the prophetic clause, that this licentiousness was not only the *accompaniment*, but in a measure the *effect*, of the dæmon-worshipping superstition prevalent. And certainly in many ways (I might almost say in every way) immorality and vice were fostered by it. The notions entertained of the *character* of some even of the most eminent of the *saints* worshipped, just as of those of the heathen deities in ancient times, acted as an incentive, rather than prevent-

βαινει, και ὁ προσκυνων την εικονα προσκυνει εν αυτῃ του εγγραφομενου την ὑποστασιν. (Hard. iv. 456.) And so the Council of Trent, 800 years after. Said Julian of *the Pagan image-worship; ουχ ἱνα εκεινα (αγαλματα) θεους νομισωμεν, αλλ' ἱνα δι' αυτων τους Θεους θεραπευσωμεν.* Julian, Fragm. p. 293.

It is unfortunate for the Romanist and Greek apostates that authorities the most dissentient on other points should unite in taking this view of their worship. The ancient *Pagans* charged the apostatizing Christians, before the close of the 4th century, with idolatry in a new form, with regard both to martyrs and the cross.* The Mahommedan *Saracens* and *Turks* charged them with it subsequently: a fact illustrated already as regards the *Saracens* in my Vol. i. p. 448; and of which, as regards the *Turks*, a striking illustration will occur at the close of this Chapter. In Christendom *Protestants* do the same; including even learned *Infidels*, e. g. Gibbon. Finally the *Jews* add their consenting testimony: both the more ancient Jews, as Maimonides; and the moderns also. Mr. Nicolayson, I am told, wrote a few years since an account of a Jew converted to Christianity at Jerusalem, who was afraid to avow himself a Christian, for fear of his being considered and killed by his brethren as an *idolater*. (See Jewish Report for 1835, p. 40.)—Since then we may be thankful that the Protestant Church of England has begun to be known at Jerusalem: and through it the fact, so long unknown to eastern Jews, that to be a Christian and a worshipper of idols is not identical.

[1] "If you wish to see the horrors of those ages," (the middle ages,) says Chateaubriand, Disc. Hist. Tom. iii. 420, "read the *Councils*."—Dr. Maitland allows this in a measure (Dark Ages, p. 33): and I must say, that, having looked into the Councils with this object myself, the evidence of the immoral character of the priesthood seems to me irresistible. With reference to the ixth and xth centuries, I have spoken in an earlier Chapter. (See Vol. i. p. 473.) With reference to the five following centuries, see, for an illustration, p. 14, Note [3].

* See my Vol. i. pp. 281, 335. "Vertistis idola in martyres," said the Manichean Faustus, "quos votis similibus colitis." *Το του σταυρου προσκυνειτε ξυλον*, said Julian, *εικονας αυτου σκιαγραφουντες εν τῳ μετωπῳ, και προ των οικηματων εγγραφοντες.* Spanheim's Julian. et Cyrill. p. 194. (Ed. 1693.)

ive, to sins of impurity.[1]—The system of *indulgences*, (one formed on the notion of their saints' supererogatory merits,) according to which sins of this class might at a very cheap rate be atoned for and pardoned, confirmed men in the light notions prevailing of their guilt and evil.[2] And the very *pilgrimages* to one and another of their saints' shrines, which were enjoined so frequently in the middle ages, as one kind of *penance for sin* and means to its remission, being enjoined on multitudes of both sexes at the same time and to the same place, were notoriously the occasion of immorality on the largest scale.[3]—Further, the compulsory *celibacy of the clergy*, a rule enforced under the strongest penalties throughout the Romish Church, from the time of

[1] On this point let me give Mr. Hallam's testimony: Middle Ages, iii. 347. (3rd Ed.)—"That the exclusive worship of saints, under the guidance of an artful though illiterate priesthood, degraded the understanding, and begot a stupid credulity and fanaticism is sufficiently evident. But it was also so managed as to loosen the bonds of religion, and pervert the standard of morality. If these inhabitants of heaven had been represented as stern avengers, accepting no slight atonement for heavy offences, and prompt to interpose their control over natural events for the detection and punishment of guilt, the creed .... might have proved a salutary check on a rude people, and would at least have had the only palliation that can be offered for a religious imposture, its political expediency. In the legends of those times on the contrary,"—and then Mr. Hallam gives specimens of the current legends concerning the saints, abundantly confirmatory of my statement; adding, that the general character of religious notions prevalent is best known from these popular compositions. —Besides the specimens given by him let the reader, who has the opportunity, consult also the stories in the Golden Legend;—a later work of which, we read, such was the popularity in the 15th century, that Panza enumerates upwards of seven editions in the *Latin*, (the language most used by priests,) eight in *Italian*, fourteen in *Dutch*, five in *German*, three in *French*. So Ames Typogr. Antiq. i. 190.

One is reminded by these legends of Ovid's celebrated lines, on the incentive to vice in the immoral character of the *Pagan* deities; Trist. ii. 287.

> Quis locus est templis augustior? hæc quoque vitet,
> In culpam si quæ est ingeniosa suam.
> Cum steterit Jovis æde, Jovis succurret in æde
> Quam multas matres fecerit ille Deus.
> Proxima adoranti Junonia templa subibit
> Pellicibus multis hanc doluisse deam: &c.

Similar to which is Cyprian's remark in his 1st Epistle, to Donatus, "Exprimunt impudicam Venerem, adulterum Martem," &c. And so too Lactantius, Div. Inst. v. 10.

[2] In the Pontificate of John XXII, about A.D. 1320, there was invented the celebrated Tax of Indulgences, of which more than forty editions are extant. *Incest* was to cost, if not detected, *five groschen;* if known or flagrant, *six*. A certain price was affixed similarly to *adultery, infanticide*, &c. See Merle d'Aubigne's Reformation; Vol. i. p. 41. (Ed. 1839.) The same is noticed by Robertson, and in Mendham's Index. Expurg.—"These Indulgences, instead of causing men to dread sin, encourage them to wallow therein as hogs," said Wicliff. Le Bas, p. 329.

[3] Hallam, Middle Ages, iii. 357. "This licensed vagrancy," he says, "was naturally productive of dissoluteness." So too Mills on the Crusades: chap. i.—Compare my notice, Vol. i. p. 334, Note [2], of the earliest pilgrimages to saints' shrines, and the accompanying dissoluteness.

Gregory VII, downward, as also that of the monks and nuns, involved the depravation, as it was sure to do, both among and around them, alike of the outward morals and of the heart:[1] add to which the fact of the regular episcopal *licensing of fornication* among the priesthood, already noted with reference to an earlier age;[2] and which continued through these four centuries,[3] indeed, it will appear, still later.[4]—Once more the practice of *auricular confession*, —a practice recommended and fostered, we have seen,[5] by the Popes from early times, but which was for the first time authoritatively enjoined, as an integral and necessary part of the Romish religion, in the 4th *Lateran Council*, A.D. 1215,[6]—that "damnable system of the confessional," as it has been called in its late exposure,[7]—I say this practice of auricular confession, besides its other appalling evils, made the tainting of the female mind an integral part of Romish priestcraft, and gave consecration to the communings of impurity.[8]

If it be asked, again, how a system of religion could be admitted and believed in, so monstrous, and so opposed, not to the spirit of the Bible only, but even to the moral sense of the natural conscience, we may remind the reader, first, that the religion of the Bible was then almost un-

[1] For the state of the nunneries in Rome in A.D. 1347, see Life and Times of Rienzi, p. 27.—At the opening of the next century, the 15th, for an account of their state generally through Western Christendom no more unimpeachable authorities could be cited than *Gerson*, the French orator, so celebrated at the Council of Constance, and *Clemangis*, a French theologian, also contemporary, and of great eminence. The former called them, "Prostibula meretricum." (See L'Enfant's Council of Constance, vii. 8, 9.) The latter thus speaks of them. "Quid aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum monasteria, nisi quædam, non dico Dei sanctuaria, sed Veneris exercranda prostibula: .... ut idem hodie sit puellam velare, quod ad publicè scortandum exponere." I quote from Waddington iii. 118. Let me add that Clemangis was Doctor of the Sorbonne; and a writer as eminent for candour and integrity (so Mosheim, xv. 2. 2. 24) as for learning. See too to the same effect Gieseler ii. 275: and compare a similar statement respecting the earlier ninth century, cited in my Vol. i. p. 473.

[2] Vol. i. p. 473 Note [1].

[3] See the Council of Paris, Canons 4 of 1st Part, 13 of 4th Part, held A.D. 1212; the 4th Lateran, Canon 14, held 1215; Clemangis' statement presented to the Council of Constance, held 1414; (and which is given by Waddington, ibid.;) also the Canon of the Council of Basle, held 1432, which was transcribed and repeated by that of Sens, held A.D. 1485. Harduin vi. ii. 2001, 2017; vii. 31; viii. 1194; ix. 1530, 1531.

[4] See p. 28 Note [3] infrà.

[5] Vol. i. p. 409.

[6] Canon 21.

[7] Especially by the Rev. R. M'Ghee.

[8] *Dens* is by no means singular in his abominations.—I have seen much the same in other books of Romish casuistry; and something of the same in a Sacerdotium Missale, printed in Italy.

known ; next, that the complacency of the natural corruption in a religion in many ways so suited to it, was sure with the larger number to dull the moral sense, and still the misgivings of conscience.—But, besides this, he who would understand the general credence yielded to it, must never forget the lying *sorceries*[1] with which, as here also pre-intimated, the priests in those dark ages supported it. Just as in every country where *heathen* idolatry has been established the priesthood have, alike in ancient and in modern times, had their magical deceits wherewith to work on the credulity of a superstitious people, so it was in those middle ages with the priests of the *Romish Church ;*[2] and indeed subsequently also, in proportion as the ignorance prevailing might allow of the practice. Who that is acquainted with its history knows not of the impostures through which miracles were, through all this long period, assumed to have been wrought, whether by the priests themselves directly, or yet more by the relics or images of saints, the priests' puppets :[3]—images "which could neither see, nor

[1] φαρμακειαι. On St. Paul's use of this word, Gal. v. 20, "idolatry, *witchcraft* (φαρμακεια), &c.," Conybeare (Life of St. Paul, ii. 150) observes that in ancient times professors of the *magical* arts were wont to use *poisons ;* whence the word in this application. And the question thus suggests itself, Was there less use of poison in the middle ages among the φαρμακεις of Papal than of Imperial Rome ?

[2] The sorceries of the *heathen* priests in Egypt and Babylon seem figured as Papal Rome's prototypes in the Apocalypse : the word φαρμακεια used here, or its cognates, being used of the former, Exod. vii. 11, Dan. ii. 2, &c. Sept.

[3] On the tricks and sorceries of Romish pseudo-christian priests, see Southey's Book of the Church, pp. 173—177, 277. (Ed. 4.)—*Wicliff* mercilessly exposed them in the last quarter of the 14th century, as also *Huss* early in the 15th. As an example from the latter, in character somewhat singular, I may instance his Treatise "against the impostures of covetous priests. . . . who put their own blood into the host, to make fools believe that it is the blood of Christ." L'Enfant, Hist. of Council of Constance, Vol. i. p. 27. (Engl. Transl. 1730.)

It was during the period I am reviewing, viz. about the opening of the xivth century, that the Romish forgery about *Veronica* was completed. Originally, as was admitted, says Augustine, (De Trin. viii. 4,) there was no true picture of Christ, no *vera icon*. Eusebius, however, (H. E. vii. 18,) had told of a two-figured brass image of a woman kneeling, and man stretching out his hand to her, shown him at Paneas, or Cæsarea Philippi, which the inhabitants explained to represent Christ and the woman there healed of the bloody flux, as recorded in Matt. ix. 20. And, about A.D. 600, John Malala, with reference to this, (which Sozomen says was destroyed by Julian,) called the woman *Veronice*. This mistake, however, seems to have dropped : but the idea of there being some picture of Christ on a handkerchief (*sudarium*) remained. So Bede. In the middle ages it became a most profitable legend. About 1200 A.D. Pope Innocent III. conceded a Faculty to certain Roman artists of making and selling to foreign visitants *Veronicas*, or true pictures of Christ. Some 30 years later Gregory IX, by another diploma, assigned the profits of the sale to the Canons of the Vatican. And about 1316 Pope John XXII authorized the modern story, both about the picture and the saint; viz. as if the picture had been found

hear, nor walk;" but which were yet very many of them asserted, and believed, to be possest of human senses,[1] and to exercise the power of making the lame to walk, restoring sight to the blind, and hearing to the deaf: and the saints indeed were on this account *canonized*, as it was called, by the Pope; in other words deified?[2] Who knows not of the pretended but lying visions related by priests of what was passing in purgatory;[3] and of the asserted effect of the masses, prayers, and indulgences purchased for their relief, on the souls suffering in it? "It must not be supposed," says Mr. Hallam, "that these absurdities were produced by ignorance. In most cases they were the work of deliberate imposture." They were the φαρμακειαι, the *sorceries*, whereby to stupify and to charm, specified both here and elsewhere in the Apocalypse, as one of the deadly unrepented sins of Papal Rome:[4]—that great city which is spiritually called Egypt and Babylon;[5] and which was indeed, though under a Christian name, the very representa-

imprest, on its return to her, upon a handkerchief lent by a woman named *Veronica* to Christ as a *sudarium*, when toiling on his way to Calvary: and issued a hymn of prayer addressed to the picture; with an indulgence of 10,000 days to them that devoutly used it. The sudarium and the saint are still shown at St. Peter's. See Gieseler Text Book i. § 24, Note [4]; Ducange ad verb. *Veronice;* Bonanni Numism. i. 309; and Maitland's Catacombs, pp. 133—136.

[1] "Nostri fabulatores," says Laurentius Valla, "passim inducunt idola loquentiâ; quod ipsi Gentiles, et idolorum cultores, non dicunt." Wadd. iii. 348. So the crucifix at Boxley, mentioned in Bishop Burnet's account of the suppression of monasteries under Henry VIII, and by Southey, ibid. p. 278; which was famous for moving its head, hands, and feet, rolling its eyes, &c.

[2] As an example of the *saints'* thus asserted miracle-working, and consequent canonization, take the following. In A.D. 1305, King Edward I was prevailed on by his clergy to write to Pope Clement V, to canonize Thomas de Cantelupe, bishop of Hereford, because a multitude of miracles had been wrought by his influence: "intantum," says the king, "quòd, ipsius meritis et intercessionibus gloriosis, lumen cæcis, surdis auditus, verbum mutis, gressus claudis, et alia pleraque beneficia, ipsius patrocinium implorantibus cœlesti dextrâ conferuntur." Fœdera, Vol. I. p. 976, Ed. 1816. Other examples of canonization (see the M. Bull. Rom.) in the course of the period under review were, A.D. 1225 St. Lawrence; A.D. 1264 St. Richard of Chichester; A.D. 1319 St. Bridget.

What an illustration of the unblushing impudence of these priestly falsehoods and sorceries is the statement laid down by the famous Papal casuist *Veron*, that it is not an *article of faith* with Roman Catholics that the bones and relics belong to those whose names are attached to them! (See the English Translation by Mr. Waterworth.) While yet, as the worshipper is told, it is simply in virtue of each such particular *saint's* personal merit that the miracles are wrought!—What would *Martin of Tours* have said to such doctrine, if preserving the same spirit that made him so indignant against the setting forth of a robber's relics as those of a saint! Vigilantius p. 146.

[3] See my brief sketch of the progress and establishment of the doctrine of purgatory, Vol. i. p. 406, &c.

[4] See Apoc. xviii. 23.

[5] Apoc. xi. 8.

tive in this respect, as well as others, of heathen Egypt and heathen Babylon before it.

But *wherefore* did the priesthood and the monks, the bishops and the popes, thus with one consent deceive? Another of the characteristic words in the clause we are considering points out the master-motive; "They repented not of their *thefts*."—No doubt *ambition* and *pride* operated with most in the ecclesiastical higher stations, indeed with more than the high ones in the priesthood;[1] and again, with many, a dark, blind *superstition:* but the *love of money*, that root of all evil, operated with all. Hence the value fraudulently assigned to *relics:* of which (just as in the time of Gregory I, and even before it,) the demand and the supply were incessant through the dark ages in Western Christendom![2] Hence the exaltation of this and that *saint's* miracle-working merit, in order to draw deluded votaries to make their pecuniary offerings at the shrine; and the canonization of *new* saints, and dedication of new images, when the interest of the old was partially worn out.[3] —Hence the invention and sale of *indulgences*, first by the bishops, alike to clergy and people; afterwards, in the 12th century, by the popes as a papal monopoly: through the which indulgences, in virtue of a sufficient money-payment, not the *ecclesiastical* penance only, due to sin, but even that of *purgatory*, was now declared to be remitted.[4]—

[1] See the early progress of this noted, Vol. i. 408 suprà.

[2] I have alluded long since (Vol. i. p. 333) to Augustine's early denunciation of this practice. It was only a specimen of what increased continually afterwards, even to the period under review. So, for example, Mosheim, xii. 2. 3. 3, in his ecclesiastical sketch of the 12th century, observes; "The abbots and monks carried about the country the carcases and relics of saints, in solemn procession; and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace the sacred remains, at fixed prices."

[3] "Every cathedral or monastery had its tutelar saint, and every saint his legend; fabricated in order to enrich the churches under his protection, by exaggerating his virtues and his miracles, and consequently his power of serving those who paid liberally for his patronage." Hallam iii. 346.

[4] *Wicliff* (partially quoted p. 13, Note [2]) declared that Indulgences were mere forgeries, whereby the Priesthood "*rob men cursedly of their money:* a subtle merchandise of Antichrist's clerks, whereby they magnify their own fictitious power; and, instead of causing men to dread sin, encourage men to wallow therein as hogs."

See Gibbon xi. 15—19, Merle d'Aubigne Vol. i. p. 39, and Waddington iii. 320, 339—344, &c., for a sketch of the progressive doctrine of Indulgences. (Also my Vol. i. p. 409, Note [5].) It began, says Merle, under John the Faster, Archbishop of Constantinople; having reference then simply to the ecclesiastical penances enjoined. The priests said; "O penitents, you are unable to perform the penances we have imposed upon you. Well, then, we the priests of God will take on ourselves this heavy burden. Who can better fast than we? Who better kneel and recite Psalms?"

Hence the prescription of *pilgrimages*, as an act of penance, to shrines of smaller note or greater, and to be performed on a larger scale or less, individually or in multitudes;[1]—above all, of pilgrimage to *Rome*, on the gigantic scale of the *Jubilee*. The which latter institution, first invented and promulgated by Pope Boniface VIII, in the year 1300, as in lieu of crusades to Jerusalem,[2] was responded to eagerly by all Western Europe; the enactment being that each 100th year, and afterwards each 50th, then each 33rd, in

But the labourer is worthy of his hire. The priestly substitute must be *paid*.—So of *ecclesiastical penances* for sins. Then followed the extension of the doctrine to the expected *punishments after death*. After a while, the *Pope*, the High Priest of Christendom, perceived the advantage derivable from it. Alexander De Hales, in the 13th century, invented the doctrine necessary to secure the advantage to the papacy. *Supererogatory works* had been done by Christ and the saints, and so a *supererogatory merit* attached to them: of all which the guardianship and distribution was confided to the Vicar of Christ. Thomas Aquinas confirmed the doctrine, and applied it to the case of the *dead* in purgatory. A Bull of Clement VII made it an *article of faith*.—Then came under John XXII the famous *Tax of Indulgences*, already alluded to, p. 13; and just before it, in 1300, the *Jubilean Bull* of Boniface VIII, (of which more presently,) with its promises of plenary indulgence. Under Boniface IX, on occasion of the Jubilee of 1390 or 1400,* there was a complete rehearsal of the indulgence-vending for which Tetzel afterwards became famous. Wadd. iii. 69. Well might Leo X exclaim (Barrow on Supremacy of Popes, c. 5) a little later; "How profitable this fable of Jesus Christ has been to us!"

——— quantas
Nobis divitias peperit hæc fabula Christi!

See also on this subject Muratori Antiq. M. Æ. Tom. v. Dissert. 68.—Copies of Indulgences are common. One issued at the opening of the 16th century is given by Waddington, iii. 344, and will be illustrated in my ch. iii. following. In a later part of my work a fac-simile will appear of one of the 17th century; the original of which is in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

[1] e. g. the pilgrimages in *Italy* to our Lady of Loretto, in *Spain* to St. James of Compostella. That to the shrine of *Thomas a Becket* will readily occur to the reader as an *English* illustration. Through his reputation Canterbury became the little Rome of England. A Jubilee was celebrated each 50th year in his honour, with plenary indulgence to such as visited his tomb; of whom 100,000 have been registered at a time. Two large volumes were filled, says Gervase of Canterbury, with accounts of the miracles wrought at his tomb. And the following lists of the value of offerings made on two successive years to *his* shrine, the *Virgin Mary's*, and *Christ's*, in the cathedral church there, will well illustrate both what is here stated of the gains to the priesthood from these pilgrimages, and of the effectiveness of the new dæmonolatry to efface regard to, and remembrance of, the Lord Jesus Christ. The lists are taken from Dr. Middleton's Letters from Rome, p. 128.

FIRST YEAR.	£	*s.*	*d.*	NEXT YEAR.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Christ's altar	3	2	6	Christ's altar	0	0	0
Virgin Mary's	63	5	6	Virgin Mary's	4	1	8
Becket's	832	12	9	Becket's	954	6	3

So too Southey, Book of Church, p. 149; where, however, the sums are stated less particularly and somewhat differently; Christ's altar in one year £0, Becket's above £600.

[2] Ferrario (ii. 433) says that Boniface borrowed his idea from the centenary secular festivals of ancient heathen Rome: citing from Dante's Vita Nuova, respecting the Jubilean pilgrims, "Chiamansi *Romei*, in quanto vanno à Roma."

* Waddington makes it 1390.

virtue of a pilgrimage to Rome, and visitation of its churches, every sin was to be cancelled to the pilgrim, and his salvation ensured.[1]—Hence the assurance to the dying man of forgiveness and salvation, in case of *testamentary bequests* to the church or monastery.[2] Hence, after his death, the tales to surviving relatives of the efficacy of *masses for the dead,* and of indulgences bought by survivors, to free the soul from *purgatory*.[3]—To which might

[1] The venality of Rome is *early* celebrated. So in the 10th century by Arnulph, bishop of Orleans; who calls Rome "a venal city, which weighs all its decrees by the quantity of money." This, however, was at a time preceding the 400 years under review.—From after the commencement of the Jubilees, in consequence of priestly appeals to the people of Christendom, and of their superstitious veneration of the spot, "the Vatican and the Capitol were," as Gibbon says, (xii. 262,) "nourished by incessant and increasing swarms of pilgrims and suppliants." The Jubilee was a happy contrivance, to ensure a vast periodical increase of a supply already habituated to flow to Rome. For what was not promised in it? "Hodiè salus facta est mundi," said the Jubilæan medal, A.D. 1350, of Clement VI. (Given in Bonanni.)

Of the Jubilee of 1300, Muratori thus writes, "Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab iisdem recepit; quia die et nocte duo clerici stabant ad altare Sancti Pauli, tenentes in eorum manibus rastellos, rastellantes pecuniam infinitam." Hallam ii. 322.

Of the Jubilee next following, that of 1350, Matt. Villani says; "The concourse was such, that between Christmas and Easter there were 1,200,000 foreigners at Rome: the places of those who returned home being supplied by new comers. Between Ascension and Whitsunday there were 800,000 more: and, notwithstanding the heat of the summer, there was scarce a day during the season but 200,000 foreigners were seen at Rome." Life of Rienzi, p. 167; Waddington iii. 18, 19.

It was in his Bull appointing this Jubilee of 1350, that Clement VI, in reference to pilgrims who might die on their journey to Rome, used the blasphemous language; "We absolutely command the angels, that they place his soul in paradise, entirely exempt from purgatory." *Nihilominus prorsus mandamus Angelis Paradisi, quatenus animam illius, à Purgatorio penitus absolutam, in Paradisi gloriam introducant.* Giannone Lib. xxii. 8.*

Of Boniface IX's Jubilee in 1400 I have spoken in Note [4] p. 17 preceding.—In that of 1450 "an eye-witness," says Ranke, (Hist. of Popes i. 37,) "describes them as coming like swarms of bees, or flights of migratory birds:"—indeed the concourse was such that many were crushed to death. Waddington, iii. 257.

[2] In Wicliff's time "there were in England 53,215 feoda militum: of which the religious had 28,000; i. e. more than half." Le Bas' Wicliff, p. 131, from Turner's History of England, ii. 413.—Blackstone says, that but for the intervention of the Legislature, and the Statute of Mortmain, the church would probably ere now "have become masters probably of every foot of ground in the kingdom." Vol. iv. p. 107.

[3] So gainful was the *death* of members of wealthy families in this manner to the priests, that *Huss*, in his reproaches of their avarice (about 1400 A.D.), applied the Latin line in proverbial form against them:

De morbo medicus gaudet; de morte sacerdos.

See L'Enfant, Hist. of Council of Constance, i. 36; &c.

In this denunciation of the avarice of the priesthood *Wicliff*, as is well known, was *Huss's* energetic predecessor. He particularly accuses the clergy of "inventing [*purgatorial*] *pains* horrible and shameful, in order to make men pay a vast ransom." Le Bas, p. 328, &c. So also, about 1350, *Juan Ruiz* in Spain. See M'Crie's Reform in Spain, p. 58.

* The authority of this passage, as put forward by some writer without exact reference to the original, has been, I think, disputed by Dr. S. R. Maitland. It is however perfectly correct. I have myself verified it.

be added, within the church itself, the long-established system of the *sale and purchase of ecclesiastical dignities* from Rome:[1] and the episcopal *licences of fornication*, regularly granted to the priesthood century after century, as we have seen, at a *money-price*.[2]—But indeed on this subject, having once begun, where shall we end?[3]

There is yet another heavy charge against Western Christendom, during "the hour, and day, and month, and year," in the predictive verse before us;—the charge of *murders*. Need I explain to the reader, how exactly this answers also to the facts of the ecclesiastical history of Western Europe during the latter half of these four centuries? He will be aware, no doubt, how from early in

[1] For example Matthew Paris mentions that in the twelfth century, in the reign of Henry I, a sum equal perhaps to £10,000 was paid to Rome by the Archbishop of York for his pall.* (Barrow on Pope's Supremacy, p. 309.) In 1518, a little after our present æra, an Archbishop of Mayence estimated the expense at 27,000 florins; and grieved on his dying-bed that his poor subjects would have to buy it for his successor. Wadd iii. 390. In order, by the way, that no Archbishop might use the pall of his predecessor, it was ordained in the Decretals that each deceased Archbishop should be buried in his pall. See Foxe i. 335, Note. (Ed. 1841.)—In 1376, we read, the "good Parliament," under Edward III, remonstrated against Papal exactions; saying, "that the taxes paid to the Pope of Rome for ecclesiastical dignities do amount to fivefold as much as the taxes of all profits that appertain to the King by the year of his whole realme." Ann. 50, Edward III, Tit. 94. Given in Foxe, ii. 786.

[2] See Note [3] p. 14 suprà.

[3] So a Florentine priest of the xiith century: (I cite from Dr. Gilly's Romaunt version of St. John, p. xviii.)

> Ipsa caput mundi venalis curia Papæ
> Prostat, et infermat† cætera membra caput.
> Sacrum cerne nefas, utrumque pudentius ævo,
> Venditur in turpi conditione foro:
> Chrisma sacrum, sacer ordo, altaria sacra, sacrata
> Dona; quid hæc ultro? Venditur ipse Deus.

Very similarly writes early in the xvth century, Theodoric Vrie, in his History of the Council of Constance: (see the citation in Waddington iii. 121:) and so again, a little later, Æneas Silvius himself, the same that was afterwards Pope Pius II. "Nihil est quod absque argento Romana Curia dedat. Nam et ipsæ manûs impositiones, et Spiritûs Sancti dona venduntur; nec peccatorum venia nisi nummatis impenditur." Æn. Sylv. Op. p. 149.

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* "This palle is an indument that every archebysshop must have, and is not in full authoritie of an archebysshop tyll he have receyved his palle of the Pope, and is a thynge of whyte, lyke to the bredeth of a stole. But it is of an other fassion. For where the stole is made in length, and is worne about the preestes neeke, this is joyned togyder above, so that it lyeth a parte thereof upon the shulders, and that one ende hangeth streyght downe to the grounde before, and that other behynde, garnyshed in dyvers places thereof with crosses. And where the stole is worne nexte to the albe, whan the preest is revestred to masse, this palle is worne upon the vestyment, overmest of all, whan an archebysshoppe syngeth his masse." Fabyan's Chronicle, p. 243. (Ed. 1811.) See it represented in a Plate in my Vol. iii. Part iv. Ch. vi.

† Qu. informat?

the 12th century a few, congregationally or individually, began to teach more openly, what had never indeed been altogether untestified, a purer doctrine:—a doctrine derived not from priestly legends, or from the schools, not from the decrees of Popes or Councils, or from any books of human literature, but from a book, now all but forgotten, if not unknown, not by the laity only, but by most too both of monks and of the clergy,—the Book of the *Holy Scriptures*.[1] The moral excellence and innocency of these Waldenses is, for the most part, confessed even by their enemies. And with written authority for their doctrines so unquestionable, with the internal evidence of its own excellence confirming, and the innocency of their lives recommending it,—it might surely have been hoped, that not the general attention only, but the general favour, would have been conciliated towards it and them; the partial opening, and almost re-discovery to the French laity, of the Book of God hailed with joy; and a foundation laid, in its knowledge and study, for a real and general amelioration of morals. Instead of this, what read we? The book itself was quickly denounced by both Pope and priesthood, and partially suppressed.[2] And against *them* the cry of *heretics*

[1] P. Waldo translated the Scriptures out of Latin into the Romaunt. This, I believe, was the first nearly complete translation yet made into the vernacular French: (smaller portions had been translated before:) and introduced *his* attempt at reformation. (See the Disquisition, pp. lxxxviii. et seq. prefixed by Dr. Gilly to his late very valuable publication of the Romaunt Version of St. John's Gospel.*)—In England, where the old Anglo-Saxon translations had for centuries been obsolete, and an incomplete anonymous one of 1290 almost unknown, (see Horne's Introduc. ii. 241, and Le Bas' Wicliff, 218—231,) Wicliff, about a century later, made his into English. —The enormous price of Bibles, however, in those times was almost a prohibition to general diffusion. In England in 1274 the price of a Bible, with a commentary, fairly written, was £30; the equivalent to 15 years' labour of a labouring man, as the daily wages were then 1½d. And still in 1429 Wicliff's *New Testament* sold for £2 16s. 8d., worth £30 now perhaps. So Le Bas, p. 241, and Townley, in his Biblical Anecdotes.

Dr. Maitland in his "Dark Ages," p. 202, observes on the necessary expensiveness of a copy of the whole Bible, before the discovery of printing: as, at the rate at which law-stationers pay their writers, a fair copy would probably *now* cost £60 or £70 for the writing only, and occupy the writer perhaps ten months.

[2] "Tertia causa (propagationis Waldensium) est Veteris ac Novi Testamenti *in vulgarem linguam* ab ipsis facta translatio." So Richinius Dissert. de Valdensibus: adding that Innocent III charged on the Bishop and Chapter at Metz to inquire who had made the translation, and with what object. This was in 1199. And the result is stated in Alberic's Chronicle, on the year 1200, as the *burning* by the priests, under Pope Innocent's direction, of the translated books. "In Urbe Metensi, pullulante

* The subject will be reverted to by me in my Notice of the Waldensian Witnesses.

was raised; and their extermination forthwith, and long after, urged as one of the most meritorious of religious duties. First, in the 3rd Lateran Council, A.D. 1179, anathema was declared against certain dissentients and heretics of cognate character; then against the Waldenses themselves, in papal Bulls of the years 1183, 1207, 1208. Again, in a decree of the 4th Lateran Council, held A.D. 1215, a *Crusade*, as it was called, was proclaimed against them: and "plenary absolution promised, to such as should perish in the holy war, of all sins committed from the day of their birth to that of their death." "And never," says Sismondi,[1] "had the cross been taken up with more unanimous consent:" and never, we may add, was the merciless spirit of murder exhibited more awfully in all its horrors.—It was accompanied and followed by the *Inquisition;*

sectâ Valdensium, directi sunt quidam Abbates ad prædicandum: qui quosdam libros de Latino in Romanum versos *combusserunt*." (See my Ch. vii. § 6, on the Waldenses, infrà.)—This was referred to by a late Pope in one of his anti-biblical Bulls.

Dr. S. Maitland states, at p. 221 of his "Dark Ages," as the result of his researches into the literature of that extended period (from 800 to about 1200) that "he knows of nothing which should lead him to suppose that any human craft or power was exercised to prevent the reading, multiplication, or diffusion of the word of God." But it must be observed that Dr. M.'s researches refer to *monastic* bodies, or the *clerical* order, and to the *Latin* Bible almost entirely: in regard of which, and whom, Dr. M.'s statement may be substantially correct. It was in regard of *translations* for the *laity*, and when, as the result of reading them, the laity came to see something different in religion from the doctrines of the priests and papacy, that the trial of principle arose. And what then? Says Sismondi, in his History of the Albigensian Crusade; (Eng. Trans. p. 226;) Forasmuch as "the heretics supported their doctrine by the authority of Holy Scripture, the first indication of heresy [at that time, viz. soon after 1200 A.D.] was considered to be the citation of either the epistles or gospels."—In 1229 the Council of Thoulouse prohibited the laity from possessing the Scriptures. Hard. vii. 178. About 1270 James I, King of Arragon, passed a law, that whoever possessed any of the Books of the Old or New Testament in the Romance or vulgar tongue, and did not bring them to the Bishop to be burned, should be considered suspected of heresy. (Townley.) In England, A.D. 1408, Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, decreed in convocation that neither Wicliff's translation, nor any other in the English tongue, should be read till approved by the Bishop; and several persons were burned, as appears from bishops' registers, for refusing compliance, and reading Wicliff's translation. (See Hard. vii. 1941; also Townshend's Preliminary Essay to Foxe, p. 256, &c.) About 1410 the Decree of Pope Alexander V, which condemned all translations into the vulgar tongues, caused the suppression to be more decided and universal throughout Western Christendom. Soon after, in 1413, a law was passed by Henry V, decreeing that all Lollards, or those who possessed or read Wicliff's books, (especially his New Testament,) should forfeit lands, cattle, goods, body, life, and be condemned for heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and arrant traitors to the land. (Townley; and also Le Bas' Wicliff, 241.)—Once more, at the Council of Constance, in 1415, Gerson complained of "many *laymen* among the heretics having a version of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, to the great prejudice of the Catholic faith:" adding; "It has been proposed to reprove this scandal in the Committee of Reform." (Waddington, iii. 347.)

[1] History of the Crusades, p. 23. The Waldenses, it must be remembered, were mixed up with the Albigenses as sufferers in it.

an institution assignable to Dominic, or rather Gregory IX,[1] as its *earthly* author, but evidently and originally the invention of *hell:* that horrid tribunal which carried on its inquest after heresy unseen, but with the power of the secular arm, the Princes of the West, supporting it,[2] into all the individualities and privacies of domestic life.—The same spirit was manifested on the attempts at a revival of religion in England, from 1360 to 1380, by Wicliff; and in Bohemia, some thirty or forty years after, on its revival by Huss and Jerome.[3]—Thus, during the latter half of the four centuries that we speak of, whether under the name of Petrobrussians, Catharists, Waldenses, Albigenses, Wickliffites, Lollards, Hussites, Bohemians, Thaborites, not dissentient heretics only, but disciples of Christ the most genuine, if dissentient from the Romish Church, were marked out as sheep for the slaughter. Popes and councils, priests and people, the secular powers and the spiritual, all united in the war-cry: and racks and gibbets, fire and sword, were deemed the fit weapons to use against them. *Murder* was one in the black catalogue of the sins, during this period, of Papal Christendom.

Such were the prominent characteristics of what was then called *religion* in Western Europe: and so did *idolatry* mark it, together with *sorceries*, *fornications*, *thefts*, *murders* for its concomitants,—just as described in this brief but most significant predictive clause,—through the "hour, day, month, and year," up to the fall of the Greek empire. The devotees to chivalry and romance, indeed, would paint these middle ages as the *ages of faith:*[4] and the lovers alike of mysticism and of ritualism as periods of the *illumination* and *perfection* of the Church.[5] But the religion contem-

[1] See Mosheim's correction of Limborch, xiii. 2. 5. 4. Its foundation was laid in the Decree of Pope Lucius A.D. 1183. Dominic acted *individually* as an Inquisitor against the Albigenses. But the *Court of the Inquisition* (chiefly still of Dominican monks) was not regularly formed till 1233, after Dominic's death.

[2] Especially, on its first institution, by Frederic II and the French King Louis IX. Mosh. xiii. 2. 5. 6.

[3] See the horrid account in Waddington, iii. 201.

[4] I refer to the voluminous Work lately published under that title.

[5] See Görres' Christliche Mystik.—Referring to the pseudo-Dionysius' theory of three successive periods in the spiritual progress of the soul, the period of *purification*, of *illumination*, and of *perfection* or *consummation*, he observes that a similar

plated by the majority of such describers, is obviously the *imaginative* and the *external;* not that which the Bible alone recognizes of heart-cleansing practical godliness. And the *generalizing inductive process* by which some, from a series of carefully-selected extracts out of the voluminous scholastic and mystic writers, with more or less of moral beauty in them, and more or less of religious truth, would infer such a religion as the *spirit of the age*, carries its own refutation with it.[1] On this point appeal must be made

progression may be traced in the history of Christendom. 1. The ages from the Goths to Charlemagne: in which fire and sword uprooted and burnt up the weeds from the European soil, so fitting it for the seeds of higher civilization. 2. From the latter part of the 11th to the beginning of the 13th century: a period distinguished by great reforms in the church, state, and school: the church being emancipated from secular power, reforming the monastic orders, and enforcing the old practice of celibacy on the clergy; the European nations advancing in order, liberty, and civilization: and in the schools, universities being established, the Aristotelian philosophy adopted, and the dawn appearing of poetry and art. The best symbol, says Görres, and representative of this age of moral and intellectual regeneration, is St. Bernard. 3. From the beginning to the close of the 13th century; in which age there was an astonishing development of energy in church and state: each being a hierarchy of corporations of a mystical nature in themselves and in their mutual relations, the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre the one all-mastering idea of Christendom, and the influence of Christian mysticism manifested alike in architecture, painting, philosophy, and poetry. In no age had mysticism so thoroughly impregnated all the institutions of life and productions of genius.

Such are the views of Görres, as abstracted by a Romanist admirer in the Dublin Review, Jan. 1839. And truly, after reading it, and with the historical facts that we have considered before us, the sketch may well make us admire the pictorial power of German, or rather Roman, mysticism and romance!

Görres' method of confirming one of his points, by constituting St. Bernard the *representative* of the age he lived in, is ingenious and concise. But we might as well characterize the philosophy and religion of England about the close of the 9th century, by making Alfred its symbol.—With regard to the *middle* of the 12th century, Bernard's own picture of the then state of the church *generally* (e. g. Serm. xiii. 6, 7, in Cantic.)* is a sufficient refutation of Görres: with regard to the *close* of the 13th that of the General Council of Vienne, held A.D. 1313. See Waddington, ii. 147—150, and iii. 7. Dr. Maitland, we have observed, (see p. 10 Note [2] supra,) gives up the defence of the middle age after A.D. 1200.

[1] What if we were to make a carefully-chosen selection of extracts from the best Greek and Roman moralists of the Pagan schools, from Cicero down to Plutarch and M. Aurelius, and infer from them the moral excellence of the Greeks and Romans during the two centuries embraced by them? Such is the method pursued in the Ages of Faith.—On the general character of the doctrine of the *scholastic* doctors of the middle ages it will be worth the while for the investigator of truth to consult Brucker, or Enfield, Book vii. Of the *mystics*, while many were wild enthusiasts, it is readily allowed that there were some, perhaps not a few, sincere but secret wor-

* "Hodiè pestilentia morum, fœda satis et lenta nimis, exhalat. [This was after saying that the last days and perilous times spoken of by St. Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 1, were evidently at hand.] . . Factus est sacerdos ut populus, ut licentiùs populus sicut sacerdos fiat. Mundo se monachi studiosè conformant; et qui in mundo sunt errorem suum nostrorum nimis verè tuentur exemplo. Mutuis ad vitia sese aut informant aut fovent exemplis, pastores et populi, sæculares et religiosi." So too in his Epistle 238 to Pope Eugenius, with special reference to the prevailing covetousness.

to the *facts of history*. And these are as directly against the representations alluded to, as they accord in every iota with the wonderful predictive statement now before us.[1]

Nor, as the prophecy further intimated, did the terror of the fall of Constantinople induce either *reformation* or *repentance*. Of these not a sign is discoverable in the acts, or history, either of the ruling powers or body corporate of Western Christendom. Rather there is to be perceived, in respect of the sins here reprobated, fresh authorization and fresh addition.—And so we come to show,

II. THE CONTINUANCE OF EACH AND ALL OF THE SPECIFIED EVILS THROUGH THE LATTER HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

Thus, first, as to the established *dæmonolatry*.—It was in 1460 that the Dominican *Alain de la Roche*, in hyper-duleia of the *Virgin Mary*, revived in the Christian world the use of the *rosary* first invented by Dominic:—the mechanical devotion of which, with its 15 bead-told decads of Aves and Pater-Nosters intermingling, embraced alike by high and low, laics and ecclesiastics, became soon the rage in Christendom; and, consecrated by Papal sanction, still continues.[2] It was in 1746 that Pope Sixtus the IVth,[3] in support of the same favourite branch of dæmonolatry, gave sanction to an annual festival in honour of the Virgin's *immaculate conception;* condemning and excommu-

shippers of God. (See Waddington, iii. 360.) Such the Apocalyptic prophecy expressly recognizes. See Apoc. xii. 6, 14; and my comment on it.

[1] It may be useful to the reader at this point, to compare what is here said of the sins of Papal Christendom, with what is said afterwards of those of the Apocalyptic *Babylon*, and of the final reprobates; and to mark anticipatively their similitude. Apoc. xviii. 23, 24; "The light of a candle shall no more shine in thee, ... for by thy *sorceries* were all the nations deceived. And in her was found the *blood* of the prophets and saints, and of all that were slaughtered on the earth." xxi. 8; "The unbelievers, and abominable, and *murderers*, and *whoremongers*, and *sorcerers*, and *idolaters*, and all *liars*, shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone." xxii. 15; "Without are dogs, and *sorcerers*, and *whoremongers*, and *murderers*, and *idolaters*, and whosoever loveth and maketh a *lie*."

[2] See Gieseler ii. 296; and Southey Vindic. Eccl. Angl. 476, 483, &c., who dwells at large upon the subject.—In Bellarmine's *Doctrina Christiana Breve*, a manual authorized by Papal approbation, these 15 mysteries are explained. In answer to the question, "Why repeat the Ave after the Lord's Prayer?" the answer is given, "That by the intercession of the Virgin Mary I may more easily obtain from God what I ask." But there are ten *Aves* to one *Pater-Noster*.—And what of *Christ's* intercession?

[3] See on this Pope and period, Foxe iii. 780.

nicating its impugners:—a dogma this not only palpably false, absurd, and unscriptural, but which had hitherto, since first it was agitated, some 300 years before, by the Franciscans, been left even by Popes and Councils undetermined.[1]—Further the system of *canonization* was still continued, and, by mere Papal fiat, new δαιμονια added to the old. For example, in 1460 the enthusiast *Catharine of Sienna* was canonized by Pope Pius II;[2] in 1482 *Bonaventura* the blasphemer, by Sixtus IV;[3] and in 1494, by Alexander VI, the more respectable name of Archbishop *Anselm*.[4] Alexander's Bull, in language more heathen than Christian, avows it to be *the Pope's duty* thus to choose out, and to hold up the illustrious dead, as their merits claim, for adoration and worship.[5]

Again, with the increasing dæmonolatry, both *sorceries* and *thefts* increased also. Rosaries were for *sale;* and blasphemous visions and lying miracles were, with the most solemn asseverations, urged by Alain and his fraternity in promotion of the sale.[6] *Indulgences* invited the devout to

[1] Harduin, ix. 1495.—The controversy about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary had originated about 1140 A.D.; and festivals, though not by authority, begun to be celebrated in its honour. Bernard strenuously opposed the dogma; justly considering that it invested her with an immunity which belonged to Christ alone. See Mosh. xv. 2. 4. 2; and xii. 2. 3. 19.

[2] Waddington, iii. 267.

[3] In the Hereford Discussion between the Rev. J. Venn and the Rev. James Waterworth, it was admitted, by the latter (an able and learned Romish priest) that Bonaventura's Psalter to the Virgin Mary, turning the addresses to God into addresses to the Virgin, was *blasphemy*. But 1st he impugned its genuineness. How vainly, Mr. Venn has amply shown: for it appears in the *Pope's own authorized Edition* of Bonaventura's Works, published at Rome. 2ndly, said Mr. W., this Edition was not published till 1588, above 100 years after his canonization; and the canonizing Pope might not know of the Psalter. But Rome, since its publication, has not only not disavowed its own saint, (this would indeed be to shake the whole Roman heaven with its saints into dissolution,) but actually, notwithstanding Mr. W.'s denial of the fact, still publicly uses the Psalter; as will appear by a notice in my third volume under the fifth Vial.—Would not Mr. W. have done more wisely in adopting the casuist Veron's canon about *relics;* (see p. 16, Note [2];) and saying that it is not an *article of faith* to believe the saints invocated to be really those that the names indicate?

[4] Harduin ix. 1552.—See other examples in Butler.

[5] Ib. "Romanus Pontifex viros claros, et qui, in præsenti vitâ dum fuerunt, vitæ sanctimoniâ floruerunt, et eorum exigentibus clarissimis meritis aliorum sanctorum numero aggregari merentur, . . inter sanctos prædictos debet collocare, et ut sanctos ab omnibus Christi fidelibus coli, venerari, et adorari mandare."

On Matt. v. 15, "Put not a candle under a bushel, but on a candlestick, &c.," Pope Eugenius gives it the mystic sense, "Sanctos esse in divorum numerum adscribendos et canonizandos, ut adorentur." Glasse, p. 301.

[6] Southey Vind. 484, &c. The Dominican *Echard* confesses to his incredulity of Alain's visions; somewhat as Gerson, at the Council of Constance, in respect of the miracles and legends then current. L'Enfant, i. 470, 609.

the celebration of the *immaculate conception;* the rites of which were to bring *gains*, as usual, to the priests that celebrated them, and rob the poor worshipper.—Each act of *canonization* was a recognition of the new saint's miracle-working, whereby to draw devotees and offerings to the local shrine. Nor did Rome accord the canonization without first itself receiving payment.[1]—In similar consideration for himself and his capital, Pius II (Pope from 1464 to 1471) reduced the *jubilee* cycle for pilgrimages to Rome from one of 33 to one of 25 years; thereby accelerating the return of that absurd but most lucrative ceremony.[2] For those who could not go on pilgrimages to the saints' shrines, *relics* were *farmed*, and *indulgences* also, all through this half-century; and the country overrun by the hawkers that farmed them.[3] With the latter, as the 16th century opened, the name of *Tetzel* is infamously associated: (of whom more a little later:) and, connected as this was with the legends invented and preached to promote the sale, it may be considered as the crowning example, at this epoch, of the union of *thefts* and *sorceries* in the Papal system.[4]

Meanwhile *impurity* had advanced also; chiefly among

[1] See the Ordo Canonizationis in Harduin ix. 1548; a curious document, sent to Canterbury apparently from Rome, on occasion of the petition for Anselm's canonization. Notice occurs in the Ordo of the Arms of him "*cujus expensis fit canonizatio*" being suspended, among other decorations, in the canopied erection for the Pope. Harduin observes that a *statement of the expenses* preceded the Ordo in his MS. But these, he says, "quòd ad rem non faciant," he omits.—See too my notice of the subject in Vol. iii., and Canonization medal given from Bonanni, i. 39.

One is reminded by it of what Battista Mantuano says of Rome, in his Poem De Calamitatibus Temporum,—a poem written about the time referred to:

. . . . . venalia nobis
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,
Ignis, thura, preces; cœlum est venale, Deusque.

See Roscoe's Leo X, (3rd Ed.) Vol. i. p. 98. It is a prolongation of the previous testimonies given by me p. 20, Note [3], to the truth of this Apocalyptic prediction.

[2] Mosheim xv. 2. 2. 17.

[3] Myconius ap. Merle i. 50.—And so the lines on Alexander the VIth, elected Pope A.D. 1492, given in Waddington, iii. 283;

Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum:
Emerat ille prius; vendere jure potest.

It seems that to procure his election he had placed two mules laden with gold at the disposal of a faithful Cardinal, to be disposed of as occasion might require. Ib. 282.

[4] As to *indulgences*, an idea of the immense sale of them at the opening of the 16th century, may be formed by a boast in 1507 of the infamous Tetzel, (so Merle i. 231,) that in two days he had got 2000 florins by their sale in the town of Fribourg. So, as Luther expressed it afterwards, did the Pope "*poll* and *rob* Christ's people." (Foxe, v. 685, 688.) "They repented not of their *robberies;*" κλεμματων. But in alluding to Luther's time I a little anticipate.

the priesthood. The Popes led the way. So *Innocent VIII*, elected in 1484 to be the *Holy Father* of Christendom; whose character is told in the well-known *allusive* epigram.[1] So Alexander VI, his successor: who at the close of the 15th century stood before the world a monster, notorious to all, of impurity, as of every other vice.[2] Rome throughout copied his example. "Most of the ecclesiastics," says the historian *Infessura*, "had their mistresses; and all the convents of the capital were houses of ill fame." And, as at Rome, so in the provinces. In many places the priests paid the bishop a tax for the woman with whom he lived, and for every child he had by her: (so established and unblushing was the custom, now of above six centuries' duration:) and Erasmus tells of a German bishop publicly declaring, at a grand entertainment, that 11,000 priests had come to him for that purpose.[3]—Could the *confessional* but add to the mischief?[4] The leprosy affected Christendom.

Finally, there was a notable persistence in the *murders* of Christ's saints. Of *insulated* cases I will notice only that of the Dominican Savanarola; an enthusiast, but one of the wisest and worthiest of the age:[5] who, on preaching at Florence against the vices of Rome, and predicting,

[1] "Octo *nocens* pueros genuit, totidemque puellas:
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma *patrem*."—Merle iii. 359.

[2] His original name was Rodrigo Borgia. See Merle d'Aubigné's sketch of his character, i. 54. He lived first with one Roman lady; then, while a cardinal and archbishop, with her daughter Vanozza. Having obtained the popedom, A.D. 1492, by bribing each of the cardinals, as before stated, he then celebrated the marriage of his daughter Lucretia; another of his mistresses being present at it, and the festivities enlivened by farces and indecent songs.—The dissolute entertainments given by him, and by his equally infamous son Cæsar, and daughter Lucretia, are such as may not be described or thought of. He died in 1503. According to general report it was by poison prepared by himself for a rich cardinal. But Roscoe, in his Life of Leo X, shows that *this* report is doubtful.

[3] "Uno anno ad se delata undecim millia sacerdotum palam concubinariorum." Erasmi Op. Tom. ix. p. 401: quoted by Merle, i. 53; from whom also (55) I have borrowed the extract from Infessura. In the 11th Session of the 5th Lateran Council this custom is noted and reprobated. "Quia vero in quibusdam regionibus nonnulli jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam habentes pecuniarios quæstus à concubinariis percipere non erubescunt, &c."—See in Note [1] p. 473, Vol. I., and Note [3], p. 14 suprà, earlier notices of this infamous practice. Indeed the Council of *Sens*, the latest referred to at p. 14, belongs to the half-century now under review.

[4] Compare Pius IV's later Constitution, A.D. 1560, "contrà sacerdotes in confessionibus sacramentalibus pœnitentes ad turpia sollicitantes."—See too Dante in the 15th Canto of his Inferno on this subject.

[5] Mosh. xv. 2. 2. 24.—See on this interesting character Dean Waddington's account, taken mainly from Sismondi and Roscoe, iii. 383 et seq.

what his soul longed for, an approaching theocracy under the Lord Jesus, in place of the then corrupt government, was in 1498 seized by the Papal emissaries, and burnt at the stake.—More early in the half-century, and on a scale of magnitude such as to force the world's attention to them, *anti-heretical crusades* had been proclaimed and carried on. The *Bohemians* and *Waldenses* were the victims. Against the *former* Paul the 2nd urged the crusade. Elected Pope himself in the year 1464, because as a Venetian he seemed the fittest of the Cardinals to direct the energies of Christendom against its dreaded foe the Turks, he actually diverted the Hungarian King from warring against *them* to warring against these Bohemian Hussites; and promised him the crown of Bohemia as his guerdon. Fiercely, but in this case vainly, the war raged seven years. Then the old policy was resorted to, to conquer by dividing. The *Calixtines*, the less decided and spiritual of the dissentients, were incited against the *Taborites*, the more spiritual: from the remnant of which latter there had already, indeed since the year 1457, sprung a distinct church, under the name of the *United Brethren*. And the civil persecution thus arising proved to this little remnant more bitter, and more murderous, than all they had suffered in common with the rest from external war.[1]

In the war against the *Waldenses* of Piedmont, in the years 1477 and 1488, by Popes Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, the same spirit presided. Having commented on the heresies of the Vaudois, Pope Innocent commanded all archbishops, bishops, and vicars to obey his inquisitor, and engage the people to take up arms, with a view to so holy and necessary an extermination; granting indulgences to all that would make the crusade against them, and authority to apply to their own use whatever property they might seize. It was then that 18,000 regular troops burst upon the valleys. And, had not a feeling of compunction visited the sovereign, Philip of Savoy, the work of destruction would probably have been complete.[2]—Then too was ac-

[1] Bost's Freres Moraves, Tom. i. Liv. iii. 101, 102, &c. Also Schröckh, Theil 34, p. 745, &c. I shall have to revert to this subject in my Chapter on the Witnesses' death.

[2] Ackland, p. 12, 13.

complished the actual extirpation of the Christians of Val Louise in the High Dauphiny. "Having retired," says the historian, "into the caverns of the highest mountains, the French king's lieutenant commanded a great quantity of wood to be laid at the entrance of those caverns, to burn or smoke them out. And some were slain in attempting to escape. Some threw themselves headlong on the rocks below: some were smothered. There were afterwards found within the caverns 400 infants stifled in the arms of their dead mothers. It is believed that 3000 person perished in all, on that occasion, in the valley."[1]—May not the blood well curdle at the recital of such atrocities?

Once more, it was in 1478 that that *reform*, as it was called, of the *Inquisition* took place, the Pope and King of Spain combining in the arrangement, whereby it was rendered an instrument of persecution and murder far more perfect than before. In the first year alone 2000 were burnt as victims. These furnished to it its prelibation of blood. Each year others followed. It is Llorente's computation from official documents, that from this its reorganization, to the commencement of the Reformation in 1517, there were 13,000 persons burnt by it for heresy, besides 8700 burnt in effigy, and 169,000 condemned to penances.[2] What it was prepared to do, with the torture and the stake, on the outbreak of the Reformation, who knows not?

Thus have we historic proof, in respect of the *latter half of the 15th century*, following the fall of Constantinople, as well as in respect of the *four centuries* that preceded it, of the fulfilment of every particular in the prophetic statement before us. "The rest of the men, who were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of

[1] Perrin ii. ch. 3: given by Gilly in his Life of Neff, p. 90.—How suitable Milton's beautiful Sonnet, composed after a similar tragedy in 1665:

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold: &c."

In the Foreign Aid Society Report for 1857 there is a report of a visit to these valleys of Dauphiny by the Rev. W. Fremantle; from which it appears that by a kind of a landslip, the result of violent tempest-floods, the great cave had fallen in. But it was still remembered and talked of by the people.

[2] M'Crie's Reformation in Spain, pp. 86—89.

their hands, that they should not worship *dæmons*, and *idols* of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood: neither repented they of their *sorceries*, nor of their *fornications*, nor of their *thefts*, nor of their *murders*."—Let me earnestly request my readers to pause and reconsider the perfect coincidence between this plain *unsymbolic* prophecy, in all its many plain but most characteristic details, and the religious history and character of Papal Christendom, during the four centuries of the progress of the Euphratean Turks to the destruction of the Eastern Empire, and half-century following. Let him consider the coincidence not merely as in itself perfect, but as furnishing a corroboration, the value of which cannot be too highly estimated, to our previous explanation of the preceding *symbolic* prophecies; about which symbols there might seem to some more ground for doubt and hesitation. Let him remember moreover that my historic proof as to the Papal *idolatry*, *sorceries*, *fornications*, *thefts*, *murders*, has been fetched, not from obscure questionable sources, but from records the most authentic: indeed very chiefly from the Papacy's own writers, and own Decrees either of Councils or of Popes.—As to its *idolatry* I must, in conclusion, add that of the Turkman himself, after his storming of Constantinople: a testimony drawn up so precisely in the language of the Apocalyptic passage before us, as well as at the precise epoch prefigured, that one might almost believe it to have been copied thence, did one not know the impossibility of the thing.[1] It was on the 2nd of August,

[1] I the rather beg attention to this most important testing point and corroboration of my general historic explanation, because it seems to me very distinctly, of itself, to put a negative on the two grand counter-schemes of Apocalyptic interpretation: viz. the *Præterist*, which views the prophecy as fulfilled in the long-past fall of ancient Jerusalem and Pagan Rome; and the *Futurist*, which would have it all to be still waiting its fulfilment on some expected return of the Jews to Jerusalem.

According to the *former* scheme, as expounded by Heinrichs, Stuart, (ii. 201,) &c., the rest of the men that did not repent of their idolatries, &c., are the Jews before the destruction of Jerusalem. But how *idolaters*, when the worship of idols was notoriously their object of abomination? Because, says Professor S., 1st, they were covetous, and covetousness is said to be idolatry: 2ndly, because they were as bad as their ancestors, who were idolaters!!

According to the *latter* scheme, as expounded by Todd, Burgh, Dalton, &c., "the rest of the men" includes the unsealed and impenitent Jews. But is it likely that the Jews will fall into actual *idolatry* in the latter day? Even during the 3½ literal years' reign of Antichrist, when (according to the Futurists' view) all the world is to worship Antichrist, can they expect a worshipping of dæmons and idols such as in

A.D. 1469, that Mahomet the 2nd had published in all the mosques of his empire the vow following. "I Mahomet, son of Amurath, . . emperor of emperors and prince of princes, from the rising to the setting sun, promise to the only God, Creator of all things, by my vow and by my oath, that I will not give sleep to my eyes, that I will eat no delicates, that I will not seek out what is pleasant, that I will not touch what is beautiful, nor turn my face from the West to the East, till I overthrow, and trample under the feet of my horses, the *gods of the nations*, those *gods of wood, of brass, of silver, of gold*, or of *painting*, which the disciples of Christ *have made with their hands*."[1]

And so the 15th century closed in. Wretched,—I may say *hopelessly* wretched,—seemed the state of the Church at that epoch: hopeless to the reflective and philanthropic statesman or ecclesiastic; hopeless almost to the real Christian. And more especially for this reason: because it was not the mere fact of the present existence of moral and religious corruption that met the eye in the gloomy prospect,—grievous though this was, and such as to force confession from every quarter:[2] but there was the fearful superadded fact, also, that remedies such as human wisdom could suggest, had, during the long period of the accumulation of these corruptions, been tried one after another, and failed; yea, the Christian might think within himself, and the efforts also of really Christian reformists, his

the text; seeing that, according to another prophecy, (Dan. xi. 36, &c.,) Antichrist is, as they say, to set aside the worship of all gods *except himself?*

[1] Sismondi Hist. of Italian Republics, vii. 397. Cited by Mr. Birks in his Mystery of Providence, p. 429.—For an earlier illustration take the words of the iconoclastic Council of C. P., held A.D. 754: Απεστησεν ἡμας εκ της φθοροποιθ των δαιμονων διδασκαλιας, ητοι της των ειδωλων πλανης τε και λατρειας.

[2] "Nulla in moribus disciplina; nulla in sacris literis eruditio; nulla in rebus divinis reverentia; nulla propemodum jam erat religio." Such (Cramp p. 2) is Bellarmine's judgment of the epoch. Tom. vi. col. 296. (Colon. 1617.) The same opinion, I see, is exprest by him in the Oratio Scholastica prefixed to the 4th Volume of his Controversial Works; and much the same, indeed, in most of the Orations, contemporarily, before the fifth Lateran Council.

Let me add the following from a contemporary Roman poet of some eminence:

quo tempore mores
Præcipites labi cæpere, et recta relinqui
Officia, et metis longè post terga relictis
Roma potens sceleri totas effudit habenas.

Sylva Philomusi Novocomensis, in the Appendix to Roscoe's Leo X, No. LXIX.

brethren before him. Indeed the fact of the *trial and failure of these various remedies* seems to me so important to the right appreciation of the hopelessness of things at the epoch before the Reformation, that I cannot feel it right to conclude this historical chapter without a brief notice of them. I speak particularly of those remedies which, before the face of Christendom, human policy had suggested and tried for the amelioration of the corruptions of the Church; in so far as they affected that which alone human policy concerns itself with, the well-being of the social system.

It is to be remembered then that at the commencement of the four and a half centuries we have been reviewing, the prestige had already begun to pass away from the minds of the more intelligent, under which Charlemagne and his successors in the kingdoms of the West had considered it their policy to accord political power, and privileges almost indefinitely great, alike to the priesthood and hierarchy of their respective states, and to the Bishops of Rome; as if the best and only means of softening and civilizing the minds of the semi-barbarous population under their sway.[1] Proud, ambitious, idle, covetous, it had come to be understood that the great object with both the priesthood in general, and with the hierarchy heading them, was not the religious improvement of the community, but their own aggrandizement. Moreover the morals of these ecclesiastics were seen to be as corrupt, for the most part, or even more so, than of those whom they should have reformed. And thus the cry had now risen up against them, and it waxed louder and louder through the 12th century, as constituting almost the chief *cause*, instead of the chief *cure*, of the prevalent immorality and irreligion.[2]

[1] Mosheim viii. 2. 2. 4, quotes as follows from William of Malmsbury's Work *De Rebus Angliæ*, Lib. v. "Carolus Magnus, pro contundendâ gentium illarum ferociâ, omnes pæne terras ecclesiis contulerat: conciliosissimè perpendens nolle sacri ordinis homines, tam facilè quàm laicos, fidelitatem Domini rejicere: prætereà, si laici rebellarent, illos posse excommunicationis auctoritate, et potentiæ severitate, compescere."—Milner observes, on the 13th century: "It has been said that a power such as of the Pope was necessary at that time to tame the ferocious spirit of men, and preserve some order in society. It may be allowed that it was a cement, but it was the cement of iniquity." ch. iv. This is strong language; but I believe it presents the only true, and only philosophical view of the subject.

[2] "A legend of that age," says Mr. Southey, speaking of the middle of the 12th century, "marks the opinion which was entertained of the general depravity of the

It was when this impression was rife and strong, (being early in the 13th century,) and when the ecclesiastical power, and even Papacy itself, might seem to have been jeoparded by it, that there arose the two *mendicant* orders of monks, the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans;* acknowledging, as if to meet the emergency of the case, the general corruption of the clergy, asserting that their wealth had caused their corruption, and issuing forth from Rome, themselves *bound by a vow of poverty*, as the heaven-sent reformers of Christendom. The revival of *preaching* by them, a portion of the ministerial office almost abandoned at this time by the established clergy, was well suited to increase the hope and expectation of good from their mission. It was possible, men thought, that what the Franciscans declared might be true; and that they were the fulfilment of the prefigurative vision of the Apocalyptic angel, that flew abroad having the everlasting Gospel to preach to every nation under heaven.[1] For near two centuries did the popular enthusiasm, in every country of the West, set in towards these mendicant Friars, as well as the Papal favour. The parochial clergy complained in vain of the neglect now continually shown to *their* order, and the desertion of their ministrations. The confidence of the public rested on the mendicant Friars, as alone exhibiting to the world an image of primitive simplicity and self-denial, alone acting out moreover the part of evangelists, and consequently as alone the true ministers of Jesus Christ.[2]—At length

clergy. It was related in history," (that is by William of Malmsbury,) "and not as a fable but a fact, that Satan and the company of infernal spirits sent their thanks in writing, by a lost soul from hell, to the whole ecclesiastical body, for denying themselves no one gratification, and for sending more of their flock thither through their negligence, than had ever arrived at any former time." A later testimonial, in the same form of an approving Letter from Lucifer to the Popish prelates of the 14th century, is given in Foxe iii. 190—193.

Let the reader, in passing, compare this statement with Dr. Maitland's view of the 12th century; for that is included in the four centuries of his Dark Ages.

[1] Wadd. iii. 49.

[2] Le Bas, Wicliff, p. 105: "For a considerable time the new institution did its office to admiration. The effect was like the transfusion of fresh life-blood into a decaying system. The veins and arteries of the languishing monster seemed to swell with renovated life, &c."—So Conrad, Abbot of Ursperg, in narrating the institution of these two orders of mendicants, prefaces the narration with a statement of the youth of the Church being renewed like the eagle's. "Eo tempore, mundo jam senescente, exortæ sunt duæ religiones in ecclesiâ; cujus, ut aquilæ, renovatur juventus." The passage is given by Dr. Maitland, in his Book on the Waldenses, p. 398. Conrad speaks of the mendicant Friars as raised up specially in

however it was seen, and Wicliff most of all men helped forward the conviction, that covetousness might lurk even under the guise of poverty,[1] ambition under that of humility. The lying fables and ridiculous superstitions, that formed the subject matter of their preaching, were unmasked; their intellectual emptiness and frivolity, their hatred of learning, their quarrelsomeness, proselytism of the ignorant youth,[2] and, against those whom they deemed heretics, their bigot cruelty. The result of their influence and preaching was seen to be anything rather than the reformation of the community. In England the reaction was such that their very name became offensive, and warrants were issued for their arrest.[3]—But to rid themselves of this more recent evil proved to the men of Christendom as difficult as deliverance from the old.[4] The Pope, the supreme Head of Christendom, was found to be their patron; as indeed of almost all the corruptions under which it laboured. And against *the Pope* who could contend?

Then were the eyes of all that wished for an amelioration of things directed to a *General Council* as the panacæa;[5] a Council not such as former ones, mere mouth-pieces of the Popes, but free and independent. The cry for it waxed louder and louder during the celebrated 40, or 50 years' schism, from 1377 to 1424 A.D: when rival Popes were anathematizing each other from Rome, from Avignon, or from Sicily; and the scandal of such a disunion in the visible Church was palpable and offensive. So the memor-

opposition to the Waldenses and Poor Men of Lyons.—An interesting account of them is given by Southey, in his Book of the Church, p. 196. See also Mosheim xiii. 2. 2. 21, &c.

[1] See *Matthew of Paris*' invective against their accumulation of wealth and splendid buildings, referred to by Le Bas, Life of Wicliff, p. 107: also that of *Grosteste*, who on their first establishment at Oxford, A.D. 1221, had originally patronized them; that of *Fitzralph;* and that of *Wicliff* himself. Le Bas, 63—66, 106—112, &c.

[2] Fitzralph, in a sermon preached when he was Archbishop of Armagh, states that on this account, and from the parents' fears of their sons being inveigled by the mendicant friars, the number of students in Oxford had diminished from 30,000 to 6000. Le Bas, p. 111.

[3] The warrants out against them were entitled, "De religiosis vagabondis arrestandis per totum regnum." Ib. p. 110, from Turner's England, ii. 413.

[4] e. g. in the case of Grosteste's controversy with them, and the appeal to Rome. Le Bas, 65.

[5] So in Cramp's Text-Book of Popery. Though "experience was little in their favour," yet "men regarded a Council as their dernier resort, the panacæa for all their woes, the forlorn hope of the church." p. 5. i.e. at the close of the 15th century.

able Council of *Constance* was assembled A.D. 1414: and, with a view to the necessary power for remedying the evils in the church and Christendom, the great principle was asserted, that Popes themselves were inferior in authority, and subject, to a General Council. But, as to any real moral or religious reformation from it, the expectations so highly universally raised ended, like those before, in disappointment.[1] In the matter of Huss and Jerome, (to which I have had occasion already to allude,) the Council exhibited itself as the ready copartner with Popes and clergy, in acts of falsehood, treachery, and oppression the most infamous. The reformation of the church attempted by it proved to be insufficient, and only external. And even in respect of this, the new Pope, almost as soon as elected, found means of thwarting its intentions, and showing its impotency. Yet more in the subsequent General Councils of Ferrara and Florence, held about the middle of the 15th century, the very principle of the subordination of Popes to Councils, from which so much had been hoped, was formally renounced. The Council of Basle indeed reasserted it, but was at last worsted in the struggle by the Popes. Æneas Sylvius, its most celebrated advocate, having been made Pope, issued his own solemn Bull in retractation of it.[2] The secular powers, wearied with the ineffectual struggle, showed themselves less and less careful for the most part to reassert it. As the 15th century drew towards a close, the old clerical dogma had manifestly risen into re-ascendancy, that the Pope, as in God's place on earth, could not err, and by earthly powers might not be controlled.

There remained yet another remedy, from which the more intellectual spirits of the 15th century hoped highly: —I mean the *light of literature*, which had now at length broken on the long intellectual night preceding; and which the contemporaneous invention of printing, and flight of the Greek literati, with their literary treasures, into the kingdoms of Western Europe, had combined, as was be-

[1] See Wadd. iii. 137, &c.: also Mosh. xv. 2. 2. 10, on the insufficiency of Councils.

[2] Harduin ix. 1449. His Papal title, on election A.D. 1458, was Pius II.—The dates of the Councils referred to were as follows: of Basle from 1431 to 1443; of Ferrara from 1438 to 1439; of Florence from 1439 to 1442.

fore said, to accelerate. Nor indeed was its effect on the established religion, and the church, small or unimportant. From *Dante* in its earlier twilight, to *Erasmus*, some two centuries after, at the day-dawn, the effect was more and more to expose, in the light of common sense and intellectual truth, alike the corrupt morals of the clergy, and the absurdity and falsehood of much of the long-received system of superstition. And it was not merely the laity that felt the influence. By the higher and more educated of the ecclesiastics it was felt also; especially in Italy, that cradle of the new-born classic literature of Europe. But in what spirit? And to what practical result? Was it so as to induce a purer faith, and an abandonment of the superstitions and corruptions thus exposed to view? Far from it. The faith of the gospel of Jesus classic literature professed not to teach, nor indeed itself knew. This lay hid in the *Bible:* a book still little known; and, where known, by the mere classic enthusiast despised.[1] Literature without the Bible could make infidels; it could not make Christians. Such was its effect then. As to the superstitions established, false as they were now felt to be, the selfish interests involved in their retention on the clergy's part, and on the laity's the penalties of heresy, forbade their abandonment. Nor did the new philosophy make objection. It professed not the martyr's spirit; nor had it any more the wish than the power to arouse the conscience, or turn the heart to repentance. Thus the superstitions of the Romish apostasy were in outward rite and form persisted in as before: while the current conversational language, and even the writings of high ecclesiastics, evidenced their unbelief in them; the fashion having arisen to give them, as much as possible, a classic and a heathen turn.[3] Instead

[1] Cardinal Bembo, finding Sadolet occupied in translating the Epistle to the Romans, said, "Leave such childish things. They become not a man of sense." Merle i. 58.—Compare Leo Juda's observations on Apoc. x. 1, in corroboration.

[2] So Erasmus. See his letter to Cardinal Campeggio; Milner, p. 879.

[3] "Le Cardinal Bembo, au lieu du St. Esprit, écrivoit, *Le souffle du Zephyr celeste;* au lieu de remettre les péchés, *flechir les manes et les dieux souverains;* au lieu de Christ, fils de Dieu, *Minerve sortie du front de Jupiter.*" Merle i. 58.—So also Michelet, Memoires de Luther, i. 17: "S'ils nommaient le Pape c'etait *le grand Pontife;* un saint canonizé était, dant leur langage, *relatus inter Divos;* et s'ils parlaient de la grace, ils disaient, *Deorum immortalium beneficiis.*" (Ed. 1839.) Also in Roscoe's Leo X, iii. 150, a striking illustration is cited from Erasmus, citing what he had himself heard preached before the Pope at Rome.

of its reforming the church, the effect on the great mass of the ministering priesthood, of this boasted march of literature and intellect, was only to add to their other corruptions a more unblushing profaneness and hypocrisy.—Above all, this was the case at Rome. The character that has been given of the last Pope of the 15th century, was in a measure applicable also to the literary cardinals and hierarchy of Rome gathered round him. It was an *atheist* priesthood;[1] and its hypocrisy deliberate, systematic, avowed, and unblushing, before the face of God and man.[2]

Such was the approved futility and failure of each human scheme and effort at amelioration of the corruptions of the church;—amelioration of them, I mean, in so far as they shocked the public mind, and palpably affected the public weal. As the 16th century opened, there were indeed still many proficients in literature that looked for a change, though a change they knew not what, as the result of the literary and intellectual development in progress. Nor had the hopes from an independent Council been altogether abandoned. In fact a Council with this pretension had gathered just at this time at Pisa;[3] disavowed by the Pope and the rest of Christendom, but with a few cardinals and the French king supporting it. Its feebleness was however manifest. The hopes that centered round it were but the shadows of what, a century before, had attended and watched around the gathering at Constance.—On the whole, the evils of the church seemed to be beyond the reach of human remedial policy or power. And with many of the more reflective, doubtless, the suspicion had arisen that the disease must needs be deeper seated, as well as the remedy more powerful and searching, than any yet sug-

[1] "Il y avait à cette epoque une perversité raisonnée et scientifique, une magnifique ostentation de scelératesse; disons tout d'un mot, le prêtre athée, se croyant roi du monde." Michelet, i. 13.

[2] It is related by Luther, that on his visit to Rome in 1510, and when dining with some of its prelates, they related jokingly how, when saying mass at the altar, instead of the sacramental words which were to transform the elements into the body and blood of Christ, (according to the doctrine of transubstantiation,) they pronounced over them, "Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain! Wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain!" "And then," they continued, "we elevate the ostensorium, and all the people worship." Merle i. 184. The anecdote is most characteristic.

[3] A.D. 1511, 1512.

gested.—In effect such was the very case. It was apostasy from their God and Saviour which constituted the essence of the disease that had so long afflicted Christendom. And remedy there could be none but the republication of his own gospel of grace, and with the power of his own Spirit accompanying it.

Nor let it be forgotten, finally, though this is not the place to dwell on it, that some there had been, and were, that understood this truth of the case, both as regarded the disease and the remedy. The off-scouring perhaps of men, but the beloved of God, they answered to the 144,000, that had been prefigured in vision as the "called, and chosen, and faithful," which would as a body remain indestructible before Him:[1] the most of these being indeed only God's *secret ones:* but some, bolder and more discerning, his *witnesses* in an apostate world; and with a view imprest on and avowed by them, respecting the existing corruptions, precisely similar to that which is here exprest by their representative St. John. Of these last many and earnest had been the efforts, (as I have already just hinted, and must in my chapter on the Witnesses notice again more at large,) to make the gospel of the grace of the Lord Jesus known among men. And many too and earnest had been their prayers; and high doubtless at times their hopes, through these dark ages, that He, whom to know was light and life, would at length signally interfere for his own cause and church.[2] But time went on, and he appeared not; the first watch of the night,—the second watch,—the third watch. Their strength was spent. Their hopes waxed fainter. Persecuted, proscribed, wasted, scattered, their enemies seemed to have all but prevailed against them: and not against them only, but against the cause dearer to them than themselves; the cause of truth, the cause of Jesus. When the Bohemian remnant in 1495, 1497 sent into each part of Christendom, to see if there were any beside themselves to testify for Jesus, they found none.[3] It seemed almost as if he had forgotten them;

[1] See Vol. i. pp. 264, 265; 275, 276, &c. [2] Compare Foxe ii. 778, &c.

[3] Comenius, Hist. Eccl. Bohem. prefixed to his Exhortation to the Church of England, § 66, p. 40, apud Fleming's Apocalyptic Key, p. 41, 42. (Ed. 1793.) Also Bost's Histoire des Freres Moraves, i. 106, 107. (Ed. 1831.)

and the promise had become a dead letter, that the gates of hell should not prevail against them. But could it be so? Oh no! Just at this crisis of extremity the truth of the promise was to be made signally manifest. The very next vision in the Apocalyptic drama,—that of the descent of the covenant-Angel, and of the raising and ascension of his two witnesses from their apparent state of death, (for the vision is plainly continuous up to this latter figuration, and the whole included under the latter half of the sixth Trumpet,[1])—I say the very next Apocalyptic vision represented to St. John that same glorious intervention of the Lord Jesus, which had been so long looked and prayed for. The next scene in the drama of European history is that of the REFORMATION.

CHAPTER II.

INTERVENTION OF THE COVENANT-ANGEL FULFILLED IN THE REFORMATION.

APOC. X. 1—4.

"AND I saw another[2] mighty angel coming down from heaven, clothed with a cloud: and the rainbow[3] was upon his head; and his face was as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire; and he had in his hand a little book opened.[4] And he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left upon the land; and cried with a loud voice as a lion roareth."[5] Apoc. x. 1—4.

Oh what a glorious vision to rejoice the heart of the Evangelist! What a contrast to all that had been figured to his view since first the seven Trumpet-angels prepared themselves to sound! Indeed we may say, with what a superiority of glory in it, to that of any figuration of the

[1] It is at verse 18 of chap. ix. that the slaying of the third of men by the Turkish or 6th Trumpet woe is mentioned. It is not till ch. xi. 14, immediately after the ascension of the witnesses, and fall of the tenth part of the city, that the same 6th Trumpet woe is said to have been ended.

[2] *αλλον*. This word is omitted in some copies.

[3] *ἡ ιρις*, with the article. So all the critical Editions.

[4] *ηνεῳγμενον*. [5] No difference in the critical text.

future fortunes of the Church, from the commencement of the Revelation until now: and, as it proved, with nothing comparable to it afterwards, until the vision that foreshowed the glories of the consummation.

I said, what a vision to rejoice the heart of the Evangelist! And first, was there not comfort for him in the very *character* and *person* of the angel intervening? For whom might he suppose this angel? The vision represented him as a *mighty* angel, that had a *rainbow*, or rather *the* rainbow,—the rainbow of the covenant,[1]—circling his head: whose form moreover appeared mantled with a *cloud;* yet not so mantled as to hide from the Evangelist, as he descended, the sight of his *face as the sun*, and of *his feet as pillars of fire*. From all which it was evident that it was the LORD JESUS, the mighty one of Israel,—mighty whether to save or to destroy,—the Angel of the covenant;[2] —Him whose presence, mantled with a cloud as his proper covering, (I say *proper*, because of no created angel was the glory such as to need its shrouding,[3]) was under the older dispensation seen to visit this our earth, first by Israel in the wilderness, then by one and another of the prophets afterwards; and whose countenance as the sun, and his feet like fine brass, as if they burned in the furnace, St. John had himself beheld at the opening of the Apocalyptic visions, when, overcome by the greatness of the glory, he fell at his feet as dead.[4] Had other evidence been wanting, it was given afterwards in his speaking of the two wit-

[1] Bishop Middleton observes on the article: "The authorities which direct us to read ἡ ιρις are very numerous; and the best modern editors have admitted the article into the text:" adding, however, that he can see no reason for it. "The names of the great objects of nature," he says, "the sun, the moon, the air, &c., usually have the article; but these are permanent and monadic. The word ιρις seems to have no other claim to it than have σεισμος, εκλειψις, &c., and the names of other transient phænomena."—The difficulty is solved by regarding it as the iris of the covenant. It is thus both monadic, and also pre-mentioned. See Apoc. iv. 3.*—This is the first of three notices by the Bishop on the presence, unaccountably to him, of the Greek article, which I shall have in this chapter and the next to refer to; as being both explained by the predictive meaning of the vision, and also itself reflecting important light on that meaning.

[2] So Hengstenberg ad loc. i. 376.

[3] There is, I believe, no single instance of a created angel appearing vested in a cloud. It was the ensign of Deity. So; "He maketh the clouds his chariot;"—"His pavilion round about him was dark waters and thick clouds of the skies." Psalm civ. 3, xviii. 11; 2 Sam. xxii. 12, &c.

[4] Apoc. i. 15. Compare Dan. x. 6.

* Indeed Dr. M. himself refers to this in the way of comparison.

nesses for Christian truth as *his* witnesses.[1] So that the fact was indubious. And was it not joyous for him to see the Lord he loved, intervening openly on the dark theatre, just depicted, of this world; and showing that He had neither forgotten nor forsaken his church?

Further, the *nature* and *object of the intervention* indicated must have been most cheering to him. For what the object evidently, but the vindication of his own honour, and revelation of his own grace and gospel? To this tended each epithet and characteristic noted of the Angel and his descent in the vision:—indications never to be overlooked. For in the Apocalyptic notices of the intervention of the Lord Jehovah, just as in those of other Scriptures,[1] we find that those among his attributes are for the most part chosen for specification or exhibition, which best suit the nature of the action on which He is about to enter, and which are in it to be most displayed and glorified. For example, in the vision of the 7th chapter, long since analyzed, the action represented being that of his manifestation of himself as electing, quickening, enlightening, and sealing his own true disciples, from amidst the multitude of vain professors, each epithet and descriptive trait there noted of the covenant-Angel was shown to have a bearing on the work he was then engaged in.[2] Nor, as I infer from the sacred imagery, was there then wanting in the revelation, to the Evangelist's own perception, the accompaniment of light upon the scene, like as of the early day-spring on our earth from the Eastern sky. But there was not however in that vision the figuring before St. John, so as here, of the covenant-rainbow's arch of light investing him, or the solar rays of glory beaming from his countenance; nor again of any such descending in power, as here, and planting of his feet on land and sea, and speaking in voice audible over the earth: but only his voice of charge to the

[1] Apoc. xi. 3.

[2] So in the example of the Lord's descent to ransom Israel out of Egypt, Exod. iii., where he appeared in the bush burning with fire, but which was not consumed: so again in that of his appearing with the drawn sword, as the Captain of the Lord's host, to Joshua, Josh. v. 13; and that of his appearance to Ezekiel in the chariot of the fiery cherubim, when about to destroy Jerusalem: &c.

[3] "An angel *from the East*, having *the seal* of the *life-giving* God." See Vol. I. 274, 283.

angelic ministries employed in the world's providential government, with reference to his election of grace; in accompaniment of his own act of sealing them, each one, on the forehead. In so far as regarded the perceptions of the inhabitants of this world, the sealing revelation seems to have been figured as one comparatively noiseless and unimpressive.—What then of an intervention prefigured as *this* was, with all these circumstantials of glory and power accompanying? It was surely to be inferred from them that it would be one sudden, striking, and most extraordinary, in vindication of his *covenant of mercy* to the church; somewhat perhaps as when, in similar guise of the pillar of fire and of the cloud, he descended to deliver Israel from out of Egypt:—that it would be one in which He would specially display before men his illuminating beams as the *Sun of righteousness:* and in which by word, and perhaps by act, (not without some exercise of his mighty power accompanying it,) he would *assert his rights* to this world as his inheritance; and, with voice audible through the whole Roman world, even as of the *Lion* of the tribe of Judah, would rebuke and strike terror into the enemies of his church. By the *book* that he held opened in his hand the instrumental means seemed figured whereby all this was to be accomplished; viz. the opening of the volume of his own book, the *Bible*. And as, in the deliverance of Israel from out of Egypt, the pillar of fire did not only give light to Israel, but sent out its lightning-fires, as the Psalmist intimates, to trouble the host of the Egyptians,[1] so the notice here of his feet appearing like pillars of fire, from beneath the cloud that mantled Him, might perhaps signify that He would make the destroying fire of his power to be felt among men, to the confusion of his enemies, and the triumph of his own cause and people. Or rather, perhaps, the intended reference of this particular emblem might be to that description given by Himself of the effects of his first promulgation of the gospel, "I am come to send fire on the earth:"[2] and the intimation be that now, as then, through

[1] Psalm lxxvii. 17, 18, compared with Exod. xiv. 24. Compare also Obadiah 18; "And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, . . and the house of Esau for stubble:" &c.
[2] Luke xii. 49. Compare too Jer. xxiii. 29; "Is not my word like as a fire?"

man's enmity to the truth, the effect of its re-publication would be divisions, contentions, and wars of opinion, fierce even as a kindled conflagration.

Thus much, I say, might, as it seems to me, have been inferred by the Evangelist from the circumstantials of the vision, concerning the nature, glory, and results of the intervention from heaven here prefigured. And can we to whom it has been allotted to live in this latter age, and have thus been enabled to trace in the succeeding mutations and events of the world the fulfilment of so much of the Apocalyptic prophecy,—can we, after having been brought in our investigation of its series of prefigurative visions, step by step through the Roman world's history, down to the close of the 15th century, hesitate to recognise in that before us, (it being the next that followed,) the figuring of that grand event with which the 16th opened,—the REFORMATION? Surely, if we look simply to the one most prominently marked characteristic of the figuration, as betokening some extraordinary, sudden, light-giving, world-arousing intervention of the Lord Jesus, for his own cause and church, there is not an event, from St. John's time even to the present, that can be shown to answer to it, but the Reformation: while, on the other hand, as it seems to me, not only does the Reformation answer to the figure in this respect, but there is not a particular in the vision of *all* we have just noted, in respect of which it did not answer, even to exactness. Sudden, unexpected, most extraordinary,—the human instrumentality employed so inadequate, and the results of such surpassing importance,—if ever event had the character stamped upon it, above others, of some *direct intervention of Divine providence*, this was the one. Its most prominent characteristic as a religious revival, consisted in its being one in which the glory of the Lord Jesus as the *Light of the soul*, the *Sun of Righteousness*, *Jehovah our Justification*, was publicly set forth, and by multitudes in different nations owned and felt. It was one in which, through the voice of the Reformers, far-sounding and loud, he rebuked his usurping enemies, even as *the Lion of the tribe of Judah;* and, both by it, and by the providential overthrow of the usurper's power in a *tenth of the*

apostate city,[1] did also assert his rights to this earth as his inheritance:—all in connexion with the *opening* of his own *written word*, that had been so long neglected and forgotten; the *republication*, if I may so say, of his *gospel*.[2] Finally, the auspicious result of this deliverance of his church and his religion was not accomplished without *fiery contentions*, in the which the divine power was manifested, to discomfit the enemies of the truth. Just as it was said by Luther, when alluding long afterwards to the effect of his protestation against indulgences; "This was to set the world on fire, and disturb the whole order of the universe."[3]

In truth all this seems to me so evident, even from the mere general view of the Reformation, to which in the present chapter I wish to confine myself, that I cannot but admire that any Protestant interpreters,—those I mean more especially who explain the sixth Trumpet, as I do, of the Turkish woe,—should have otherwise expounded the vision. And it will not be useless, I think, or irrelevant to my great object of opening the Apocalypse, just to pause, ere we go forward in our subject, and mark how the error originated, and was continued.

It was with Mr. Mede then, if I mistake not, that it *originated*. The *earliest* Protestant interpreters, as Leo Juda and Bullinger for example,[4] did explain this the sun-illumined covenant-Angel's descent to signify the Reformation. But Mede, fixing his eye chiefly, and almost exclusively, on that one symbol in the vision, the *little Book* opened in the hand of the Angel, and fancying a parallel-

[1] See on Apoc. xi. 13.—In Lev. xxvii. 30 we read, "All the tithe of the land is the Lord's." It was the quit-rent, if I may so say, in acknowledgment of his title to the whole. And thus, perhaps, when a *tenth* was taken by him of the city, the very proportion may have been meant to indicate that it was an act asserting his right to all.

[2] So Dr. Haweis of the Reformation, in the Continuation of Milner's Church History:—"After ages of gloomy superstition, and the reign of ignorance and primeval night, we have seen the Sun of righteousness rising with healing in his wings, to dispel the darkness:" adding also; "But, however blessed the issue, the effects of the contest between truth and error were greatly to be deplored; having produced wars which desolated the face of many countries." Milner's Church History, Cent. xvii. ch. i. p. 999. (Ed. in one Vol.)

[3] Ib. 684. And so the Dominican Fontana, in his Monumenta Dominicana, p. 422; "Ex his scintillis [viz. Luther's controversy with Tetzel about Indulgences] eruperunt incendia multa, quibus magna pars orbis, septentrionis maximè, conflagravit."

[4] See ch. v. infrà, and Sect. 5 of my History of Apoc. Interpretation, Vol. iv, Appendix.

ism, which in fact existed not, between it and the *Book* that began to be opened by the Lamb at the commencement of the Apocalyptic revelation, concluded inconsiderately, that whatever character attached to the one must attach to the other also; and consequently that, as the Book in the *Lamb's* hand was *a prophetic roll*, inscribed with the events of the future history of Christendom, such was also the Book in the hand of the *Angel*. To this idea all else was made to bend in his interpretation. An involved and self-inconsistent structure of the Apocalypse was adopted in accordance with it.[1] The Lamb's Book, or βιβλιον, (though not a hint was given, when first it was seen, of its being anything less than the whole of the prophecy,) was yet supposed to be only one half of it: in effect, to be the Book of the *secular* fortunes of Christendom; while the Angel's Book, or βιβλιαριδιον, was that of the fortunes of the *Church*. Further, as to all the magnificent circumstantials of the vision before us, they were explained as the mere dramatic accompaniments, and introductory ceremonial, of this new division of the prophecy.—But was there in truth any real parallelism between the two cases? How was it that Mr. Mede overlooked this marked distinction, that the opening of that which was really the prophetic Book was *gradual*, just as the visions developed it; whereas this little Book appeared already opened, when first displayed in the hand of the Angel?[2] How, that he omitted observing that the one was exhibited as being opened in the *inner sanctuary*, a scene representative of the heaven of God's presence, and its blessed inmates; the other as opened on *this world's theatre?* Agreeably with which distinction, the unrolling of the former was to be regarded as having its fulfilment on the day of St. John's being in the Spirit in Patmos, and in the very fact of the then exhibition of these Apocalyptic prefigurations of things future before heaven's blessed company and St. John; the latter (*like everything else enacted outside of the inner sanctuary*) as

[1] See my notice and Scheme of Mede in Section 6, ibid.

[2] It seems to me quite plain, that had the little Book constituted a new division of the prophecy, ranging through chapters xi, xii, xiii, &c., as Mede supposes, it would have appeared closed in the first instance, and unrolling only as the visions in those chapters proceeded.

the figure of some event or fact that would happen on the Roman earth, in the *manner*, and in the *order of things*, prefigured. So it was, however, that Mede did overlook these important distinctions. And the series of errors resulting should remain impressed upon the inquirer, as one proof, among many, both of the necessity of attention to every minute peculiarity of description, in order to a right understanding of the Apocalypse: and also of the admirable, the divine construction of the prophetic drama; in which every minute feature *as* exhibited, and each scenic locality *where* exhibited, have alike so significant a meaning. In truth, like every other work of God, it approves itself to be perfect; and that nothing can be taken from it, as nothing can be added to it.

As to the *continuation* of the error, (for so it was, that of the best known succeeding commentators Mr. Daubuz alone held to the truer explication,[1] — Vitringa, the two Newtons, and afterwards Faber, Frere, Cuninghame, &c., all in succession interpreting the βιβλαρίδιον more or less on the same principle with Mede, until at length, of late years, Dr. Keith and a few others[2] recurred to the older view,) we can scarcely be wrong in ascribing it in considerable measure to the authority of Mede's great name.— At the same time it seems to me that what was much more influential in perpetuating it, was the apparent and unobviated difficulty of expounding the long *sequel* of the vision, consistently with any explanation which referred its opening clause, and the symbol of the little Book depicted in it, to the Reformation.—Nor, in my opinion, has the difficulty been yet removed. The later interpreters to whom I have alluded as correct in their *general* view, appear not to have succeeded better than the earlier on this head. Whether in respect of the *seven thunders*, or of *other details* following in the vision, the expositions that they offer consist ill, one and all, with that which we alike

[1] Of other less known interpreters, later than Mede, who applied this vision, (like Bullinger, &c., before him,) in a general way to the Reformation, I may specify the *Rev. Arthur Dent*, in his *Ruine of Rome:* a book published A.D. 1644, four years after Mede's death.

[2] In this Bicheno, and I believe Addis, preceded Keith. Mr. Bickersteth and others followed.

advocate of its opening clause:—indeed so ill as to reflect back doubt and obscurity even upon our explication of the opening clause itself.

And hence on the whole the necessity, or at least great desirableness, of not only throwing light on the obscurities of what follows in the prophecy, (the which I shall hope to do in the chapters following,) but of adding confirmation to the historical exposition of its commencement, just given. Nor, thanks be to God's providential care over the records known by Him to be illustrative of it,—is the additional proof that we might reasonably desire on so important a point wanting. The fact is, there exists what I may call *documentary*, and indeed almost *ocular* evidence of it, to my own mind singularly striking. It is such, I think, as will not only satisfy us as to the justness of our reference of the opening clause of the vision generally to the Reformation; but will connect it, by certain most remarkable chronological and historical coincidences, with that wonderful event's precise epoch of commencement. Yet more, it will serve as a guide and index to prepare us for observing in all that follows of the vision,—even down to the Witnesses' ascent and fall of the tenth part of the Great City described in Apoc. xi. 12, 13,—the orderly prefiguration, point by point, of each chief subsequent step of progress in the Reformation. For, as that event is of all others that have happened since Apostolic times in Christendom the grandest and most glorious,—so it is of all others that which was prefigured most fully and circumtantiall y in the Apocalyptic prophecy.

CHAPTER III.

EPOCH OF ANTICHRIST'S TRIUMPH THE EPOCH OF CHRIST'S INTERVENTION.

"AND I saw a mighty Angel descending from heaven, clothed with a cloud; and the rainbow was upon his head; and his face was as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire; and he had in his hand a little book opened. And he set

his right foot on the sea, and his left on the land; and cried with a loud voice, as a lion roareth?"

Let me, in introduction to what follows, remind the reader of that principle of *allusive reference*, in visions figuring CHRIST's revelations of himself to his true Church, to something opposed to it and Him, which we have seen exemplified very strikingly already twice in this Commentary: viz. first, in the *sealing vision* of Apoc. vii,[1] secondly, in the *incense-offering vision* of Apoc. viii.[2] Such then having been the case previously,[3] it is natural for the question to arise in the inquirer's mind, whether perchance there may not be here also, on occasion of this *third* representation of Christ on the Apocalyptic scene, some such *allusive reference and contrast:* the rather because there appears in the action of the Angel, whether as regards his planting of his feet on earth and sea, or his roaring as a lion, a singular abruptness and decision; in no way so simply explicable, it might seem, as by the supposition of indignant reference to some signal usurpation of his rights at the time figured, and the triumph of some enemy and rival. Thus we are led to inquire whether, at the epoch just before the Reformation, there was any such signal triumph of antichristian usurpation and usurper in Christendom? Whether ANTICHRIST, *the* ANTICHRIST of Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John, had really risen in the Church visible; (for he it is of whom we must needs think when such usurpation is hinted;) and not only advanced pretensions to the place of the Lord Jesus in it, but succeeded in establishing them? Also whether, just at the said epoch, his triumph was so signalized as to furnish any remarkable *parallelism of particulars*, in contrast with those that accompanied Christ's emblematic appearance and descent in the vision now before us; parallelisms such as we verified in the cases of the sealing and incense-offering visions, from

[1] See Vol. i. pp. 278—285. [2] See Vol, i. pp. 326—345.

[3] In the contrast of God's 144,000 sealed ones in Apoc. xiv, and the Beast's sealed ones in Apoc. xiii,—that of Babylon and Jerusalem,—and that of the Bride and the Harlot,—we see the same principle of contrast kept up *afterwards* also: only in these latter cases *expressly*, not *allusively*.

comparison of their details with certain prominent characteristics of the apostasy at the times prefigured.

The which suggestion and inquiry direct us at once to ROME. For with Rome and its seven hills prophecy, we saw, in our early glances of it, prospectively connected Antichrist.[1] There, moreover, and in the person of *its bishops*, we noticed certain suspicious symptoms of the development of Antichrist, that occurred some nine centuries before the times now under review.[2] There, in the historical sketch prefixed to the vision of the Turkish Woe,[3] we expressed a presumptive belief of his being enthroned and ruling, at the bisecting chronological point of those nine centuries. And though in the sketch of the Middle Ages, given in the chapter last but one preceding this, we did not directly advert to the point, yet it was evident, from the moral and religious corruptions of Western Christendom, as subordinated to Rome, and the support and fostering of those corruptions by the Romish bishops,[4] that everything there noted tended to corroborate the impression, not to negative it.—Thither then let us pass in imagination; and observe what may be enacting at Rome, and by the Pope, at the epoch and crisis that we have supposed alluded to in the vision of the text: i. e. at the crisis that immediately preceded the Reformation.

And behold, the historic records of the times referred to represent to us, just at this epoch, a scene in that seven-hilled city of high triumph and festival. There had been in it very recently a new election to the Popedom.[5] The announcement was made at the time from the window of the conclave of Cardinals: "I tell you tidings of great joy: a new Pope is elected, Leo the X:"[6] and the festivi-

[1] Vol. i. pp. 229, 230, 387—395. Of course a fuller inquiry will be needed into these prophecies of Antichrist; and it will be given in the next, or 4th part of my Work.

[2] Vol. i. 411—414.

[3] Vol. i. pp. 472—474.

[4] See pp. 8—30 suprà, passim.

[5] March 10, A.D. 1512.

[6] "Gaudium magnum nuncio vobis. Papam habemus Reverendissimum Dominum Johannem de Medicis, qui. . . vocatur Leo Decimus." This was the usual form of announcement. Roscoe's Leo X, ii. 174, 409. (3rd Ed.)

It is curious that on Leo's promotion to the Cardinalate, when only thirteen years old, some 25 years before, Ficinus thus wrote: "Semen Johannis ejusdem," (viz. of Lorenzo of Medici) "in quo benedicentur omnes gentes, est Johannes Laurentiæ genitus: cui, adhuc adolescentulo, divina Providentia mirabiliter cardineam con-

ties began, on his coronation at St. Peter's, immediately after. But the grander ceremonial of his going to take possession of the church of his bishopric, St. John Lateran, —that church by the bishopric of which, as the mother and mistress of all churches, he was to be constituted not only bishop of Rome, but, by consequence, of the Church Universal,—was delayed for a month, to allow of the proper pomp attending it.[1] And now the day is come for its celebration. The city is thronged with visitors on the occasion. Besides the hierarchy of Rome, there appear many of the independent princes of Italy; ambassadors also from most of the states of Western Christendom; and moreover the episcopal and ecclesiastical deputies that have assembled to represent the Church Universal in the General Council now holden at the Lateran; a Council convoked a year since by Pope Julius, (in opposition to the French king's *Conciliabulum*, or *Private Council*, held at the time at Pisa,) and which has already been advanced through five Sessions.—The concourse from early morn has been to the great square before St. Peter's. There the procession forms on horseback, and thence puts itself in motion: its course being across the bridge of St. Angelo, through the heart of the city, to the Lateran church at its opposite extremity. First in order is a troop of cavalry; then a long line of the gentry and nobility; then, after sundry lesser officials in gayest livery, and with badges of office, a file of Florentine citizens and other provincials, the Pope's bodyguard, and a second file of provincial barons and gentry; then the envoys from Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, and other parts of Christendom; then abbots, bishops,

tulit dignitatem, futuri Pontificii augurium." Epist. ix. p. 159; (Venet. 1495;) given in M'Crie's Italy, p. 11.

[1] For authority in regard of this ceremonial, the reader is referred to the interesting, curious, and full account given by a Florentine physician, I. I. De Pennis, who was an eye-witness of it. It was addressed to the Contessina Medica, wife of Piero Ridolphi, and sister to Leo X. Roscoe gives it in the Appendix to his Leo X, No. LXX, from a copy preserved in the Vatican.—It had been previously given in the "Storia De' Solenni Possessi De' Sommi Pontefici" by Francesco Cancellieri; p. 67: (Rom. 1802:) a book full of curious and interesting antiquarian information respecting the Papal ceremonials. Cancellieri took it from a copy in the Bibliotheca Corsini; and speaks of it as of an extreme rarity. If, says he, fortune had not seconded my unwearied researches by the discovery of it, "quante belle ed interessanti notizie di questa nobilissima funzione ci sarebbero rimaste ignote!" He gives also another, but much less full account, written at the time in Latin.

archbishops, and patriarchs, about 250; then the cardinals:—the ecclesiastical dignitaries wearing their jewelled mitres and their copes; the rest drest in richest costumes, and with banners streaming, as on a day of Jubilee:—then, at length, thus preceded, and duly followed, and closed in by a troop of military, Himself the *Hero* (might we not rather say the *God*) of the day, Himself the POPE! The horses of the bishops and cardinals, preceding him, are covered from head to foot with white trappings.[1] He comes forth Himself too on a white horse; a cope of richest broidery mantling him:[2] the ring of espousal with the Universal Church glittering on his right-hand ring-finger;[3] and on his head the regno, or imperial tiara of three

[1] Of the bishops' horses it is said, "cavalli coperti tutti di guarnello bianco; excepto li occhi, donde vedeano." Of the cardinals'; "cavalli coperti, fino in terra, di taffetto biancho." Ib. 415. It was *white* for the occasion, and of course by Papal order. The usual colour for the cardinals' horse-trappings was now *scarlet*. The privilege had been accorded by Paul II, in 1464, to the cardinals, to use this colour. Wadd. iii. 273.

Compare, generally, on this subject of the processional, the *Ordo* for a new Pope's inauguration given in Martene, De Rit. ii. 88—90. The comparison will be both interesting and elucidatory.—Compare too, generally, the copious and interesting accounts of other Papal inauguratory Processions, from A.D. 795 to 1801, in Cancellieri.

[2] Penni does not give the colour of the "richissimo piviale" of the Pope. Martene's description might seem to imply that the same *white robe* was still worn that was previously worn by him in a preliminary service at St. Peter's. For, on occasion of his public sitting in the vestibule of St. Peter's, in the interval between the service and the procession, he states the custom of the Cardinal Deacon disrobing him of his pontifical *mitre*, and placing on his head the *crown* or *regno*, instead; but does not mention any other disrobing. The *white*, however, was not invariable: and the *richissimo* of Penni may rather perhaps indicate the rich *purple* which the Pope often wore in his processions. So Bernard's description, in his De Considerat. iv. 3, addrest to Pope Eugenius: "Etsi *purpuratus*, etsi deauratus incedens, . . gemmis ornatus, . . vectus *equo albo*."

Comp. Apoc. xix. 11—14. "I saw heaven opened; and behold a white horse, and him that sate upon it. . . . And on his head were many crowns. . . . And he was clothed in a garment dipped in blood . . . . and the armies of heaven followed him upon white horses," &c. Corn. à Lapide, on Apoc. vi. 2, p. 119, notices the parallelism with the white horse and rider of 1st Seal. "Romæ, die omnium maximè festo, quo novus Pontifex ad Lateranum, Pontificatûs possessionem accepturus, deducitur in communi urbis et orbis applausu, omnes Præsules in equis albis ei adequitare solent. Atque hoc forsan, et multa alia, sumptum est ex Apocalypsi hoc loco; sc. ut repræsentent hunc equum album, cujus sessor est Christus, [cujus] Vicarius et successor est novus Pontifex." It would have been more apposite had he made the notice on Apoc. xix. 11—14.

[3] This was put on the ring-finger of the right hand in the preceding ceremonial service; and is expressly specified by Martene as to be worn by the newly-elected Pope in the procession: "Papa habebit *annulum Pontificalem*."—As to the ceremony of putting it on, we thus read: "Consecratione manuum factâ, consecrator immittit annulum in digitum annularem dextræ manûs Papæ consecrati, dicens; 'Accipe annulum, fidei scilicet signaculum; quatenus sponsam Dei, viz. sanctam universalem ecclesiam, intemeratâ fide ornatus illibatè custodias.'"

crowns.[1] A canopy is borne over him by the chief Roman authorities. The streets are strewed with tapestry and flowers for him to pass over. The welkin rings with acclamations of welcome. The multitudes fall on their knees, as he approaches, to receive his benediction. "It seemed to me," says the narrator of the pageant, "that it was the Redeemer of mankind on the Palm-Sunday going to Jerusalem: there being substituted only for the cry of *Hosanna to the Son of David,* the acclamation, *Viva Papa Leone!* Life to the Pope, the Lion!"[2]

Strange similitude; although that indeed which his very guise, and pomp, and popular reception, might well have suggested!—But is it really the case, that the people regard him as filling the place of Christ to them; and to be looked to as their Redeemer and Saviour? The answer is ready in every one's mouth. They dwell on the exalted station of the Pope, even yet more than on the personal character of Leo: its authority, power, sacredness: a station high above that of the kings of this world; as being divine rather than human, indeed that of the very VICAR OF CHRIST AND GOD. At the same time that Leo's personal

[1] "Con un regnio in testa adornato di tre corone auree, et di moltre altre gioje et pietre pretiose." (Penni p. 415.)

On this *regno*, or *Papal Imperial crown*, see Ducange's Dictionary in verb. and also his Supplement. I abstract from thence mainly what follows.

It has been said by some that this was originally given the Pope, about A.D. 500, by the Frank king Clovis; and that from thenceforward the Popes used it in public processions. But this, says G. Rhodig. de Liturg. is incorrect; and that it was not so used by them till after the seventh century. In Baronius ad Ann. 1159, it is described as "mitra turbinata cùm coronâ." Alexander III had just then added the first corona to the mitra: in an Epistle of which Pope, soon after, it is described as "regnum quod ad similitudinem cassidis ex albo fit indumento." Afterwards a second crown was added to it by Boniface VIII, about 1303; and a third by Urban V, A.D. 1362. And so it became a triple crown: as the Roman Ceremoniale has it; "Tiaram, quam *regnum* appellant, triplici coronâ ornatam."—It was regarded as signifying the Pope's *imperial* dignity, in contradistinction to the *mitre* signifying his *sacerdotal* dignity; and was accordingly never worn by the Pope "in divinis," *in* church, but only in going *to* and *from* it. So Innocent III writes, about A.D. 1200: "In signum *spiritualium* contulit mihi *mitram;* in signum *temporalium coronam:* mitram pro *sacerdotio*, coronam pro *regno:*" and again; "Mitrâ semper et ubique utitur; regno nec ubique, nec semper; quia pontificalis auctoritas et prior est, et dignior, quàm imperialis."

Mr. Clarke, in his Treatise on the Dragon and the Beast, p. 180, describes its splendour from Platina. Also Ferrario in his Costumi, ii. 428; and, more fully, Cancellieri p. 126; and Bonanni Num. Pontif. i. 121—123.

[2] "Mi parea quel di che il Redemptore della humana natura andò in Hierusalem el di delle palme: et, per iscambio de dire Osanna Fili David, gridavano, Viva Papa Leone; et, per cambio de ulivi et palme, veste et panni per le strade si vedea." Ib. ap. Roscoe, ii. 430.

virtues also are not forgotten :—his prudence, firmness, decorum of manners, conversancy with worldly affairs, love of splendour, and taste for classic literature and the arts :—all fitting him for applying the matchless authority of his office as CHRIST'S VICE-GERENT, to the glory of Rome, the amelioration of the evils which from without and from within have long afflicted Christendom, and the introduction of a brighter age.[1]

But the devices and paintings that everywhere, on triumphal arches, columns, and other decorated erections for the occasion, meet the eye, as it passes onward with the procession, will be the most faithful as well as most graphic expositors of the general state of thought and feeling respecting him.—Are they not splendid, those decorations? And do they not speak, with indubious evidence, the revival of the arts in Italy?—Alas! that they should speak also as clearly of its fondly cherished heathenism! For mark the strange mixture in them of things sacred and profane, of Christian saints and heathen demigods; Peter and Paul, Moses and Aaron, Saints Cosmo and Damian, intermingling with Apollos, Mercurys, Minervas! Does it not well illustrate what has been said of the homogeneity and natural fellowship of the δαιμονια of Rome modern and Papal, with those of old Pagan Rome?[2] Does it not exhibit to the very eye what has been called the invincible Paganism

[1] Aldus Manutius, in the dedication of his Plato, printed A.D. 1513, to Pope Leo, thus describes the general feeling on the occasion we speak of.—"Cùm primùm creatus es Pontifex Maximus, tantam ceperunt voluptatem Christiani omnes ut dicerent, prædicarent, affirmarent, alter alteri, cessatura brevi mala omnia quibus opprimimur, futura bona quæ seculo aureo fuisse commemorant; quandoquidem Principem, Pastorem, Patrem nacti sumus qualem expectabamus, quo nobis miserrimis his temporibus maximè opus erat. Audivi ipse meis auribus illis ipsis diebus, ubicunque fui, omnes hæc eadem uno ore dicere et prædicare." He notices, among the grounds of the hopes thus entertained from Leo's Pontificate, his respectability of personal character, high family, vigour of age, the late wonderful geographical discoveries, &c. Ib. App. xcii. p. 482.

[2] See pp. 9, 37 suprà.—The following from an Ode of Guido Silvester to the Manes of Popes Alexander and Julius, on Leo's accession, given in Roscoe, App. lxxii., will further illustrate this union.

Christe potens rerum, tuque illius innuba Mater,
Quæ Capitolini verticis alta tenes;
Et Vaticanæ pater ac vetus accola rupis,
Petre, Palæstino proxima cura Jovi;
Dique Deæque omnes, quibus esse vel infima cordi
Nunc Leo, qui vestro est de grege, signa dedit;
Ne revocate precor stellis, &c.
Sunt modo apud superos tot millia multa piorum;

of Italy;[1] but which was rather the invincible Paganism of apostate Christendom?

But to the point in hand;—the expression of the mind and spirit of the age respecting its newly-elected POPE LEO. And doubtless there are some of the pictures, and devices, that depict him with reference simply to his *personal* character. Such is that where *Justice* is introduced with her *balance*, and *Virtue* as assaulted by various serpent-formed vices, but delivered by a *Lion:* such that too where the *Arts* and *Literature* are represented as rejoicing in their Patron being made Lord of the world.[2]—Again there is another painting that depicts him as exercising *patriarchal* functions: I mean that which represents the lately-convened General Council in the Lateran Church; the Cardinals and Bishops appearing seated in it, and the Pope high-throned among them; with the legend, "Thou shalt put an end to the Council, and be called the Reformer of the Church."[3]—But generally the allusion is to his acting as *Christ's representative:* insomuch that there is the application to him alike of the *history*, *titles*, and *offices* of Christ our Saviour; just as if he were indeed, as they say, his very impersonator on earth. So, as regards Christ's *history*, in that picture of the three Kings of Christendom, like the magi of old, fixing their eyes intently on a star in the East; the morning-star evidently, not of Christ, but Leo; and with the legend, "The true light shineth in darkness:"[4]—so in that of Pope Leo sitting, and many Kings kneeling, and presenting gold and silver to him as their offering:[5]—so in another where he sits youthful in

> Hoc sinite oro homines numen habere suum.
> Vobiscum est Janus; vobiscum mater Elissa;
> Vobiscum est Hiero, qui triplici ore tonet:
> Vobiscum est vestræ Paulus tutela coronæ, &c.

Yet, said Mr. Waterworth, the maintainer of the Romish cause at the Hereford discussion, "Show me infidelity before the Reformation"!!

[1] "Ce qui etait du pays, ce qui ne peut changer, c'est cet invincible paganisme qui a toujours subsisté en Italie." Michelet's Luther, i. 13.—But it was not of Italy locally, only. We have seen that it was the Paganism of all Christendom at the time.—For further examples see Roscoe, iii. 150, 254, 284.

[2] Ib. ii. 434, 420, 432. [3] Ib. p. 427.

[4] I take this not from Penni, but from a medal struck at Rome, most probably, I think, on this occasion, and given in Bonanni's Numismata Pontificum, i. 162, 173. The three kings would be those of Germany, France, Spain; as in another picture. Penni, p. 426. [5] Penni, p. 417.

age, and in his cardinal's dress, disputing with aged doctors and conquering:[1]—so in yet another, where *Christ* is represented receiving baptism; and in which the notification of John Baptist as the Patron Saint of Florence, the presence of Saints Cosmo and Damian, saints of the Medici family, and that of two *lions* holding the scroll, plainly indicate that in the Christ there depicted Pope Leo is signified, his supposed impersonator: and in which picture even Christ's Godhead is ascribed to Leo; the titular legend inscribed being, "A God wonderful among his saints!"[2]—Then again as to Christ's *offices;* see where Leo is portrayed at an altar, sacrificing, surrounded by his cardinals and bishops; and with a scroll above reading thus, "Tanquam Aaron:" also in another opposite, where he appears at an altar, kneeling; with troops armed behind him, and the words written above, "Tanquam Moses."[3] He is in these represented as, in Christ's place, alike the High Priest, and the Governor and Captain of the Church. And the legends beneath tell the expected happy results: the one, "Thine eye is on the ceremonial of divine worship, and now Religion shall have its due observance;" the other, "Thou art the intimate of the Deity, and the enemies of the Christian name shall yield to thee."[4]—We may further notice that in which he is represented in the guise of a shepherd fishing: and, having lighted a great fire, as casting into *it* the bad fish he has drawn in his net, and returning the good into the river: the legend, "Non desinam usque ad unum," declaring that he will do that which the Son of Man has asserted it his prerogative to do; viz. to separate between the good and bad, and of the latter to leave not an individual undetected or unadjudged

[1] Ib. p. 427.—It is necessary to the understanding of this to remember that Leo was made Cardinal at the youthful age of thirteen! Roscoe, i. 24.

[2] "Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis." Roscoe, ii. 422.—Even the Lord's Supper was similarly travestied in another painting; Pope Leo being evidently meant by the Christ, and the Cardinals by the Apostles round him. Ib. 423. For, as Pierre D'Ailly, the friend of Gerson, argues, the Cardinals were to be considered "the legitimate representatives of the Apostles; and as the Council of the representative of Christ." Wadd. iii. 325.

[3] Ib. pp. 426, 427. The reference in the latter of the two designs seems to be to Moses effecting by prayer the destruction of Amalek.—Similarly Clement VI, in his famous Bull *Unigenitus*, annunciative of the Jubilee of 1350, "se comparat cum Moyse et Aarone;" as Seckendorf observes in his History of the Reformation, p. 9.

[4] Ib. p. 427.

to the fire.[1]—As to the general hopes of prosperity and happiness they are elsewhere thus symbolized. From a *ball*, the heraldic ensign of Leo, two branches appear to spring; and from the one an ear of wheat, from the other a grape-cluster, of size extraordinary: such as poets describe to have been produced in the fabled Saturnian age; and such perhaps as, according to the traditionary report of Papias, might answer to St. John's prediction of the fruitfulness of the earth in the millennium:—the legend beneath indicating this new *Vicegerent* of *Christ* as its introducer, and that now at length its golden age was come.[2]

There are yet *three* other paintings of him in this character, which, on account of their singularly illustrative bearing on the prophecy before us, demand a separate and particular attention.—First, that in the Genoese arc between the castle of St. Angelo and the Vatican. Here behold the azure heaven represented. On its verge, refulgent with glory like as of the new-risen *sun*, stands portrayed the Pope: a *rainbow* in the air reflects its cheering radiance on a landscape of land and water, men and women, just emerged apparently out of night and tempest below: and the sentence appears written underneath, "*The world hath been unveiled to light; the King of glory has come forth!*"[3]—Next comes that painting in the arc of the Flo-

[1] Ib. 425.

[2] "Aureæque vitæ sæculum." 426.

[3] Ib. 417. "Era il Papa in un ciclo infra dui rami di palme; et dalla dextra mano un Sancto Pietro et un Sancto Paulo, che parlavan col dicto Papa: et da l'altra mano si vedea un angelo sonare una tromba; et havea nella banderiola della tromba l'arme Pontificia. Sotto a questo si vedea uno arco, cioè Iris, et sotto l'arco montagnie, fiumi, pianure, arbori, homini, et donne; et un brevicello che dicea, *Apertus est orbis, et exivit Rex Gloriæ*." Penni does not mention what kind of glory attached to the Pope in the picture; but that it was the *solar* glory is plainly implied in the explanatory legend. For the *opening* and *unveiling of the world*, is a poetical phrase to express the emergence of the terrene landscape into light and visibility, on the sun-rising. "Sol orbem radiis retegit, aperit, &c.," will be remembered by the classic reader, as common Latin phrases. The *exivit* too seems borrowed from what is said of the sun's *going forth* in Psalm xix. 6; and the *solar rainbow* implied the *solar shining*.

To understand the consistency and connexion with the above *device* of *Christ's* title, "the King of Glory," applied in the legend to the Pope, it might suffice to remember that the *sun* too is a frequent *Scripture* emblem of Christ. Besides which I would further remind the reader that in the Paganized phraseology of the day, to which I have already alluded, the *divine Son* was blasphemously denominated *Apollo*, (as God the *Father* was *Jupiter*,) doubtless as being God of the *sun*. (Roscoe iii. 150.)

Nothing can better illustrate and confirm what has been above said of the device in the Genoese painting, than the ode of Zenobius Acciaiolus, given by Roscoe, App. No. cci. It is entitled, "Ode quâ Leo X, Luminare majus Ecclesiæ, Soli seu Apol-

rentines. The Pope is here represented with *one foot on the land, the other on the sea;* having a key moreover in his right hand with which he opens heaven, and in the other another key; (the key of hell, or rather of purgatory;) and beneath, the legend, as the voice of Florence, "*In thy hand I behold the empire of earth, and sea, and heaven.*"[1] Have we not in these two pictures of the pageant the very counterpart to the opening emblems of the vision before us?—Yet again the *lion* there, as here, appears prominently and repeatedly as a symbol in the devices. For instance, in the triumphal arc near the bridge of St. Angelo, there appear two *lions*, each with one foot on the Papal insignia, to designate that it is the Pope they symbolize, the other on the *mundane globe;*[2] and with the legends, as the cry uttered by them, "*The prey is worthy of my glory:*" and, "*To me the charge belongs.*"

lini comparatur." The following verses occur in it. I shall have to quote others afterwards, in developing the sense of the symbol.

Flecte nunc versus, age mens canenti,
Numen ut sacri recinam Leonis;
Quem parem Dio, similemque Soli,
Mundus adorat....

Nempe cum visens Laterana templa,
Movit ex imo veniens ad altos
Romuli colles, manifesta Solis
Fulsit imago.

Compare the legend respecting "The true light as shining in darkness" cited p. 55: also the language of Cardinal Ægidius: "Videmus te Leone principe fieri, quæ fecit, cum *se terris ostendit*, Leo de tribu Judæ, &c.:" quoted by Bonanni i. 168:—and the verse,

Quam primùm nostro illuxit Leo Maximus orbi;

in the piece entitled Simia ad Leonem, Roscoe Appendix, lxxxviii.

[1] Ib. 426. "Nel primo octangulo si vedea un Papa che tenea un piede sopra la terra et l'altro nel mare; et havea nella man dextra una chiave colla quale apriva el cielo, et nella sinistra un' altra chiave: et dricto a lui si vedea la nobile citta Florida elevata in aere; et sotto a questo di tal tenore il breve era; *Elevata sum, quia penes te patriæ, parentum, maris, terræ, cælique regnum esse conspicio.*"

[2] Penni (418) calls this a *palla*, or *ball*, but is plainly mistaken. The legends decide the symbol. It was no *heraldic ball* that could be a prey worthy of the Papal glory, but the *ball of the earth* only.*—In another *leonine* painting in the pageant, (p. 420,) one in which a Lion appeared to have delivered Virtue assaulted by serpent-formed Vices, an angel was represented as crowning the Lion. Bonanni gives a medal, struck at Rome on the occasion, in which the two devices are united;—viz. that of the lion having his paw on the terrene globe, and of the angel's crowning him. Of this, as a very interesting illustration of our subject, especially because of the legend round it, (*the Lion of the tribe of Judah*, &c.,) I append a copy. Also one depicting the three royal magi, referred to p. 55.

* Eckhel, viii. 148, notices a similar mistake on the part of Nicephorus, respecting a golden *globe* in Constantine's hand; which he calls μηλον χρυσεον, a golden *apple*.

POPE LEO X. AS THE LION OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH.



From Bonanni's Numismata Pontificum.

With which last we may associate that in the Via Pontificum, where a Pope sits enthroned, and two kings, having cast their crowns before him, kneel and worship. These a *lion* is represented as blandly licking and fondling. But on other two, which appear armed and hostile in the distance, another *lion* seems as about to spring; and the motto, "*Prostratis placidus, Rebellibus ferox*,"[1] proclaims, as with lion's roar, that submission, implicit submission, is the law of the pontifical empire.

Such is the triplet of counterpart paintings, in this Leonine pageant, in contrast with the Apocalyptic triplet of symbols in the vision before us. And from their mere specification the Reader will see that it was not without reason that I spoke of them as demanding a full and separate consideration.—Before entering on this, however, let us just trace the processional to its termination. And let us mark, in doing so, the almost ostentatious exhibition in it of Christ's degradation and nothingness, as contrasted with the Pope's exaltation :—him whom having now viewed not only as head of the apostasy,[2] but as the blasphemous usurper also of Christ's place in the church, we need no longer hesitate to call the *Papal Antichrist.* I say, let us mark the contrast exhibited between them. For Christ too is present, they tell us, to swell the triumph of the day. His place they point out under yon canopy, upon the white palfrey, just before the line of bishops; some five-and-twenty attendants being disposed round him, each with kindled wax-light, and the sacristan as his guard behind. It is that box, they say, which the gold brocade covers, that holds him. There is the holy eucharist,—the consecrated wafer. That is CHRIST.[3]—Oh foul dishonour to their Lord! *He* appears but as a state-prisoner, the creation at will of the Pope and his priests, to add to the brilliancy of the pageant: a puppet in the hands of the priesthood!

[1] Ib. 425.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 411—414.

[3] "Sequia una bianchissima chinea, et quella sopra del dorso suo havea un tabernaculetto adornato di brochato d'oro, nel qual dentro si posava *la sacra Eucharistia;* et di sopra era un bellissimo baldacchino, et circumcirca forsa vinticinque parafrenieri, con torce di purissima cera biancha accense in mano, et drieto li il sacrista con un baculo ligneo in mano, per custodia di *Christo.*" Ib. 414.—So, argued the anti-Hussite Doctors, was fulfilled Christ's promise of being ever with his Church. Foxe iii. 413.

Meanwhile in all the pomp of the processional, and with each of the magnificent decorations that adorn it symbolizing his glory, with every eye fixed upon him, and every knee bent before him, the POPE advances on his triumph.[1] —And so, at length, the Lateran is arrived at; that Church with which the Papal episcopate is connected, and in the portico of which, as justificatory of its asserted universal jurisdiction, an old marble records its dignity as the mother and head of all churches.[2] And as, on the setting out, his studied mimicry of Christ was observable, and the paintings too, and the legends, reminded the passer-by that "the heaven-sent One,"[3] "the King of Glory," was gone forth, so at this close of the procession, the studied mimicry continues. Dismounting at the church vestibule, the Pope takes sitting for a moment, as if in great humility, on a lowly seat placed for the occasion:[4] then, amidst the chanting of, "He raiseth the poor from the dust, to make him inherit the throne of glory,"[5] he is raised from it by some

[1] Guicciardini observes on this festival, that it was universally believed that Rome had never seen a more superb and magnificent day since the inundation of the barbarians; that the expense was not less than 100,000 ducats; and that the magnificent parade confirmed the vulgar in their expectations of happiness, under the Pontificate of one who so abounded in liberality, and delighted in splendour. Vol. vi. p. 116. (Eng. Transl.)

[2] The following is the inscription:

Dogmate Papali datur, et simul imperiali,
Ut sim cunctarum mater et caput ecclesiarum.

Also the words "Sacrosaneta ecclesia Lateranensis omnium ecclesiarum mater et caput." Moreri Dict. Art. *Latran.*

[3] "Leo X. Pont. Opt. *De Cælo Misso* Gentiles Civesque Sui Merito Numini Ejus Devoti," was the legend of one of the Florentine paintings. Roscoe, 423. The representation of Leo as a special *envoy from heaven*, was a frequent conceit of the times: e. g. in Vitalis Castalio's Verses on this occasion; (Ib. App. lxxi;)

Jam novus in terras alto descendit Olympo
Jupiter.

[4] The seat so used (distinct from two others, perforated, of porphyry, which were also used) was called *stercoracea*, (!) in order to answer to the Vulgate, "De stercore erigit pauperem." See Martene ii. 89.—Cancellieri, pp. 236—240, gives a curious account of it: with some extraordinary points mooted in connexion, bearing on the common but false report of there having been once a woman Pope; that same to which I have alluded in my Vol. i. p. 473. It seems that all the three were after Leo X's time removed into the Cloisters of the Lateran; and thence by Pius VI into the Museo Pio Clementino. Whence in fine they were carried off in the troublous times of the French invasion, A.D. 1796.

[5] The verse is from Hannah's song, 1 Sam. ii. 8: which song, from the mention of God's anointed in verse 10, and from the Virgin Mary's appropriation of much of it in her hymn of praise on the annunciation, has both by Rabbinical commentators, as Kimchi, and also by Christian, as Augustine, been generally supposed to have a reference to Christ. See Patrick's Note ad loc.

of the officials of the church; led up the nave; and seated on the Papal throne within. They call it his *assumption*, or *taking up:* as if like that of One before him, to the elevation, not of a mere earthly throne, but a heavenly; and with all power given to him in heaven and on earth.[1]

And now I revert to the three remarkable symbolizations of the Papal Antichrist above-noted. And, considering how exactly they answer to the triple symbolization of *Christ*, in the Apocalyptic vision before us,—*his* face too being depicted as the *sun*, *his* investing crown a *rainbow*, *his* feet as planted on *land and sea*, *his* voice as a *lion's* roaring,—considering further the *chronological coincidence* of the one emblematic figuration and the other, the one in the prophecy, the other in history,—and yet again the fact, already twice exemplified, of *allusive contrast* to that which might at any particular epoch be specially opposed to and usurpatory of his prerogative, being a feature observable in the chief Apocalyptic prefigurations of Christ's intervention,[2]—considering all this, I might perhaps at once make my appeal to the Reader, and ask, without fear of contradiction, Is it credible that the parallel and the contrast were in this case either unforeseen, or unintended, by the Eternal Spirit?—But the full *signification* of the three devices needs yet to be unfolded. Also it needs to be shown that what they signified, as to the Papal prerogative, was not

[1] *Assumption* is the usual word applied to the elevation of the Papal dignity. So in the French King's mandate in the Lateran Council: "Leone . . . ad summi Apostolatûs apicem, atque universalis ecclesiæ regimen, assumpto." (Hard. ix. 1710, 1729.) In the "Glyptiques et Numismatiques" by Achille Collas, lately published at Paris, there is given a medal struck in France, on occasion of Leo's election to the Pontificate, in which Leo's head is on one side, the Papal arms on the obverse, with the Legend "*Glorià et honore coronasti eum;*" and the notice added, "Ex ejus *assumptione* universa Resp. Christiana maximam percepit voluptatem."

The application of the word to the Virgin Mary's supposed *assumption*, and to Christ's, will remind the reader of its general indication, when used *by itself*, of a *heavenly* ascension. And considering that it is continually thus applied *by itself* to the Papal elevation, and also the almost universal appropriation of things concerning Christ to the Popes, we can scarcely be wrong in here construing the term as intended to suggest the allusion noted in the text. Compare Phil. ii. 7—9.

It is from the portico of the Lateran Church that the Pope blesses the people on the festival-day of Christ's Ascension. Nibbi Itin. de Rome, i. 183.

[2] Viz. that depicted in the Sealing Vision of Apoc. vii., and that in the incense-offering vision of Apoc. viii. 3. Of course the contrast, whether allusive or direct, in the symbolic figuration, would only express the contrast actually manifested in each case on the world's theatre, in the real intervention.

the mere exaggeration of popular fancy or feeling at Rome, on a festival day of excitement, but *realities*, such as the Apocalyptic vision, when allusive, can alone allude to. To this therefore I shall now address myself: although to do it, and to furnish in each case the illustrative historical facts requisite, will necessarily occupy some considerable time. But the time will not be mis-spent. Indeed I feel that I should scarce do justice to my subject, without thus more fully developing these anti-Apocalyptic devices. For it is impossible that anything could exhibit to us more strikingly than these do the extent of the Papal usurpation of Christ's glory and prerogatives, just before his glorious intervention in the Reformation; and the crisis too of Papal triumph, in regard alike of things temporal and things spiritual, of this world and the next.

I. First then as to the *meaning*, and the *acting out*, of that emblematic painting which represented the Pope as the new-risen *sun*, the King of glory, beaming from heaven on this earth, and with the *rainbow*, the covenant-rainbow, as his accompaniment.

Now we are not to suppose that there was merely meant by this a symbolization of the Pope's supreme dignity,[1] and of the happy promise of his reign; so as the symbol of a rising sun and rainbow might have been applied, in the hyperbole of painting or poetry, to designate the hopes entertained from the reign of any other mighty sovereign on his accession. No doubt this was included, and the general expectation of happiness from Leo's reign signified by the emblem;[2] on the scale however of the golden age, whether as fabled or predicted, for its measure and its character.[3]

[1] In his Decretals, Pope Innocent III declared the Emperor's power to be as inferior to the Pope's, as the *moon* is inferior to the *sun*. This was one of the propositions extracted from them by Luther, when he burnt the Decretals. Lib. i. tit. 33, chap. vi.

[2] So in the elegant *Sylva* of Johannes Philomusus Novocomensis, written on Leo's election, and given in Roscoe, App. No. LXIX;

medio tu sol clarissimus orbe
Largiris patriæ insigni lucemque caloremque.

[3] See the quotation from Aldus Manutius subjoined to p. 54. Very similar are the hopeful prognostications of Vitalis Castalio, in Roscoe, App. LXXI.—In the quotation from Aldus, I mentioned among the reasons for all these hopes from Leo's Pontificate the fact, as yet quite recent, of those wonderful discoveries and conquests,

But let it be well observed, as inferable both from the accompanying emblem of the *rainbow*, and from the title of "The King of glory," given to the Pope in the picture, that it was as *Christ's representative* chiefly that the symbol was applied to him; and thus that, as Christ is the sun in the Christian system, *so* the symbol was meant to designate Pope Leo.—Now of Christ the symbol indicated both the *inherent divine lustre*, as Him in whom was light,—the light of *life*, *truth*, and *holiness*,—and in whom no darkness at all: also how out of this light, treasured in infinite fulness in Himself, it pleased Him to *impart* to the children of men: as He said, "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall have the light of life." In this character his glory was recognised, while on earth, as the glory of the only-begotten of the Father, full of *grace* and *truth;* and was sung of long previously, in Hebrew prophecy, as that of *the Sun of Righteousness*.—In these same senses, then, we might expect that the symbol was *intended* to apply to Leo. And, in point of fact, in the writings of the time we find them all expressly noted. We shall presently see how the Portuguese orator addressed him as dispersing the mists of his mind by the *sun-beams* of his *divine* countenance. In similar tone in the Lateran, in presence of the general Council of Christendom, his countenance is spoken of by the chosen orator Puccius, as "beaming from it the insupportable lustre of *divine majesty*."[1] By one of the poets of the day a splendour, dazzling as the sun's, is described as flashing from his triple crown; with reference to the *divine glory* attached to it, of an empire over earth, hell, and heaven.[2] By the same poet he is else-

almost contemporaneously with his accession, of countries hitherto unknown, by the kings of Spain and Portugal. This excited the hope, he tells us,—and we find it perpetually dwelt on by the Italian writers of the time,—that under his presidency there would at length be the fulfilment of that ancient prophecy, that there should be finally throughout the world one fold and one shepherd. If Christian kings would but unite, he adds, against the infidels, "paucis annis omnes homines ubique terrarum Deum verum cognoscerent, in Jesum constanter crederent, eumque solum supplices adorarent: sed cognoscent, credent, adorabunt, *te Pontifice*." Ib. xcii. p. 484.—I suspect the "apertus orbis" of the Genoese Painting had some reference to this auspicious opening of the world before Leo.

[1] "Divinæ majestatis tuæ conspectus, rutilanti cujus fulgore imbecilles oculi mei caligant." This was in the ninth Session of the Council. Hard. ix. p. 1760.

[2] I refer to the Ode of Zenobius Acciaiolus, addressed to Leo as the "Luminare majus Ecclesiæ," and in which he is compared to *Apollo*, or the *Sun;* from which ode

where depicted as the sun's dwelling-place, because of the light of *wisdom* that dwelt with him.[1] The Maronite Patriarch, and another of the Oriental ecclesiastics, address him in their letters as like the sun or the moon, *full of truth;* and again as the sun refulgent in *holiness*.[2]—Further he is represented as, like the sun, *imparting* out of this his treasure-house of light to the children of men; not only otherwise as their enlightener,[3] but chiefly as their *illuminator* in *matters of faith:*[4]—*revealing* and *opening* to men *the way to heaven;*[5] and also shedding a *healing*

I have already once extracted. It is given by Roscoe in Number CCI. of his Appendix. In it the following verses occur:

Ille sed fulgor radios cuntis
Obruit turbæ populique visus;
Celsa cum, Phœbo similis, refulsit
Thensa Leonis.
Namque gemmato rutilabat auro,
Triplici surgens obitu coronæ,
Inferi, summi, et medii potestas
Inclita mundi.

The classical reader will remember that the *thensa* was the car in which the images of the *gods* were drawn, in the processions of the ancient Pagan Romans. So Cicero in Verr. i. 59.

[1] Sol, Leo noster? domus anne Solis?
Ipse Sol idem, domus atque Solis:
Quem sub arcano *sophiâ* nitentem
Pectore gestat.

[2] "Sub pedibus sanctissimi Patris nostri, *sanctitate* ut sol renitentis." Again, "Leo Papa.... sol refulgens, luna *plena veritatis*." The Epistles of the Monk Elias and Maronite Patriarch are given in Harduin ix. 1864, 1867.

Compare the following from the Apology of *Picus of Mirandola*, given in the *Mores Catholici*, viii. 296: "These things (viz. his books)... the Holy See will judge; and, sitting thereupon, Innocent VIII; to resist whose judgment is impious. He is the Supreme judge on earth, who represents Him that is judge of quick and dead. He is the *dispenser and treasurer of truth*, who stands in the place of Him that is truth itself." Innocent VIII died 1492: so that the æra only just preceded that of Leo X.

[3] "Noctem oculis, noctem menti excute," is the invocation of the Papal Deity, ("Numen,") by Franciscus Philomusus. Roscoe, ii. 400.

[4] "Quello illuminatore della fede Christiana." Ib. p. 415.—It has been already mentioned, at p. 55, that on Leo's gold coin with the device of a *star*, and three kings (of France, Spain, Germany, so ib. p. 426) as the three Magi gazing intently, and advancing towards it, there is the motto, "*Lux Vera in Tenebris lucet.*"

[5] So in the Sylva of F. Philomusus Novocomensis, already quoted from:

Salve! magne Parens hominum, cui summa potestas,
Summus honos, triplici frontem diademate cingit.
.....cujus de luce supremâ
Celsum iter ad summum nobis aperitur Olympum:
Quemque Deus dedit esse Deum mortalibus ægris.

I must not omit the comment furnished by the Maronite Patriarch, on this ascription to the Pope of the opening of the way to heaven. "Leoni, pleno misericordiæ, Vicario Dei;.. quem Deus sequi nos voluit, januam et *indicem viæ rectæ;*.. qui videt animas peccatrices, quas et potest e pœnis eripere; cui pro salute, proque viâ sa-

influence with his beams on the darkness and woes of humanity. In the influence last ascribed to the light of the Papal countenance we see the exact counterpart to that which is ascribed to Christ's in Malachi's beautiful prophecy, just before alluded to:—I mean that in which he speaks of Him as the *Sun of Righteousness*, rising on them that fear Him with *healing* in his wings.[1]

Thus it appears that, besides the *inherent* glory of majesty, wisdom, and holiness supposed to reside in the Pope, the *sun* of Roman Christendom, there were also two principal points of view in which, like Christ, he was believed to *shed forth* from himself this light and glory on mankind: viz. as the dispenser to them of the light of *truth*, i. e. the *true faith;* and the dispenser too of the light of *grace* and *salvation*. And, to show the Pope's *actual exercise* in real life of the prerogatives thus falsely assigned him, it needs only that I remind the reader, with reference to the *first*, that in all disputed matters of religious faith and doctrine the ultimate reference was to him, his decision considered final,[2] and even the Bible-statements supposed to derive their authority from him, not his from the Bible:[3] also, in regard to the *second*, that it was from him, as the *recognised fountain of divine grace and mercy*, that those *indulgences*

lutis, genuflectunt sensus." Hard. ix. 1857. And let me add too the earlier testimony of Huss, to the effect of this being in his time the common doctrine of the doctors of the Romish church. "Ye preachers who preach that the Pope is the God of the earth . . . . that he is the well-spring from which flow all virtue and goodness; that he is the *sun* of the Holy Church." Ap. Foxe, iii. 502.

The reader will not fail to observe how perpetually the Pope was addressed as *God*. Of this more hereafter.

[1] In the ode of Zenobius, addressed to Pope Leo as Apollo, the double idea of him as the God of *light* and of *healing* is constantly kept in view. So too Vitalis; (ib. 436;)

Quique prius morbi ingruerant mortalibus ægris
Luce Leonini pelluntur Apollinis almâ.

[2] See the exemplification of this in Luther's own appeals and deference to the Pope, at the commencement of the Reformation.—In the XVth century, the question had been raised whether the ultimate appeal in questions of *faith*, as well as of *discipline*, was to the Pope or to a General Council. The prerogative was now generally accorded to the Pope. And, even supposing that it attached to a General Council, the Pope, without whom it could not exist, had such influence over it, that it only spoke as he prompted. See my Chapter on the Image of the Beast, Apoc. xiii. In after-times, and especially among the Jansenists, there arose the distinction of questions of *faith* and of *fact*.

[3] So the Dominican Prierias, head of the Inquisitors at Rome, in his condemnation of Luther's Theses. Merle i. 307. This was one of the Articles from the Decretals burnt by Luther, in 1520, with the Pope's Bull. Another was; The Pope has the power to interpret Scripture, and to teach, as he pleases; and no one may interpret differently. Scott's Luther i. 121.

proceeded of which I have more than once already spoken: and whereby not the temporal punishments only due to sin were remitted, but the eternal; its guilt blotted out, innocence restored to the sinner, and salvation ensured.—Of the exercise of either of these two supposed Papal prerogatives it is obviously quite impossible to over-estimate the tremendous efficacy, in support of the system of superstition and error then established. As to that of the latter, more especially, it seems from the accompaniment of the covenant-*rainbow* to have been so expressly intended by the painter, and is in itself so extraordinary, so characteristic of the Papal usurpation of Christ's most glorious spiritual prerogative,[1] and so illustrative, by force of contrast, of the emblematic outburst of the true Sun of Righteousness in the prefigurative vision before us, and of its glorious fulfilment in the Reformation, that I cannot but pause to give the reader a detailed view in real life of the whole process.

For so it was, that just after Leo's *assumption* to the Papal throne, there arose an occasion very notable for the exercise of this divine prerogative of mercy. The design of building St. Peter's on a scale of magnificence suited to the cathedral of Christendom, had devolved to him from his predecessors in the Papacy, and met in his mind with a ready welcome. From the revival of the arts in Italy, and with Michael Angelo, Raphael, and a host of other artists of eminence round him, he found ready at hand all that could be needed of skill and genius for its execution. Money alone was wanting. And whence procurable? He had not, says Michelet,[2] the mines of Mexico. But he had one as productive. His mine was the old superstition, and old superstitious credulity, of the people. To it, therefore, he determined to recur, and thence to draw the treasures needed. Accordingly, (for such was the occasion, and such the object,)[3] he issued bulls of grace and plenary indulgence into all the several countries of Western Christendom; containing grants the most lavish of forgive-

[1] "They bereave the Church, the spouse of Christ, of her true comfort, as taking away the sun out of the world." So P. Hamilton the Reformer, in his Common Places; quoted in Middleton's Biograph. Evangel. i. 76. [2] i. 21.

[3] The building of St. Peter's (begun on a scale of great magnificence by Julius II) is expressly mentioned in the Papal Brief as the object of this issue of indulgences. Roscoe iii. 156.

ness of sin and salvation to each receiver.[1] One condition only was attached; that was, that they must *purchase* them. The grace was not to be conferred without *money*.

It was in Germany, more especially, that the great excitement was arising.[2] It seemed as if a vast fair had been opened in its tranquil towns, one after another; the merchandise offered for sale being the salvation of souls. The Papal commissary here appointed was Tetzel. He was a Dominican, a functionary of the Holy Inquisition, already long practised in the traffic.[3] In the fulfilment of his present commission, his habit was to travel from town to town, in pomp, and with a retinue, as one of the nobles of the land. Into each town, as he approached it, the message was sent, "The grace of God is at your gates." Forthwith the town-council and the clergy, the monks and nuns from the convents, the schools and trades, hastened to form into procession; and with standards and wax-lights in hand, and ringing of the church bells, advanced to meet it; there being as much show of honour paid to it, it is said, as if it had been God himself. On returning, the course of the procession was to the principal church in the town. The Papal Bull was borne on a rich velvet cushion, or cloth of gold; a red cross elevated near it by the commissary; and the chaunting of prayers and hymns, and fuming of incense, kept up as its accompaniment. Arrived at the church, it was received with the sound of the organ. Then, the red cross and Papal arms having been placed before the great altar, the commissary mounted the pulpit. And this is related as the style of his addresses to the assembled people. "Now is the heaven opened. Now is grace and salvation offered. Christ, acting no more himself as God, has resigned all his power to the Pope.[4] Hence the present dispensation of mercy. Happy are your eyes that see the things that ye see. By virtue of the letters bearing the Papal seal that I offer you, not only is the guilt of

[1] See on the general subject of *Indulgences* my earlier notices, Vol. i. 409, ii. 17.

[2] In what follows I abridge from M. Merle D'Aubigné's very interesting History of the Reformation, i. 229, &c. See also Waddington's Hist. of Reform. i. 24, &c.

[3] He had been employed in the sale of Indulgences from the year 1502.

[4] "Le Seigneur notre Dieu n'est plus Dieu. Il a remis tout pouvoir au Pape." Merle D'Aub. i. 233.

past sins remitted, but that of sins that you may wish to commit in future.[1] None is so great, but that pardon is ensured to the purchaser.[2] And not the sins of the living only, but of the dead in purgatory.[3] As soon as the money sounds in the receiving-box, the soul of the purchaser's relative flies from purgatory to heaven. Now is the accepted time, now the day of salvation. Who so insensate, who so hard-hearted, as not to profit by it? Soon I shall remove the cross, shut the gate of heaven, extinguish the *bright sunbeams of grace* that shine before you.[4] How shall they escape that neglect so great salvation?"—Then the confessionals are set, each with the Papal arms attached. The confessors dilate on the virtue of the indulgences. The penitents crowd to the purchase. For the mass are sunk in superstition and ignorance; the willing slaves of delusion. And others there are too with whom, amidst all their superstition, the voice of conscience is awake; and whom the fear of death, and distress at God's hiding Himself, impel to seek as they may for pardon and reconciliation. Was not Myconius's case the case of many like him?[5] To such it seemed indeed strange that the grace of God should be purchased for money. And some, revolted by it, turned away. But with others the doubt was silenced by the thought of the indulgence coming from *God's Vicar*, the Pope; even yet more than by the influence of long-established custom. Could the *Vicar of*

[1] Waddington ib. 27 marks this strongly.

[2] "*Pudet* referri," says Fabroni, "quæ ipse (Tetzel) et dixit et fecit; quasi legatus è cœlo missus fuisset, ad quodlibet piaculum expiandum atque purgandum." So Fabroni, cited by Roscoe iii. 158. But in all this Tetzel acted under the instructions and the eye of the Archbishop, the Pope's copartner; by whom, even after Luther's appeal to him, no disapprobation of them was expressed. Indeed by Cardinal Cajetan, after the matter had proceeded so far as to induce the direct Papal interference in the matter, nothing was objected to Tetzel. Instead of this he expressly asserted and confirmed the received doctrine of indulgences.—See my Note [4] p. 17 suprà, on the subject of the Papal power of Indulgences. And see too Seckendorf's notice (p. 9, in the Introduction to his History of the Reformation) of Clement the VI's declaration, in his Bull of 1343, proclaiming the coming Jubilee, respecting the Pope's power to grant them; as the divinely appointed dispenser of the treasure of the supererogatory merits of Christ and the saints.

[3] Compare the painting of the Pope with the two keys of heaven and purgatory in his hand. Also the Maronite Patriarch's description of him, as "qui videt animas peccatrices, quas et potest è pœnis eripere," given in a Note preceding, p. 64.

[4] This was at Annaberg, and is related by Myconius. "Bientôt je fermerai la porte du ciel, j'eteindrai *l'eclat de ce soleil de grace* qui reluit à vos yeux." Merle D'Aub. p. 243.

[5] See the History in Merle D'Aub. ib.

Christ deceive, or err?—So they crowd to the purchase. The price is from 25 ducats to a half florin,[1] according to the rank and opulence of the purchaser. The money-box of the Dominican is filled. Having deducted his own percentage for agency, and paid his reckoning at the inn with indulgences for the deliverance of four or more souls out of purgatory,[2] according to its greater or less amount, he transmits the surplus to the Prince Archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburgh,[3] whose agent he is, and whose rules he has been following in the business; then proceeds on the same blasphemous mission to another town. And, as between the Archbishop and the Pope there has been an agreement for the bipartition of the receipts from this part of Germany, the moiety of the money flows to ROME;—the price of the merchandise of souls.—Thus the cheat has been consummated. The rays of this mock Sun of Righteousness, (may I not well say, this *Antichrist?* for the Pope's pretensions on this head were but the very realization of what both ancient Patristic, and even later Papal Doctors, had anticipated as a characteristic of the real Antichrist,[4]) have gone forth only to fructify in his own coffers. Meanwhile the poor deluded people, cherishing the indulgences they have purchased as a guarantee of forgiveness and salvation,[5] live, and perhaps die, with a lie in

[1] i.c. from £6, if ducats of silver, to 1s. Ib. 236. Tetzel was famous for his discrimination of the purchaser's rank, and proportioning the price accordingly. [2] Ib. 247.

[3] So (ib. 251) he paid for his *pallium*, some 30,000 florins. See p. 20 suprà.

[4] 1. *Ambrose Ansbert.* Referring to *Teitan*, one appellative of *the Sun*, and which contains in its letters the number 666, as very possibly the intended name of the Beast, Antichrist, he remarks as follows. "Nec absurdum habet intellectum ut damnatus ille homo tunc *solem se justitiæ* asserat, ac *lucem veram* quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum; cùm sit in eo apostata angelus transfigurans se in angelum lucis, suadens hominibus se lucem veram profiteri, quos vult à luce justitiæ separare." B. P. M. xiii. 552.

2. *T. Aquinas.* "Effudit phialam in *solem:* id est *Antichristum;* qui se solem existimabit, et dicet mundum illuminatum per eum esse. Ipse enim sibi usurpabit nomen veri solis, id est Christi; de quo dicitur, ego sum lux mundi." De Antichristo, p. 103. (Rome, 1840.)

[5] The following was the general form of Tetzel's Indulgences, as given by Dr. Robertson; and also by Waddington Hist. of Church iii. 344, Hist. of Reform. i. 27.

"May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee, by the merits of his most holy passion! And I by his authority, and that of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy See, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred; and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the Apostolic see. And, as far as the keys of the church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account. And

their right hand. And as regards JESUS, robbed as he has been by the Usurper of his own most glorious attribute of mercy, oh, who shall tell the magnitude of the insult put upon Him?

2. Next, would we learn the meaning, and its realization in actual life, of that most striking representation of the Pope in the Florentine triumphal arc, as *fixing one foot on the land and another on the sea*, how can we better satisfy ourselves than by marking what passed at Rome in the second year of Leo's pontificate,[1] on occasion of an embassy arriving from the king of Portugal? The ambassador was a General celebrated for his part in the late conquests of the Portuguese in the far Indies. In testimony of them he brought, among other most magnificent presents to Pope Leo, various wild animals from the East, the leopard, panther, elephant;—animals unknown to the citizens of Rome since the time and shows of its imperial grandeur. And great was the popular admiration as these presents were led in procession through the streets of Rome; more especially when, on arrival before the pontifical presence, the elephant, as if with more than instinct, stopt, and knelt, and thrice bowed himself as in act of adoration to the ground.[2]—But listen to the orator of the embas-

I restore you to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism; so that, if you should die now, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened. And, if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are on the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. F. B. J. TETZEL, Sub-commissarius."

The apparent ambiguity of one or two clauses, as Dr. Waddington observes, is abundantly done away with by the decisive language of others. Even in the most ambiguous, "in so far as the keys of the church extend," there would appear little ambiguity to the people. For, as the Florentine painting represented the Pope with one key opening heaven, and having in the other hand another key, that of purgatory, so it was not doubted by the people at that time, that the Pope's power of the keys was absolute, even to the extent Tetzel stated.—Luther's Table-Talk, Ch. xxiii, on Antichrist, furnishes an excellent illustration. "In the time of my being at Rome a disputation was openly held (at which attended thirty learned masters besides myself) against the Pope's power; who boasted that with his right hand he commanded the angels in heaven, with his left drew souls out of purgatory, and that his person was mixt or mingled with the Godhead. Calixtus disputed against the same; and showed that power was only given to the Pope to bind and loose on earth. When the other outrageously opposed him, Calixtus said, that he spoke it only by way of disputation, and not that he held it so." ii. 31. (Ed. 1840.)

[1] It was on March 25, 1514, that audience was given to the embassy. The envoy's name was Tristano Cugna. Roscoe ii. 300.

[2] This is celebrated by Aurelius Serenus in his Theatrum Capitolinum, given No.

sy.[1] For a moment he hesitates, as overcome by a sense of the majesty of him he is addressing. "Fear and trembling," he exclaims, "have come over me, and a horrible darkness overwhelmed me."[2] Then, re-assured by the Pope's serene aspect towards him—"that divine countenance, which shining," he says, "as the sun, had dispersed the mists of his mind,"[3]—he proceeds to the objects of his mission: narrates the eastern conquests of the Portuguese arms; addresses the POPE as the Supreme Lord of all; and speaks of those conquests as the incipient fulfilment of God's sure promises, "Thou shalt rule from sea to sea, and from the Tyber river[4] to the world's end;" "the kings of Arabia and Saba shall bring gifts to thee; yea, all princes shall worship thee, all nations shall serve thee;" and, under thy auspices, "there shall be one fold and one shepherd." That is, he explains the promised universal latter-day subjection of the world to Christ, as meant of its subjection to the *Pope;* and the Portuguese discoveries and victories over the heathen, as signs that that consummation was at hand. —Thus does he well illustrate to us what was intended by the Florentine device under consideration. And he concludes in the same spirit, by a solemn act of adoration to the Pope, as his King's Lord and Master: "Thee, as the true Vicar of Christ and God, the Ruler of the whole Christian Republic, we recognise, confess, profess obedience to, and adore: in thy name adoring Christ, whose representative thou art."[5]

As to the *acting out* by the Pope of this prerogative of

lxxxiv. in Roscoe's Appendix, ii. 460; "Ut docile animal," he says, "supplex tuum numen sentiret adoraretque."

[1] Pacecchi. The oration, which was the subject of high commendation, both from the Pope himself, and from the Roman writers and literati, is given in full by Roscoe. Appendix, No. ci.

[2] "Apud majestatem tuam, in sublimi solio sedentem, . . inter sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ Romanæ cardines, ac tot clarissima mundi lumina, quasi solem inter sua sidera micantem, . . . venerunt timor et tremor super me, et contexerunt tenebræ."

[3] "In tanto fluctuantis animi æstu hærerem procul dubio, nisi serenus iste divinusque vultus tuus, discusso mentis nubilo, omnes jam difficultates pervinceret."

[4] So Pacecchi. Ib. 508.

[5] "Te verum Christi Vicarium, maximum Romanæ ecclesiæ Pontificem, totius Christianæ Reipublicæ Præsulem, recognoscimus, fatemur, adoramus." Earlier in his oration he had said: "Venimus ab ultimo Lusitaniæ recessu, ut te Dei Vicarium, Christianæ religionis summum Antistitem, unicum Romanæ ecclesiæ gregisque Dominici Pastorem veneremur, colamus, atque in tuo nomine Christum, cujus vicem geris, adoremus."—A letter from the King of Portugal accompanied; addressed, "Ad Sanctum Patrem et Dominum nostrum Leonem X." Roscoe ii. 300, 503.

universal earthly supremacy, thus by both painter and orator assigned him, we might be sure, even prior to examination, that such must have been the case, when it was so obsequiously confessed to, and with such expressions of personal fealty, not by an immediately subject people only, but by a powerful and distant monarch, like him of Portugal. And it needs indeed only to look into European history to find the proof.

Already, four centuries before, Gregory the 7th had put forward pretensions to authority, as Christ's Vicar, over the kings and kingdoms of the world. Nor, in the course of those four centuries, had examples very remarkable been wanting of the application of this Papal prerogative, within, and even beyond, the limits of the old Roman earth, European Christendom. So, for instance, in that fateful Bull of Pope Adrian IV, A. D. 1155, whereby on the English King Henry's petition, permission was granted him, agreeably with what was recognised as the Pope's undoubted right and prerogative over all professedly Christian lands, to subjugate Ireland; on condition only of an *annual quit-rent to the Roman See, of one penny for each house inhabited within it.*[1] And so again, about the middle of the 14th century, in the grant of the Canary Islands, not long before discovered, though beyond the pale of European Christendom, to Prince Lewis of Spain by the Pontiff Clement VI.[2]—But the Portuguese discoveries along the African coast towards the Cape of Good Hope, and so towards India, begun about the middle of the 15th century, and yet more that memorable one by the Spaniards, some fifty years afterwards, of a new world beyond the Western

[1] The Bull is given Harduin vi. ii. 1333. After praising his ambitious design, as if arising from the pious wish of teaching the Christian faith more perfectly to the island's rude inhabitants, it speaks thus of Papal rights. "Sanè Hiberniam et omnes insulas quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ (quod tua et nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere." And then Henry's offer of the annual payment is mentioned; and the permission sued for granted on the express understanding that this bribe should be paid: "jure nimirum ecclesiastico illibato et integro permanente; et salvâ beato Petro, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, de singulis domibus annuâ unius denarii pensione."

[2] Robertson's America i. 54. In Mr. F. Faber's Sights and Thoughts, p. 52, it is mentioned that Philip was accordingly crowned King of the Canary Isles at Avignon, where Pope Clement then resided; and walked about the streets afterwards with a crown on his head, a sceptre in hand, and a resplendent train attending him.

Ocean, gave scope and occasion for its exercise in far distant seas, on a scale immensely larger. For were not the *heathen* promised to Christ (i. e. to Christ's Vicar) for an inheritance, and the *utmost parts of earth and sea for a possession?*[1] The application came first from Prince Henry of Portugal to the then reigning Pope. Premising that, as Christ's Vicar, all kingdoms of the earth were subject to him, he prayed him, in virtue of that authority, to confer on the Portuguese crown a right to all countries inhabited by infidels that they, the Portuguese, might discover: promise being added that he would spread the Christian religion in them, establish the Papal authority, and so increase the flock of the universal pastor. So was the opportunity given, and it was instantly seized on by the Pope, thus magnificently to exercise his supposed prerogative. A Bull was issued granting to the Portuguese all they might discover, from Cape Non to India.[2]—In 1493, after Columbus' discovery of America, a similar application was made by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain to Pope Alexander the 6th;—the same pleas and promises accompanying it of extending the Pope's empire. And again the grant was made, and in terms still more presumptuous and striking: the Bull enacting, in order that it might not interfere with the grant previously made to the King of Portugal, that an imaginary line from Pole to Pole, drawn so as to pass 100 leagues westward of the Azores, should be the limit between the two nations, and all westward belong to the Spaniards, all eastward to the Portuguese.[3] And what is very observable is, that in the judgment of the Princes of Western Christendom, these pontifical grants constituted to either nation a title unimpeachable, and a guarantee

[1] Hence the *sea* in Pope Calistus' medal, (struck A.D. 1456,) overlooked by the Papal tiara elevated on a cross. Given in my Vol. iii. P. IV. ch. v. [2] Robertson ib. 68.

[3] Ib. p. 160. Zeal for propagating the Christian faith is specified in the Papal Bull, as Alexander's chief motive in granting it. Accordingly missionary friars were sent out with Columbus on his second voyage, one being the Apostolic Legate.

Count Bossi, in his Italian Translation of Roscoe, observes that Alexander VI, besides this grant to Ferdinand, conferred on him the dominions of the king of Navarre; a king whom Alexander had excommunicated previously, and Ferdinand conquered. Roscoe ii. 304.

Dr. S. R. Maitland thinks it strange that no notice should have been taken in the Apocalypse of the *discovery of America*, supposing it a prophecy of the history of Christendom. (Remarks on Christian Guardian, p. 120.) If I am correct in my understanding of the vision before us, the supposed omission does not exist.

against interference or attack. When some English merchants were about to open a trade with the coast of Guinea, the Portuguese King having laid before King Edward the 4th the Pope's Bull, as entitling him to it, Edward, satisfied on the point, prohibited his subjects from making the voyage.[1] This was before the discovery of America, and that of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope.[2] And after them, and in evidence that the same title still guaranteed to Spain and Portugal those their later conquests, it would seem that this was the cause of the first efforts of English colonization being directed to the *North* American coasts, and avoiding those of *South* America, as belonging rightfully to Spain.[3]—Thus it was not without reason that King Emanuel did fealty to the Pope on the occasion we are considering, and acknowledged *his* supremacy by whose grant he held his conquests. Nor is it wonderful, substantially superseded as the Lord Jesus had long been, for the most part, by Rome and its Papal Antichrist, even in the world of thought and imagination, throughout Western Europe, that in this extension of the Papal dominion over so many newly-discovered countries, men should have fancied an incipient fulfilment of the Scripture prophecies referred to.[4] It was quite natural. We see exemplified in it the settled anti-christian spirit of the age.—Thus, reverting to the Florentine painting exhibited on the day of Pope Leo's enthronization, we have seen enough to convince us that, instead of its being an absurd or exaggerated device, it was only a graphic symbolization of a prerogative already

[1] Robertson's America, Vol. i.; Notes and Illust. x.; p. 358.

[2] It was not till 1497 that the Portuguese, under Vasco di Gama, discovered and passed the Cape of Good Hope, towards the Indies. The fifty or sixty years preceding, they had, as Robertson observes, been creeping along the coast from Cape Non to Cape de Verd, the latter only twelve degrees south of the former.—Columbus' discovery of America, in 1492, just preceded that of the Cape of Good Hope.

[3] See Robertson's America, Vol. iv. p. 141, citing Rymer's Fœdera.—This only applies, of course, to the earliest English attempts at colonization made before *Elizabeth*; by which Princess the grant by Papal Bull was held (see p. 75, Note [1]) little sacred.

[4] Seneca's lines were also referred to:

> Venient annis
> Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
> Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
> Pateat tellus, Tethysque* novos
> Detegat orbes, nec sit terris
> Ultima Thule.

* Some read *Tiphys*, Bonanni (i. 132) *Siphys*.

exercised, as well as asserted, by the Popes. And, in evidence of the strict chronological propriety both of it, and of its Apocalyptic counterpart, we may note the fact that Pope Leo himself also now acted out what the painting symbolized. Pleased with the devotedness of the Portuguese king, he made a donation to him, in terms more ample than those of the original grant to Prince Henry, of all countries, provinces, and islands, which he might recover from the infidels, not only from Capes Bojador and Non to the Indies, but in the parts yet undiscovered and unknown even to the Pontiff himself.[1] So did he plant one foot on the land, the other on the sea and the countries in it, even where the mists of distance, and imperfect geographical knowledge, might as yet hide them from view; distributing them, as their undoubted and supreme lord, to whom he would. And both in doing so, and in accepting the appropriation to the Papacy of the latter-day prophecies,—indeed himself in his own medals appropriating them,[2]—he stood forth before Christendom, in all that concerned this world's dominion, as a daring and gigantic usurper of the rights of Christ.

3. Once more I have to exhibit, in the actual realities of life, that *voice* of the *Pope* in guise and character as a *Lion*, asserting the world as his prey, claiming to himself its government, and threatening destruction against opponents or rebels,[3]—to the figuration of which I invited attention in the *third* place, from among the devices in the Leonine pageant, as another of the almost counterpart paintings there exhibited, in honour of the usurping Antichrist, to that in the Apocalyptic vision of the true Christ, now

[1] Roscoe ii. 304.—Under Elizabeth however, as might be expected, the validity of the grant was not admitted. On the Spanish ambassador's reclamation against Drake, A.D. 1580, for having navigated seas which were in the dominion of Spain, Elizabeth's answer was, "que les Anglois ne reconnaissaient en aucune maniere la proprieté que le Roi d'Espagne s'en attribuait, ni le don pretendu d'un Pape, qui n'avoit en aucun droit de disposer des pais et des mers qui ne lui appartenaient pas." Rapin ad ann. 1580.

[2] Bonanni gives a medal struck by Pope Leo soon after his accession, with his head on the *obverse*, the five balls, his heraldic insignia, on the *reverse*, and the *legend*, "Gloriâ et honore coronasti eum:"—a passage, as Bonanni observes, from the 8th Psalm, and prophetic of Messiah's ultimate universal empire on earth. Compare Heb. ii. 7, 8.—See too the one given by me p. 58 suprà.

[3] See p. 58.

under consideration.—In order to this let us again direct the eye to Rome.—The solemn Council General of Christendom, as already hinted, is there at this very time holding its sessions.[1] Where so likely a place in which to hear the voice of the Papal Lion? The session is in the Lateran Church, the same that the Pope was enthroned in. There then let us enter, look, and listen. It is another of Papal Rome's chambers of imagery.

And truly the scene is not a little imposing.—Has it fallen to the Reader's lot to visit the church they were assembled in? If so, as the spacious nave has opened to his view, and its lofty arches of polished marble stretched before him in long perspective, with the double Corinthian pilasters richly gilt, and sculptured or painted forms of prophets and apostles, in triple elevation, supporting and dividing them,—as his eye has ranged down them to the canopied high altar at the transept, then glanced above and below at the decorated compartments of the roof, and the pavement of marble and mosaic, then to the arches, columns, chapelries, and statuary of the double side-aisles, grouping variedly in light and shadow,—a feeling of the grandeur and beauty of art in the structure may have stolen over him, detached him in thought from the tumult of living things, and prepared him for the deeper sympathies to be awakened by the soft or solemn music, of organ and of chant, soon swelling on the ear. All these seductions, we must remember, met the pilgrim visitant to the Lateran Church at the time we refer to:[2] seductions whereby the Roman apostasy has ever sought to act upon the senses; and to awaken in the soul that religious sentimentalism, which it is too often ready to accept, and satisfy itself with,

[1] It was opened May 3, 1512, by Pope Julius II; and, after twelve sessions, terminated March 16, 1517.—Four General Councils had been previously held in the Lateran Church: viz. in the years 1123, 1139, 1179, and 1215 respectively.

[2] The interior of the Lateran Church bore sufficient resemblance, at the time spoken of, to what it is now, to have produced much of the same effect. The *original* structure (on which see Note [3], p. 77) having been nearly destroyed by a fire in 1308, it was soon rebuilt, and much on the same ground-plan, &c., as still remains. The chief alterations subsequently made in the interior (i. e. between 1560 and 1730) consisted in the gilded ceiling added by Pius IV, and the change in the nave by Innocent X, who incorporated its ancient granite columns into the larger Corinthian pilasters. Besides which the exterior façade was added. See Nibbi, i. 181.

in place of religion.[1]—Nor was there wanting to the local scene the solemn undefined charm of association with *antiquity*.[2] A part the most ancient of the Church, as well as the Baptistery adjoining, recalled the name of the *great Constantine*, as its founder.[3] And so that high antiquity was suggested, which, on them that were willing to forget *Jerusalem*, might be palmed as a sufficient reason for giving to it, at least in Western Europe, the proud title of *Mother*, as well as *Mistress*, of all churches.

But on the occasion I am to speak of, was not the mere architectural grandeur of the scene, and the remembrances of other far distant times associated with it, that made it so imposing. Behold gathered within its walls, and sitting in ordered array, some 200 or 300 archbishops, bishops, abbots,[4] &c. arrived as representatives from England, from Spain, from Portugal, from the Germanic empire, from Savoy, and from the lesser states of Italy; together with Ambassadors, Generals of the religious orders, the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and not a few other ecclesiastics from beyond the seas:—the whole, under Pope Leo's presidency, constituting the Council General, as they say, or representative body of the *Church Universal*.[5]

[1] The eloquence of Madame de Stael is vainly spent, in attempting to show identity between these two things that are so essentially different. See Corinne, Book x., Chap. iv., v., &c.

[2] The name seems originally to have been derived from *Plautius Lateranus*, whose palace occupied the spot in Nero's time; which emperor put him to death, as an accomplice in Piso's conspiracy. After which it appears to have become an imperial property. We read in the Historia Augusta that M. Aurelius was educated at Rome on the Cœlian Hill, in his grandfather's house, "juxtà ædes Laterani." Capitolin. 1.

[3] The Emperor Constantine, on his conversion, is *said* to have given to the Bishop of Rome first the Lateran Palace, and then the Lateran Church built near it: which latter, after building, he richly endowed for the support of *lamps* and *ministers*. So Anastasius the Librarian reports the tradition, in his work on the Magnificence of Constantine; a writer of the 9th century.

Already in the 4th and 5th centuries it appears that this church was one of popular resort. Jerome in his Epist. xxx, De Morte Fabiolæ, (written about A.D. 400,) speaking of her, tells how in her widowhood, "Ante diem Paschæ in Basilicâ quondam Laterani, qui Cæsariano truncatus est gladio, staret in ordine pœnitentium;" &c. Again, writing against Symmachus, Prudentius has the line:

Cœtibus aut magnis Lateranas currit ad ædes.

See Moreri, Art. Lateran; also Burton's Rome, ii. 170.—No doubt it is this which Pope Martin refers to, in his Letter to Theodorus, as that in which he was seized by the soldiers of the Greek Emperor A.D. 650: "in ecclesiâ quæ cognominatur Constantiniana; quæ prima in toto mundo constructa et stabilita est à beatæ memoriæ Constantino Imperatore, et est juxtà episcopium." (Harduin iii. 677.)

[4] Of subscribed names I observe 162 in the 9th Session; and it is added that there were present "alii quamplures domini ecclesiastici et seculares." Hard. ix. 1732.

[5] "Universalem repræsentantis ecclesiam:" 8th Session. Harduin Concil. ix.

Considered in this light, where was ever assembly of pretensions more august?—The Bishops appear arrayed in their rich vestments of office, and with their jewelled mitres on the head.[1] The Pope too,—who sits alone upon a throne high and lifted up, as becomes his dignity,—appears in the scarlet and gold of his pontificals; and bears on his head that pontifical mitre, whence he claims, as its appanage, universal empire.[2] And, let me ask, as he sits there, and receives the adoration of the assembly, and ascription to him, as we shall see presently, of the divine titles, offices, and functions, does it not seem the very fulfilment of that ancient prophecy which declared of Antichrist, that sitting in the temple of God he would show himself as God?[3] For should the words "temple of God" be *literally* taken, so as by some of the fathers, the Lateran Church, according to the ideas then received, was, as the mother, the representative, if I may so say, of all Christian Churches or Temples.[4] And, if taken *figuratively*, which doubtless is a sense included, viz. as symbolizing the constituency of the professing Christian Church, it was before an assembly which represented that whole professing Church that he now thus showed himself.

1715, &c.—Bossuet, and others of the Gallican Church, endeavoured subsequently to make out that this was not a Universal Council; the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction which constituted, as we shall see, a very important part of its proceedings, having excited their aversion to it. But, convened as it was in proper form, and, after the adhesion of the French king in the 8th Session, with all the states of Western Christendom as parties consenting and acting in it, the objection is evidently quite untenable.

[1] "Intraverunt cardinales, patriarchæ, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, &c., ornati pluvialibus, planetis, et dalmaticis, juxtà ordinis qualitatem, et mitris, locum in medio Lateranensis ecclesiæ pro celebratione concilii hujusmodi paratum." So Harduin ix. 1574, of the 1st Session: adding also; "eum suis subselliis, tabulatis, clausuris, altaribus, Pontificali cathedrâ, ornamentis, et ordinibus, quæ in hujusmodi sacrorum conciliorum celebrationibus servari et fieri consuevisse reperiuntur."

Compare the description in Harduin vii. 378, 687, of the arrangement and order observed, in the first and second General Councils at Lyons, held A.D. 1245, 1274. On occasion of this Lateran Council sitting, it is said that the arrangements and order observed were the same as usual. Hard. ix. 1574.—Compare too my copy of a Romish picture of the earliest Council held at Rome, given in my 3rd Volume, Part IV. ch. vii.

[2] See Pope Innocent's observation on the Papal mitre p. 53, Note [1] suprà.

[3] Compare the saying of *Gerbert* Archbishop of Rheims, (or perhaps of *Arnulph* Bishop of Orleans,) in the Synod of Rheims, A.D. 991. "What do you conceive this man, sitting on a lofty throne, glittering in purple and gold? .. If he be destitute of charity, and puffed up by knowledge alone, he is Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself that he is God." See Bishop Newton, p. 574, (Ed. 1827.) and Maitland's Enquiry, p. 59. Maitland suggests that the then accused Bishop of Rheims, rather than the Pope, may have been meant. But did a Bishop glitter in *purple*, as his distinctive?

[4] See Vol. i. pp. 389—391.

The Council has been convened by the Papal Bull for the *extirpation* of the *schisms* and *heresies* that have divided the Church;—its *union*, *reformation*, and *exaltation*.[1] And this is the arrangement for its proceedings; that before it transact official business, and the Papal Lion, who is using it as his instrument, speak his and its enactments, the mass be first celebrated, the litanies, gospel, and hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus," chanted, and a sermon or oration, bearing on the business, pronounced by a selected member of the Council. Nor will it be well to pass to its enactments, in other words to *the voice of Leo*, which concluded its Sessions, without observing in the first instance the spirit and sentiments of this Council of the Christian Church, as exhibited in the orations of these its appointed preachers. It will be seen how they ascribe to the Pope the dignity, titles, and relations to the Church of the Lord Jesus,—just like the parties of whom I have before spoken; similarly make appeals to him, (founded on this his character of Vice-Christ,) as the hope and Saviour of the Church; and similarly express their expectation of the fulfilment in his person and reign, of the latter-day prophecies respecting the final blessedness, universality, and oneness of Christ's kingdom.—So, for example, in that of the 4th Session, by the Venetian prelate Marcellus, Apostolic Prothonotary. After notice of the corruptions, divisions, and dangers of the Christian Church, he describes her as seeking refuge with the Roman Pontiff, and, prostrate at his most holy feet, thus addressing him. "I have compassed sea and land, and found none but thee to care for my preservation and dignity. Unhappy, degraded by wicked hands from my original high elevation, and with my heavenly beauty defiled by earthly pollutions, I come to thee as my true Lord and Husband; beseeching thee to look to it that thy bride be renewed in her beauty. And see too that the flock committed to thee be nourished with the best and spiritual aliment; the fold united in one which is now divided; and the sickness healed which has afflicted the whole world.

[1] "Ad ecclesiæ exaltationem, unitatem, et reformationem; schismatum verò et hæresum totalem extirpationem." So in Pope Julius' second Bull of Convocation. Harduin, ix. 1591. The Bull was issued by him "auctoritate Omnipotentis Dei, quâ in terris fungimur." Ib. 1590.

For thou art our Shepherd, our Physician, in short a second God on the earth." [1] In similar strain, in the 6th Session, the Bishop of Modrusium, figuring the Holy Roman Church as the *heavenly Jerusalem*, and the *bride* of Christ, each a favourite emblem with the orators,[2] and after confessing the almost total extinction, at the time then being, of faith and piety in it,[3] thus proceeds to express himself. "Is this Jerusalem, that city of perfect beauty, the daughter of Zion, the spouse of Christ? But weep not, daughter of Zion; for God hath raised up a Saviour for thee. *The Lion of the tribe of Judah*, the root of David, hath come, and shall save thee from all thy enemies. On thee, O most blessed Leo, we have fixed our hopes as the promised Saviour." [4] And then follows the supplication and appeal

[1] "Ad tuos sanctissimos devoluta pedes in hunc modum opem humiliter implorare videtur. Terras et maria circuivi, et nullum præter te, . . Pontifex beatissime, qui me magis diligeret, dignitatemque meam et salutem magis curaret, inveni. . . Ad te igitur supplex, tanquam ad verum principem, protectorem, et sponsum, accedo. . . Cura, Pater beatissime, ut sponsæ tuæ forma decorque redeat; &c. Cura ut salutem quam dedisti nobis, et vitam, et spiritum, non amittamus. Tu enim pastor, tu medicus, tu gubernator, . . tu denique alter *Deus* in terris." Hard. ib. col. 1651. The Pope is by others also addressed as the *sponsus* of the Church. So in Sess. vi. col. 1687; Sess. ix. col. 1765, "ego te ut ecclesiæ universæ præpositum sponsum amplector;" &c. (Compare the account of the Pope's marriage to it given p. 52 suprà.)—The first quotation, being in the 4th Session, was addressed to Leo's predecessor Julius II; and shows that it was to the Pope as Pope, not to the individual, that the blasphemous flatteries as to prerogative were applied; though it was on the individual Pope Leo X, that the hopes rested as the fulfiller of the prophecies of the latter day.—Let the address "tu alter *Deus*," &c. not be overlooked.

[2] The former specially in Cardinal Cajetan's Sermon, (Session 2,) on the text, "I saw that holy city the New Jerusalem descending out of heaven:" in which, considering the Church Catholic, with Rome as its head, as the Jerusalem intended, he illustrates the five points, viz. its being a city or state,—holy,—Jerusalem,—new,—heavenly; the *new* being explained by contrast with the Jewish Church, which was of the older dispensation:—also in the Sermon by the Archbishop of Patras in the 10th Session, on the text, "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the City of our God," &c., (Psalm xlvi. 1,) from which extracts are given in some Notes following; and which distinctly refers the *heavenly state* of the New Jerusalem to the *reformed state* of the Romish Church, now about to be accomplished. Hard. 1618, 1786. The Cardinal Cajetan of the 2nd Session, was the same De Vio that became so well known afterwards, from his conference as Papal Legate with Luther.

I beg the reader to refer to my observations Vol. i. p. 266, on the earliest transfer to the Church earthly and visible, of the Scripture language and promises respecting Christ's *true* Church, invisible in its corporate character, and spiritual. It is a point very important.

[3] "Tædet vero pigetque fidem, pietatem, religionem, nostris temporibus ita tepuisse, et pæne dixerim contabuisse videri, ut vix earum ulla vestigia sint reliqua." Hard. 1686.

[4] "Ne fleveris, filia Sion: quia ecce venit Leo de tribu Juda, radix David: suscitavit tibi Deus Salvatorem. . . Te, Leo Beatissime, Salvatorem venturum speravimus." 1687. The Saviour *that was to come: τον ερχομενον*. The language is indeed strange; but the allusion cannot be mistaken. Compare Matt. xi. 3, Heb. x. 37, Apoc. i. 4, &c.

to him, in which other orators also unite that follow. "Vindicate the tent of thy spouse, that has been violated by the wicked! Purify what is polluted in the Church! Amend what is wrong! Against the infidels, (i. e. against the Turks,) gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty![1] Is not all power given to thee in heaven and on earth?[2] Then by the fire and burning of the pastor's office, extinguish schism and heresy![3] That so, the great and ultimate reform and renovation having been accomplished in the Church,[4] and the world brought into the true faith,—religion, justice, and piety may flourish, the golden age revive, thine inheritance be restored to thee,[5] the Church escape from the great tribulation, the completed sabbatism begin,—all which, from the computation of times, seems close at hand:—and those prophecies, so perpetually of late the theme of conversation,[6] be fulfilled; 'Thou shalt rule from sea to sea, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd;'—'I saw the New Jerusalem come down out of heaven prepared as a bride for her husband;'—and again, 'It shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established on the top of the mountains, and all nations flow to it;'—there being meant by that mountain of the Lord's house

[1] This expression is from the oration in the 7th Session: in which various similar profane applications of texts belonging to Christ occur: for example, "I, if I be lifted up, shall draw all men unto me," which is applied to the expected effects of Leo's assumption to the Popedom. Again; "Of them that thou hast given me, have I lost none." Hard. cols. 1704, 1705. [2] Ib. 1763.

[3] "Serpentem vero sævissimi schismatis hydram caritatis igne, et pastoralis officii adustione, extinguite." ib. 1687. This burning by the Pope, in his pastoral office and character, illustrates, and is illustrated by, the painting of the shepherd fishing and casting the bad fish into the fire; p. 56, suprâ.

[4] "Convenerunt in hoc sacrosancto Lateranensi Concilio ad reformationem tum ecclesiæ, tum orbis universi, pro gloriâ regni Christi, et suæ sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et Apostolicæ sedis exaltatione; *quæ de proximo, juxta temporum computationem*, pro secundâ sabbati fieri debet in magnâ et ultimâ reformatione," &c. Sess. x. Hard. col. 1786. The *secunda sabbati* is enlarged on here and elsewhere as the æra of the completion of the sabbatism of promise; the phrase *prima sabbati* being used for the time of its commencement at Christ's first coming. (Ducange, on the word *Sabbatum*, overlooks this use of the phrase.)—To this too is applied the palm-bearing vision of Apoc. vii., in Sess. ix.

[5] This last clause is from the conclusion of the oration of the 4th Session: "Ita namque *restituetur tibi hæreditas tua*;.. redibunt aurea secula; tuoque flante Spiritu effluent aquæ, et irroratione tuâ terra pinguescet." The reader will mark how expressly it makes the Pope *heir of the world*, in place of Christ; and also its blasphemous ascription to him of sending forth the *Divine Spirit* as his own. Ibid. 1651. [6] ib. 1667, &c.

the plenitude of the power of his anointed one, his Christ, *in the Apostolic See.*"[1]

Such, we see, is the appeal in these orations to the Leo, the Papal Lion of Rome; such the titles and offices, prophecies and hopes, attached to him and his Pontificate. And now hearken to *the lion's voice*, of which we were inquiring, as in answer. Accepting the deification, and the ascription to him of every title and office of Christ, as that which was indeed but his due,[2] his *first* and preliminary act, in assertion of that sovereignty over the world, and fulfilment of that office of its administration, which thus in the Council, as in the painting,[3] had been assigned him,—is the citation of the adherents of the Pisan Council and Pragmatic Sanction, as schismatics and rebels.[4] And, be-

[1] This last quotation is from the Sermon of the Archbishop of Patras in the 10th Session: "Sed ubi laudabitur? Dicat Propheta: *in civitate Dei;* in sanctâ utique immaculatâ ecclesiâ Dei, et, quod fortius et dignius est, in monte sancto Apostolicæ sedis ejus: de quo Isaias, Et erit in novissimis diebus mons preparatus in domo Domini super verticem omnium montium; qui est potestas plenitudinis *Christi ejus* in sede Apostolicâ." Hard. col. 1786.—He notices the number X attached to Leo's title, as suiting the conclusion and winding up of the dispensation. "Hoc tempore magnæ reformationis . . te canonicè electum existimo, ut sis Leo in sede Petri, *non ab re decimus*, pro Christi regno nostro tempore, si volueris, toto orbe terrarum innovando assumptus." Ib. 1784.

[2] It is to be remembered that the Acts of the Council, including the orations, were published with his approbation and sanction.—"If," says Dr. Maitland, (Answer to Cuninghame, p. 42,) "the Pope accepted and approved them, (viz. blasphemous appellations, as that of *God*,) he was guilty;" i. e. of *blasphemy*. Such was now notably the case. See the examples, pp. 80, 65, &c.—His acceptance of them was the more marked, because the authentic copy of the Acts of the Council, including the orations or sermons delivered in it, was revised carefully under his direction, and published with the sanction of his hand and his Preface. See Hard. ix. 1562, 1563.

[3] "Præda digna meæ gloriæ!"—"Mihi curæ est."

[4] "Pragmatic sanction was a general term for all important ordinances of church or state; those perhaps more properly, which were enacted in public assemblies with the counsel of eminent *jurisconsults* or *Pragmatici*." Waddington, iii. 160. —That to which the title attached by way of eminence, and which is referred to continually in the history of the papal negociations with France for the last half of the fifteenth century, as well as in the proceedings of this Lateran Council, was passed in the Council of *Bourges*, A.D. 1438;—a Council of the Gallican Church, but attended by a papal legate, and one too from the Council General of *Basle*, which was then sitting. By it the Pope was declared, 1st, to have no authority in France over *temporals;* whereby the clergy were relieved from pecuniary contributions continually exacted by the Popes, more especially the *annates* or first year's produce of benefices: and 2ndly, in *spirituals*, though the lord suzerain, yet to be restricted and controlled by the canons and regulations of the ancient Church Councils. 3rdly, The authority of the General Council of Basle was recognised in it; and so the great principle of both it, and the Council of Constance before it, that the Pope was subordinate to a General Council.

The Bull of Leo, which assailed this Pragmatic Sanction as unlawful and schismatic, and disparaged also the Councils (conciliabula) of Bourges and Basle, was followed by a Concordat between the Pope and the King of France, Francis I; in which he Pope's *temporal* jurisdiction over the Gallican church was allowed, and the *annates*

hold, at the very threatening of his voice, both the schismatic cardinals, and the French king, hasten in public humiliation to renounce alike the one and the other, and to ask for absolution. On which, (according to the legend, "Prostratis placidus," "Supplices generosè exaudio,") the absolution is granted;[1] and, in the confessed subjection of all the kingdoms of Western Christendom to the Papal supremacy, the schism healed.—*Next* against the *Bohemian heretics*, the only ones apparently recognised as remaining, a citation is issued; with similar promise of consideration and clemency, in case of submission.[2]—And when, as was avowed in triumphal tone by the preacher in the Session following, no schismatic, heretic, or maintainer of his own private opinion against the Pope's,[3] seemed for the present any more forthcoming, but all hushed in submission, ("Jam nemo reclamat, nullus obsistit,")[4]—*then*, and with a view to prevent any fresh rising of heresy or schism, and so to ensure the continued unity of his *bride* the Church,[5] without spot or wrinkle,[6] in continued subjection to himself, the Papal Lion thus again from the height of his apostolic office, as from the top of Mount Zion,[7] issues his voice of command:—1st, that forasmuch as *printing*, that wonderful recently invented art, might be used to disseminate heretical notions, no books be *printed* without the previous censorship of the Pope's inquisitor in the district:[8]—2ndly, that no *preaching* be allowed, or ex-

not tacitly (as Dean Waddington says by mistake, iii. 301) but expressly restored to him. Tit. xliii. Hard. ix. 1886, and 1812, &c.—This Concordat continued in force, till the new arrangement brought about by Bossuet in 1682.

[1] See the account in Roscoe ii. 231—236. Also the notice of it in a letter from Cardinal Bembo to the Emperor Maximilian. Ib. App. lxxxv. In it he speaks of the penitent schismatics as "aurâ zephyri cœlestis afflati." See p. 37 Note [3] suprà.

[2] Sess. viii. Of this more in a subsequent chapter on the death of the Witnesses.

[3] "In hanc insipientiam cadunt (sc. hæresis) quicumque ad cognoscendam veritatem aliquo impediuntur obscuro; et non ad propheticas voces, Apostolicas literas, evangelicas auctoritates, sed semetipsos recurrunt." Oration of Bernard Zaue, Sess. I. Hard. col. 1604.

[4] Ib. 1763.

[5] "Ecclesia sponsa nostra." Ib. 1810, 1830.

[6] "in sanctâ unione sine rugâ et maculâ." Ib. 1810.

[7] In the introduction of his Bull of the ninth session, Leo speaks of looking to the fulfilment of his charge over the universal church, "ex summo apostolatûs apice, tanquam ex vertice Montis Sion." Hard. 1742.

[8] This was in the tenth session, Hard. 1780. In the Bull the complaint is noticed as prevalent, "quòd nonnulli artis imprimendi magistri, in diversis mundi partibus, libros tàm Græcæ, Arabicæ, et Chaldææ linguarum in Latinum translatos, quàm alios Latino ac vulgari sermone editos, errores etiam in fide, ac perniciosa dogmata religioni

planation of the Scriptures, except in conformity with that of the recognised fathers and doctors of the church;[1] and no mention moreover made by them of *Antichrist*, or speculations mooted as to the time (since it was altogether hidden from man) of the *final predicted judgment*:[2]—3rdly, that the inquisitors fail not to exercise vigilance, and proceed with all zeal against *heretics*, wherever afresh arising, in order to their utter elimination from the congregation of the faithful.[3]—So much for the preservation of the *unity* of the Church.—As to its *reformation*,—that for which so many cries had arisen for centuries, so many efforts been made, and hopes even now expressed of there being at length the grand and final one,—he undertakes it as that which, like the rest, belonged to his province as supreme administrator: ("mihi curæ est:") and accordingly issues enactments limiting pluralities, and forbidding a few other external abuses; but passes over, as needing no reform, and so adopts, and covers with the broad arrow of the Papal

christianæ contraria, imprimere ac publicè vendere præsumunt:" and that hence arose a necessity for the papal censorship of the press.—It was not the first papal enactment of the kind. Within the forty years preceding, Sixtus IV and Alexander VI had anticipated Leo in it. But I presume it was considered more stringent than former ones: being singled out for approbation subsequently by the Council of Trent.

The specification, among what were objectionable, of translations from the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* into the vulgar tongues, recalls to our minds the old *antibiblical* edict of Pope Alexander V, still unrepealed, and now resanctioned. See p. 22 Note, suprà.

Roscoe (ii. 291) suggests that this act should be regarded as rather originating from the Council, than from Leo of his own accord. This does not affect my view of it. It was the policy of Rome.

Further, he suggests Leo's encouragement of *Biblical*, as of Oriental literature generally; exemplifying in Cardinal Ximenes' famous Polyglot, or rather Triglot, published under Leo's sanction, and dedicated to him. But this was quite consistent with the policy of shutting out the Bible from the common people. The Triglot was in the learned languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin. Indeed Cardinal Ximenes, in his preface, declares that it ought to be confined to those three, as the three in which the inscription on the cross was written. Let me add, that having placed the Latin in the middle column, the Hebrew and Septuagint Greek on the sides, he speaks of the latter two as representing respectively the Jewish synagogue and Eastern or Greek Church: which, like the two thieves, were the one on the right, the other on the left; while Jesus, that is the Roman Church, represented by the Vulgate, was in the middle! M'Crie's Reform. in Spain, 69—72.

[1] "Mandantes omnibus qui hoc onus (prædicandi) sustinent, . . . ut evangelicam veritatem, et sanctam scripturam, juxta interpretationem . . . doctorum quos ecclesia vel usus diuturnus approbavit, . . . prædicent et explanent." Hard. 1808.

[2] "Tempus quoque præfixum futurorum malorum, vel Antichristi adventum, aut certum diem judicii, prædicare vel asserere nequaquam præsumant." This, as well as the enactment previous, was in the 11th session. Hard. ib.

[3] "Ut omnes ficti Christiani, ac de fide male sentientes, cujuscumque generis aut nationis fuerint, necnon hæretici, seu aliquâ hæresis labe polluti, à Christi fidelium cœtu penitus eliminentur." Sess. ix.; ib. col. 1757.

sanction, the whole doctrinal system of the apostasy, its dæmonolatry, sorceries, and religious thefts and murders.[1] —*Finally*, in order to the effecting of the last and chief object of the Council, the *exaltation* of the Church, i. e. of the Church of *Rome*, he solemnly repeats and confirms the famous Bull "Unam sanctam," of Pope Boniface the VIIIth; in which Bull the unity of the Church is defined as that of one body under one head, the Roman Pontiff, Christ's representative; and of which this is the conclusion, "We declare, define, and pronounce, that it is essential to the salvation of every human being that he be subject to the Roman Pontiff:"[2] prefixing thereto the declaration, "Whosoever obeys not, as the Scripture declares, let him die the death!"[3]

Such is the voice of the Pope, the "Leo Papa,"[4] like as of a lion roaring; (itself the fulfilment of another patristic anticipation respecting Antichrist:)[5] and the whole Christian Church, by its representatives in Council, assents and consents to it.[6]—On which, each object of its assembling having, as they view it, been accomplished, the Roman Church by the Council's reforming canons been renovated as the heavenly Jerusalem, by the extinction of heresies

[1] There is one true doctrine asserted, it may be said, viz. the immortality of the soul; and a wholesome canon passed in the condemnation of philosophers, who (whether as disciples of Averroes, or any other) denied it. But let it be remembered that this was an error which, if admitted into the popular creed, would have destroyed not only religion but *Romanism:* for it would have done away with *purgatory* and *hell:* and so with the whole system of established priestcraft.

[2] Hard. ix. 1830. See on this Bull, Waddington, ii. 315.

[3] "Quibus (i. e. Vicariis Petri) ex Libri Regum testimonio ita obedire necesse est, ut qui non obedierit morte moriatur." This is at the head of the same Bull, for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction. Hard. ix. 1826.

[4] "Leo Episcopus, servus servorum Dei," stands at the head of all the decrees. They are drawn up too in the first person plural as *his* decrees; a note being subjoined at the end, of the assent of the Council.

[5] "As then the *Lord Jesus Christ*, for the royal and glorious principle of his nature, was beforehand preached of as a *lion*, in the same manner have the Scriptures spoken beforehand of the *Antichrist* also as a *lion*, for his tyrannical and violent nature. For the deceiver wishes to liken himself in respect of all things to the Son of God. The Christ is a lion, and the Antichrist is a lion. The Christ is a king, and the Antichrist is a king." So *Hippolytus*, De Antichristo: quoted by Greswell, Vol. i. p. 376.

He adds: "The Saviour was manifested as a *lamb*, and *he* likewise shall appear as a *lamb*, being within a *wolf*, &c. And it is observable that De Pennis in his Tract, when about to describe Pope Leo's progress, compares him as well to the *lamb* as to the lion. "Il nostro Leone assai piu umile ed immaculato che il puro agnello." Roscoe ii. 407.

[6] There were now and then a few that individually expressed disagreement. But the number was very small;—from 1 to 5, 10, and once 19.

and schisms made one, and by the universal subjection of secular princes elevated as Mount Zion on the top of the mountains, a Te Deum of thanksgiving is chanted, and the Council concludes: and, in order to the increase of the joy of its members at this its auspicious ending, a plenary remission of sins and indulgence is granted to each one of them by the Pope, once in life, and in the article of death.[1]

Thus have I shown the realization, or acting out in real life, by the Roman Bishop Leo X, of those prerogatives and functions of Christ, which were attributed to him in the three remarkable paintings to which I called attention, as exhibited before Christendom in the pageant of his enthronization. And now at length we are prepared to revert with abundant advantage to the *Apocalyptic vision* of the Covenant-Angel's descent, and the glorious events that it presignified.

For so it was, that just when the Roman ANTICHRIST seemed to have completed his triumph, and when,—not only without opposition in Christendom, but with Christendom consenting, applauding, admiring, and in the Papal exaltation and reign anticipating the fulfilment of Christ's promised reign with his saints,—this Usurper acted out the character of Christ, and exercised, or professed to exercise, in regard to both worlds, Christ's own god-like functions and prerogatives;—

Just when, especially,—as if himself the heaven-sent one, mighty to save,—he made pretence of opening heaven to all believers in the Papal magic charms, however laden they might be with guilt and sin, and exhibited himself to them as the dispenser of the mercies of the covenant, the Fountain of grace, the Saviour, the Justifier, the Sun of Righteousness;—

Just when, as if the appointed heir of the world, and

[1] "Et ut ad propria aliquibus spiritualibus muneribus refecti cumulatiori gaudio remeare possint, illis eorumque familiaribus plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem et indulgentiam, semel in vitâ et in mortis articulo, elargimur." Hard. p. 1851.

who was to have all things put under his feet,—he claimed as his own the kingdoms of the earth, (not those of the Roman earth only, but those too in the mighty seas beyond it,) and, receiving homage for each grant that he made from the princes of the world, assigned them as sovereign lord to whom he would ;—

Just when,—after, assuming Christ's title of *lion*, agreeably with the old patristic anticipations respecting Antichrist, even as if the lion of the tribe of Judah,—he had in acts and mandates, framed with a view to secure the church and world in subjection to him, begun to roar as it were over his prey, and threaten every opposer ;—

Just when, on the day of his enthronization, as on a day of high festival, there were exhibited paintings, amidst the applause of congregated Christendom, on which art seemed to have lavished all its ingenuity of decoration ; and which, as the devices that might best symbolize these his threefold prerogatives and functions as Christ's vicar and impersonator, represented this same usurping Antichrist, in one part as beaming like the new risen *sun* from heaven upon earth, together with a *rainbow* to reflect his brightness,—in another as *planting one foot on the land and the other on the sea*,—in a third as looking and roaring, with the world in his clutch, even as *when a lion roareth* on his prey :—

Just at this very time it was that there occurred the fulfilment of another symbolic figuration, devised by higher than human art, and evidently in purposed contrast to the former, though pictured above 1400 years before it :—a figuration which, in the visions of Patmos, exhibited CHRIST to St. John as now at length intervening, after long forbearance, in vindication of his own rights, truth, and people ;—revealing *Himself* as the true Covenant-Angel from heaven, with *his* face shining as the sun, and a rainbow about *his* head,—planting moreover *his* right foot on the sea, *his* left on the land,—and crying with a loud voice, as when a *lion* roareth. "Like as a lion roaring on his prey, when a multitude of shepherds is called forth against him, he will not be afraid of their voice, nor abase himself for the noise of them," so was the Lord repre-

sented as now "coming down to fight for Mount Zion,"[1] —against Antichrist and Antichrist's assembled Council.

And whereas the Papal lion's voice, in vindication of his usurping claims on the church and world, and to counteract all opposition, enacted decrees, as we have seen, preventive of the *printing* of all books on religion except as approved by him, and especially of God's book the Bible,—preventive also of all *preaching*, except in accordance with the established Roman interpretations of Scripture,—and further enjoining that there should be no mention by them of the *coming of Antichrist*, or of the time of the great final judgment;

So in the Apocalyptic vision there was prefigured, as what would take place at the same precise epoch, Christ's own opening to the world of that forbidden book of God, —his revival of that forbidden gospel-preaching,—his exposure of Antichrist, as even then alive in the *Popes*,— and revelation too (so far as man might know it) of the time of the fated judgment, as involving the Popedom's destruction, and placed at but one Apocalyptic Trumpet's interval from the chronological epoch of the intervention here symbolized.—All these things, I say, were foreshadowed in the vision before us; and in the Protestant Reformation all these things, as we shall see, were done.

Finally, as the Papal lion spoke enactments in its roaring with a view to *eliminate*, and cast out of the company of the faithful, all *heretics*, or those that dissented from the Roman apostasy and Roman Antichrist,—so there was prefigured in the Apocalyptic vision a solemn casting out from Christ's true church, and the communion of the faithful, of Papal Rome, with its Bishop, ministers, and church, as apostate and antichristian.—And this too had its fulfilment in the same great event: and, together with a certain political revolution accompanying, viz. the fall of a tenth part of the mystic Babylon, as if prelusively of its final entire fall,—it appeared, both in the prophecy and in the history, as what may be called the completing act of the Reformation.

To show this, we must now pass on to that memorable

[1] Isa. xxxi. 4.

history. With the Apocalyptic vision before us as our guide, we shall find ourselves called to notice, just in this very order, *the commencement*, *progress*, and *each grand epoch* of the great and glorious Reformation of the xvith century.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION, IN THE DISCOVERY FIRST OF CHRIST THE SAVIOUR, THEN OF ANTICHRIST THE USURPER. APOC. X. 1—5.

It is the *origin* and *commencement* of the blessed Reformation that is now our subject. And how can we so well set it forth, or how so well expound the Apocalyptic vision which prefigured it, as by tracing its development in the *mind* and *history* of Luther? In no case, perhaps, is the principle of studying history in biography applied with such advantage as in this. Luther was both the master-spirit of that great revolution of the xvith century; and also the type, in the inward experience of soul that made him a reformer, of what afterwards influenced the soul of many another. "The Reformation passed," it has been said by a learned Professor of Modern History, "from the mind of Luther into the mind of Western Europe:"[1] and by M. Merle D'Aubigné, more in particular; "The *different phases* of the Reformation succeeded each other in the soul of Luther, its instrumental originator, before their accomplishment in the world."[2]

Of these phases the *two first*, and those from which the rest proceeded, are figured to us, as distinctly as beautifully, in that portion of the Apocalyptic vision (already in part discussed) that stands referred to at the head of this chapter. Let us consider the two separately. They will ex-

[1] Smythe, Lectures on Modern History, i. 265. He observes at the same time; "Milner's is the best account of the more intellectual part of the history of the Reformation; in other words, of the progress of the Reformation in Luther's own mind;—a very interesting subject." In M. Merle D'Aubigné's lately published History we have a development of the same subject still more full, and still more interesting.

[2] Merle D'Aub. i. 130.

hibit to us the *secret origin*, the *first public acts*, and so the *opening epoch* of the Reformation.

§ 1.—THE DISCOVERY OF CHRIST THE SAVIOUR.

"And I saw a mighty Angel coming down from heaven, clothed with a cloud: and the rainbow was upon his head; and his face was as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire; and He had in his hand a little book opened. And He set his right foot upon the sea, and his left upon the land; and cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth." Apoc. x. 1—3.

It was LUTHER, we said, that was God's chosen instrument to effect this great revolution:—Luther, the son of a poor miner in Mansfield;[1] one who when at school in his early boyhood, both at Magdeburgh and then at Eisenach, had to beg his bread under the pinchings of want, with the pitiful cry of "Bread for the love of God;"[2] and was indebted to the charity of a burgher's wife in Eisenach, afterwards spoken of as the pious Shunamite, for the power of pursuing his studies, and almost for his preservation. "Not many mighty, not many noble: but God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen; that no flesh should glory in his presence."[3]

Let us hasten to that crisis in his history to which our subject directs us; that wherein he was prepared for, and then began to act out, the great part assigned him, in the reformation and revivification of Christ's fallen church.

He had grown at this time into manhood; and, having passed from the schools to the University of Erfurt, had there, in the course of the usual four years of study, dis-

[1] The following chronological epochs occur in Luther's early life. He was born, A.D. 1483; entered the University of Erfurt in 1501, the Augustinian monastery 1505; was ordained priest 1507, called to Wittemberg 1508, made B.D. 1509; in 1511 visited Italy and Rome; in 1512 was made Doctor of Divinity ad Biblia; in 1517 posted up his Theses against Indulgences, and so began the Reformation.

[2] "Panem propter Deum!" Michelet i. 4.

[3] 1 Cor. i. 26, 27. The *Italics* that close the English authorized Translation of verse 26,—"Not many mighty *are called*," seem to be incorrect. The apostle is speaking of the persons made use of by God in *the Christian ministry*, for the *calling* of men to the knowledge of Himself, not of the *converts called*. Compare verse 21.

played intellectual powers and an extent of learning, that excited the admiration of the University, and seemed to open to his attainment both the honours and the emoluments of the world; when behold, on a sudden, to the dismay as well as astonishment of his friends, he renounced the world and all its brilliant prospects, and betook himself to the solitude and gloom of an Augustin monastery.[1]—Wherefore so strange a step?—We find that thoughts deeper and mightier than those that agitate the surface of a vain world were then pressing on his soul; the thoughts of death, judgment, eternity, God Almighty!—There had combined together different causes to induce this state of mind. He had found a *Bible*.[2] It was a copy of the Vulgate, hid in the shelves of the University Library. Till then he had known nothing more of the New Testament gospels or epistles, than what were given in the Breviary or the Sermonaries.[3] The discovery amazed him. He was

[1] The following abstract of Luther's early history is taken chiefly from M. Merle D'Aubigné. With this Milner, Waddington, and Michelet agree in main things. Indeed all the four histories are drawn very much from materials of Luther's own furnishing; so as to be alike a kind of autobiography.

[2] Luther tells us that it was when *he was* 20 *years old*, and consequently in 1503, after he had been two out of his four years at the Erfurt University, that he first discovered this copy of the Bible. So Merle i. 143; Waddington, Reform. i. 36.—Seckendorf, p. 19, and after him Milner, (p. 667, Ed. in one Vol. 1838,) have made a mistake, in supposing that it was in the *Monastery* of Erfurt that he first found the copy.

[3] M. Merle, i. 143, in stronger language than I have used, describes Luther's wonder at finding in the Bible ("a Book at that time unknown") more than the fragments of gospels and epistles read in the Sunday Church-services. "Il avait cru jusqu'alors que c'etait là toute la Parole de Dieu." On which Dr. Maitland, in his Dark Ages, p. 468, expresses somewhat scornfully his disbelief of the statement. Had he then "never heard of the *Psalms*"? And, in his study of Occam, Scot, Bonaventure, T. Aquinas, &c, had he not learnt something about the Bible? Then, as to its being a book at that time unknown, had there not been some 20 editions of the Latin Bible printed in Germany before Luther's birth?—I presume that M. Merle did not mean to represent Luther as ignorant of the *Psalter*: but that of the *gospels* and *epistles*, which make up the New Testament, he knew no more than what was in the Church-services; and no more of the Bible, generally, than what was in those services. M. Merle, in a letter published in the Record of Dec. 12, 1844, cites *Mathesius* and *Melchior Adam*, in proof of the general correctness of his statement. To which I beg to add *Luther's own testimony*, given by Michelet (i. 292), from the *Tischreden*, or *Table-talk*; "J'avais vingt ans que je n'avois pas encore vu de Bible. Je croyois qu'il n'existait d'autres evangiles ni epîtres que celles des sermonaires."

With regard to the then general ignorance of the Bible, notwithstanding the many editions of the *Latin* Bible, and some *German* versions too, printed in the half-century preceding, M. Merle cites a passage from Trithemius, the learned Abbot of Spanheim, who lived till the Reformation; speaking in strong terms of it, as characterizing even priests and prelates. How much more *lay-students* in a University!—Even now, as Sign. Ciocci informs us, (Narrative, p. 67,) the same ignorance of the Scripture exists still among *University students* at Rome itself. "At the age of eighteen," he writes, and I have myself heard him repeat the statement, "I had never read the Bible, except in small portions inserted in the Breviary, or sung during mass."

at once rivetted by what he read therein. It increased, even to intenseness, the desire already awakened in his heart to know God. At the same time there was that in its descriptions of man's sinfulness, and God's holiness and wrath against sin, which awed and alarmed him.—*Providential occurrences*, following soon after, confirmed and deepened the work on his conscience. He was brought by a dangerous illness into the near view of death. He saw a beloved friend and fellow-student suddenly cut off with scarce a moment's warning. He was overtaken while journeying by a lightning-storm, terrific to him, from his associating it with an angry God, as the lightnings of Sinai to Israel. He felt unprepared to meet him. How shall I stand justified before God? This was now the absorbing thought with Luther. Thenceforth the world, its riches and its honours, were to him as nothing. What would he profit, were he to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?—In the pursuit, however, of this great object, no success seemed to attend him. He longed to know God: but neither his own understanding, nor the philosophy and learning of the University, yielded him the light he needed for it. He longed to propitiate Him: but his conscience

Michelet adds what follows from *Luther*. "Sous la Papaute la Bible étoit inconnue aux gens. Carlostadt commença à la lire lorsqu'il étoit deja Docteur depuit huit ans. Le Docteur Usingen, moine Augustin, qui fut mon precepteur au convent d'Erfurdt, me disait, quand il me voyait lire la Bible avec tant d'ardeur; Ah, frère Martin, qu'est ce que la Bible? On doit lire les anciens docteurs, qui en ont sucé le miel de la verité: la Bible est la cause de tous les troubles." Further, in illustration of the general ignorance of the Bible among Papists, even some years later, Michelet gives the two following anecdotes. "A la diete d'Augsburg (1530) l'Eveque de Mayence jeta un jour les yeux sur une Bible. Survint par hasard un de ses conseillers qui lui dit, 'Gracieux Seigneur, que fait de ce livre votre Grace Electorale?' A quoi il repondit, Je ne sais quel livre c'est: seulement tout ce que j'y trouve est contre nous." All this from Luther's Tischreden. (My Ed. i. 19, 20.) The other is from Sismondi's Hist. de France. "En 1530 un moine Français disait en chaire; On a trouvé une nouvelle langue que l'on appelle Grecque: il faut s'en garantir avec soin. Cette langue enfante toutes les heresies. Je vois dans les mains d'un grand nombre de personnes un livre écrit en cette langue. On le nomme Nouveau Testament: c'est un livre plein de ronces et de viperes."

As regards the *German* versions previously published, Michelet observes from Seckendorf, that they were neither suited for, nor allowed to the *people*; "*Nec legi permittebantur*, nec ob styli et typorum horriditatem satisfacere poterant."—Further, till Erasmus' publication of it in 1516, a *Greek* Testament could not be procured at any price in all Germany. So Pellicanus ap. Milner, p. 661.—Says Dean Waddington, "She (the Church of Rome) had locked up the SS., and substituted herself in their place." Hist. of Reform. i. 58. How little of the essence of the Gospel Luther could have learnt from his study of the scholastic doctors he need hardly to have told us; as he has in the Tischr. i. 5, &c.

itself was dissatisfied with the inadequacy of his performances. It was the long-established notion among the more serious, that the *convent* was the *place*, and its *prayers penances* and *mortifications* the *means*, whereby most surely to attain to the knowledge and favour of God. There, then, he determined to pursue his absorbing object. He gathered his friends around him; ate his farewell meal with them; then sought the monastery. Its gate opened and closed on him. He had become an Augustinian Monk.

But was his object attained? Did he find the holiness, or the peace with God, that he longed for? Alas, no! In vain he practised all the strictest rules of the monkish life. In vain he gave himself, night and day, to the repetition of prayers, penances, fastings, and every kind of self-mortification. He found that in changing his dress he had not changed his heart. The consciousness of sin remained with him; of its indwelling power, its guilt, its danger. "O, my sin! my sin!" was the exclamation heard at times to burst from him.[1] Pale, emaciated, behold him moving along the corridors like a shadow! Behold him on one occasion fallen down in his cell, and, when found, lying in appearance dead; from the exhaustion of the mental conflict, yet more than of sleeplessness and fasting.[2] He is a wonder to all in the convent. A wounded spirit who can bear?

There was a copy of the Vulgate chained in the monastery. With eagerness still undiminished he renewed his intense study of it. But it gave him, no more than before, the consolation that he sought for. Rather those awful attributes of God, his justice and holiness, appeared to him, as there represented, more terrible than ever. Above all for this reason, because even in the *gospel*, (that which professed to be the gospel of *mercy* to fallen man,) there seemed to be intimated a fresh exercise and manifestation of God's *justice*. Such appeared to him the point of that saying of St. Paul to the Romans, "Justitia Dei revelatur in eo;"—"the justice of God is revealed in it." Was it not adding grief to grief, to make even the *gospel* an occa-

[1] Michelet i. 9. [2] Merle D'Aub. i. 160.

sion for threatening mankind with God's justice and wrath?[1]

It was at this time that Staupitz, Vicar-general of the Augustines, was sent by God as his messenger, to assist in shedding light on the darkness of this wounded soul, and opening to him the Scriptures. On his visitation of the convent at Erfurt he at once distinguished from among the rest the young monk of Mansfield. He beheld him with his eyes sunk in their sockets, his countenance stamped with melancholy, his body emaciated by study, watchings, and fastings, so that they might have counted his bones.[2] It needed not an interpreter to tell him what was pressing on that sorrowful soul. For Staupitz was one who, in secret and unknown to the world, had gone through somewhat of the same conflicts as Luther; until in the gospel, rightly understood, he found a Saviour. In the experience of his own heart he had both a key by which to understand, and a spring of sympathy to feel for, what was passing in Luther's. He sought and gained his confidence. He entered with him on the solemn subjects of his anxiety. The Bible lay open before them.[3] He expounded from it, to the poor trembler, God's love and mercy to man, as exhibited in *Christ crucified*. He spoke of his *death* as the expiation for penitent sinners; his *righteousness* and perfect *justice of life* as their plea, their trust. These were views as comforting as new to Luther. He began to see that the justice, of which St. Paul spoke as manifested in the gospel, was not the *active vindictive* justice that he had supposed, but *passive* justice, as the schoolmen might say, *inherent righteousness*:[4] that which, being the characteristic in perfection of the life of the LORD JESUS, was accepted by God *vicariously*, (being in *this* sense called "God's righteousness,") in place of the imperfect and defiled performance of penitent sinners; just as his death was also vicarious, and expiatory of the guilt of their sins. O godlike scheme for saving sinners! O how unlike that of the convent and

[1] Michelet i. 11. The Vulgate reads, "Justitia Dei revelatur in illo:" scil. *evangelio*.
[2] Merle d'Aub. i. 163.
[3] Mich. i. 292.
[4] Ib. p 12; Table-talk, p. 341.

the schools, which through penances and works of merit directed men to accomplish their salvation![1]—When Luther still objected his *sinfulness*, it was answered by Staupitz, "Would you have merely the semblance of a sinner, and the semblance of a Saviour?"[2] And when he objected again that it was to *penitent* sinners only that Christ's salvation belonged, and that how to obtain the true spirit of penitence,—that which included, as he now learnt from the Bible, both the love of holiness and love of God,—he had with all his self-mortifications and penitential observances sought in vain,—it was answered by the Vicar-general; "It is from the *love of God* that true repentance has alone its origin. Seek it not in these macerations and mortifications of the body! Seek it in contemplating God's love in Christ Jesus! Love him who has thus first loved you!"[3]

He heard the words; he received them: received them not as the voice of his Vicar-general, but as the voice of the Divine Spirit speaking by him. It was the opening to him of the gospel; the setting forth to him of the two things he had been so intently seeking, and which he now saw to be clearly expressed in the gospel-record;—the principle of *justification before God*, and the principle of *godly penitence* and *sanctification within*. O how did the glory of JEHOVAH-JESUS, even of Him that furnishes both to the believing penitent, begin now to shine before him! Was it not just as in the *emblems* of the *Apocalyptic vision* under consideration? With the eye of faith he beheld Him beaming upon this lost world,—yea, and upon his own lost soul,—as the *Sun of Righteousness:* and the dark thunder-clouds of the mental storm that had past over him only served to throw out more strikingly the beauty of the *rainbow* of covenant-mercy, as reflected from them;[4]—

[1] Popery, says Luther in his Commentary on Genesis, never spoke of the *promises* in Scripture.

[2] Merle, i. 166. [3] Merle, i. 165.

[4] This beautiful symbol was first appointed as a token to Noah, and men after him, of God's covenant-promise that the *earth* should ever after be preserved from destruction by a *flood of waters*. (See Gen. ix. 12—17.) In Isaiah liv. 9 it was transferred, as it were, to be a token of the sureness of the *gospel* promises, and of God's covenant to remember, preserve, and ultimately save his *Church* (both Jewish and Gentile) with an everlasting salvation. "In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith

that characteristic and constant accompaniment of the Sun of Righteousness, when shining on a penitent.[1] "He beheld his glory, as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of *grace and truth*."—In the sunshine of this forgiving love, the former overwhelming bitterness of his sense of *sin* yielded to sweeter sensations. "O happy sin," was his very heart's language, "which hast found such a Redeemer!"[2] The subject of *repentance* too was now as sweet as once it had been bitter to him. He sought out in the Bible, (that precious volume with a copy of which the Vicar-general had personally enriched him,) all that related to it: and the Scriptures that spoke upon the subject seemed, he tells us, as if they danced in joy round his emancipated soul.[3]—Nor, in the delight of these perceptions of the Divine forgiving love and mercy, did he rest content and inactive. He found in them, as his evangelist and friend had assured him he would, a spring and a power for the pursuit of holiness altogether unfelt before. The love of Christ constrained him. From the view of Jesus he drew *strength*, as well as *righteousness*. In the course of two or three years next following, the variations both internal and external with which the lot of man is ever

the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is as *the waters of Noah* unto me. For as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee. (i. e. for perpetuity.) For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall *the covenant of my peace* be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee."

The hint having been thus given as to its new and yet more beautiful appropriation, the symbol was afterwards exhibited to Ezekiel (i. 28), in accompaniment of the visions that foreshowed to him indeed Judah's temporary abandonment to judgment, but with everlasting redemption as the final issue. And so again to St. John, as we have seen, in the Apocalyptic visions; both here, and in the standing scenery of the throne in the inner heavenly temple, described Apoc. iv. 3.

[1] In 1620, just before the execution of the 47 Protestant martyrs of Prague, it is related that, as day broke, a rainbow described its radiant curve athwart the dark storm-clouds. On which they fell on their knees, and praised their Saviour: one of them exclaiming, as in accents of inspiration, "It is the symbol of the covenant God made with the human family: it is the arch on which his glorious throne reposes: in the words of the Apocalypse, Jesus is opening the heavens to us." So Michiel, "Secret History of the Austrian Government, and its persecutions of Protestants."

[2] "O beata culpa quæ talem meruisti Redemptorem." Merle d'Aub. i. 170.—This was after the suggestion by an aged monk, who visited Luther on occasion of his falling ill in the convent, of that article in the creed, "I believe in the remission of sins:"—a suggestion applied by God's Spirit, with great power, to the strengthening of his mind in its peace in believing.

[3] Ib. i. 166.—Michelet (i. 12) quotes a passage from Luther of similar effect: "Il me semble que j'entrais à portes ouvertes dans le paradis."

affected, and not these alone, but dangerous illnesses also, tested the truth and power of the new views he had received of gospel-salvation:—one illness in the convent at Erfurt;[1] another afterwards at Bologna, in his way on a mission entrusted to him from the Wittenberg Augustinians to Rome. The result was his confirmation in their truth and preciousness. For a little while indeed, while at Rome on the occasion last mentioned, the ideas so long cherished of its local sanctity, and the influence of early associations, induced his momentary return, in regard of outward observances, to the old superstition. With a devoutness which astonished, and drew ridicule on him from, the Romish clergy, he made the round of its churches; celebrating masses in them, as that which might yield a blessing to the devotee. He even climbed on his knees the *Pilate staircase* near the Lateran, brought, it was said, from Jerusalem; on hearing that to the so climbing it there attached a *papal indulgence*, and *remission of sin*. But, while in the act of climbing, a voice as from heaven sounded in his ears, "The justified *by faith* shall live;" they, and they only.[2] He started up in horror at himself, on the heavenly monition; and the superstitions he had been educated in had never more influence, or power, to obscure or to distract his vision of the Sun of Righteousness.[3]

Thus was Luther inwardly prepared for the work that Providence intended him. It remained that he should act as God's chosen minister, to set before others, in all its glory and its power, what he had himself seen and felt. Already a fit sphere of action had been provided for the purpose. A University had been just recently founded at Wittenberg by the Elector of Saxony. Of the arrangements a principal part had devolved on Staupitz. Impressed with a sense of Luther's intellectual powers and piety he summoned him, A.D. 1509, to a professorship in the university. The call of his Vicar-General was obeyed,

[1] This illness occurred in the second year passed by him in the Convent at Erfurt; and is the one to which I refer in the Note last but one preceding.

[2] Merle, i. 187.

[3] Just before his death Luther reverted to the early crisis of his religious life above described by me; and to the opening to his mind of the meaning of that text in Habakkuk ii. 4, "The just shall live by faith." "By it," he said, "all Scripture, and heaven itself, was opened to me."

as in duty bound, by the young Augustinian monk: and being appointed first Bachelor, then in 1512 Doctor, of Divinity *ad Biblia*, and having to vow on his appointment to defend the Bible doctrines, he received therein, as it has been said, *his vocation as a reformer*.[1] It was another epoch in his history. Forthwith in his lectures to the students, and in his sermons too in the old church of the Augustines to the people, (for, ordained as he had already been to the *priest's* office, he neglected not like others the priest's duty of *evangelic preaching*,)[2] he opened to them the gospel that had been opened to him, and set before them the glory of JESUS, mighty to save. His letters and private ministrations still dwelt on the same favourite theme. "Learn, my brother," was the tenor of his perpetual exhortation, "to know Christ;—Christ crucified,—Christ come down from heaven to dwell with sinners. Learn to sing the new song; *Thou, Jesus, art my righteousness; I am thy sin: Thou hast taken on thyself what was mine: Thou hast given me what is thine!*"[3]—Against the schoolmen, and their scholastic doctrine of man's ability and strength to attain to righteousness in religion, he published Theses, and offered to sustain them; his text being, *Christ is our strength and our righteousness*. Thus did he attack *rationalism*, as it has been well said, before he attacked *superstition;* and proclaimed the *righteousness of God*, before he retrenched the *additions of man*.[4] Multitudes crowded from different parts to the University, to hear a doctrine so new, and expounded with eloquence so convincing. "It seemed," says Melancthon, "as if a new day had risen on Christian doctrine, after a long and dark night."[5] The eyes of men were directed to the true Sun of Righteousness, as risen

[1] Merle, 174, 193.

[2] Ib. 171, 176.

[3] Ib. i. 203.—Similarly *Zuingle*, the Swiss Reformer; "Mon esprit se ranime à l'ouie de cette joyeuse nouvelle: Christ est ton innocence; Christ est ta justice; Christ est ton salut: tu n'es rien; tu ne peux rien: Christ est l'Alpha et l'Omega: . . Christ est tout." Merle d'Aub. ii. 348.

I wish again to impress on the reader that it is not simply *Luther*, but *the reforming Fathers generally*, that I conceive St. John to have impersonated at this epoch: —though Luther most prominently of course, as being the chief leader of the Reformation.

[4] Merle, i. 209, 225.

[5] Ib. 201.—So Scultetus, on A.D. 1517: "As once from Zion, so now from Wittenberg, the *light of gospel-truth* was diffused into the remotest realms." Seekendorf, p. 59.

upon them, (and many saw and felt it,) with healing in his wings.

Thus far the manifestation of gospel-light, however glorious, had been comparatively noiseless and tranquil. There had been simply a revelation of Himself by the Lord Jesus to the favoured ones at Wittenberg, in his character of the Sun of Righteousness, and the rainbow-vested Angel of the Covenant, mighty to save. But now the calm was to end. There was to be added his roaring, like as the Lion of the tribe of Judah, against the usurping enemy;[1] and so the fiery conflict[2] to commence between those two mighty antagonistic principles and powers, between Christ and Antichrist. The infamous Tetzel precipitated the conflict. Approaching in prosecution of his commission to the near neighbourhood of Wittenberg,[3] (it was some eight or nine years after Luther's removal thither from Erfurt,) he there proclaimed, as elsewhere, the Papal Bulls of grace and indulgence; in other words, set forth the *Pope* as the heaven-sent dispenser of mercy, Sun of Righteousness, and source of all divine light, grace, and salvation. Then was the spirit of the Reformer kindled within him. His Lord's honour was assailed, his Lord's little flock troubled by the impostor. Little thinking of the effect they were to produce, he published his celebrated 95 Theses against Indulgences; affixing them, according to the custom of the times, to the door of the chief church at Wittenberg; and offering to maintain them against all impugners. The truths most prominently asserted in them were the Pope's utter insufficiency to confer forgiveness of sin or salvation,—Christ's all-sufficiency,—and the true spiritual penitent's participation, by God's free gift, independently altogether of Papal indulgence or absolution, not merely in the blessing of forgiveness, but in all the riches of Christ. There were added other declarations, also very notable, as to the gospel of the glory and grace of God, not the merits of saints, "being the true and precious treasure of the

[1] See Is. xxxi. 4, cited p. 87 suprà. [2] See p. 43 suprà.

[3] The Elector of Saxony, at the request of Staupitz, had interdicted Tetzel from entering his territories on the indulgence-selling commission. Hence he was unable to approach Wittenberg nearer than Jüterbock; the last town of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, his patron, and about four miles distant. Merle D'Aub. ib. 253.

Church;"—a denunciation of the avarice and soul-deceivings of the priestly traffickers in indulgences;—and a closing exhortation to Christians to follow CHRIST as *their* chief, even through crosses and tribulation, thereby at length to attain to his heavenly kingdom.[1]—Bold indeed were the words thus published; and the effect such, that the evening of their publication (All-Hallow-e'en, Oct. 31) has been remembered ever afterwards, and is ever memorable, as the epoch of the Reformation. With a rapidity, power, and effect unparalleled, unexpected, unintended, even as if it had been the voice of one mightier than Luther, speaking through him,—and so Luther himself felt it,[2]

[1] Thus in the following sentences, as given by Merle, i. 263, &c:

1. "Lorsque . . Jesus Christ dit, Repentez vous, il veut que toute la vie de ses fidèles soit une . . continuelle repentance.

2. Cette parole ne peut être entendue du sacrement de la penitence, ainsi qu'il est administré par le prêtre.

5. La Pape ne peut (ni ne veut) remettre aucune autre peine que celle qu'il a imposée.

6. Le Pape ne peut *remettre* aucune condamnation, mais seulement *declarer* et *confirmer* la remission que Dieu lui même en a faite: à moins qu'il ne le fasse dans les cas qui lui appartiennent. (i. e. of ecclesiastical censures.) S'il fait autrement, la condamnation reste entièrement la même.

8. Les lois de la penitence ecclesiastique ne regardent nullement les morts.

32. Ceux qui s'imaginent être sûrs de leur salut par les indulgences, iront au diable avec ceux qui le leur enseignent.

52. Esperer etre sauvé par les indulgences est une esperance de mensonge et de néant, quand même le commissaire d'indulgences, et (que dis je?) le pape luimeme, voudroit, pour l'assurer, mettre son âme en gage.

37. Chaque vrai Chretien, mort ou vivant, a part de tous les biens de Christ, ou de l'église, par le don de Dieu, et sans lettre d'indulgence.

62. Le veritable et précieux trésor de l'eglise est le saint Evangile de la gloire et de la grâce de Dieu.

79. Dire que la croix ornée des armes du Pape est aussi puissante que la croix de Christ, est un blaspheme.

94. Il faut exhorter les Chretiens à s'appliquer à suivre Christ, leur chef, à travers les croix, la mort, et l'enfer:

95. Car il vaut mieux qu'ils entrent par beaucoup de tribulations dans le royaume des cieux, que d'acquerir une securité charnelle par les consolations d'une fausse paix."

The reader will observe the saving clause for the Pope in Prop. 5, "ni ne veut." Others occur elsewhere. So Prop. 50. "Si le Pape connaissait les exactions des predicateurs d'indulgences, il aimerait mieux que la metropole de St. Pierre fût brulée, que de la voir edifiée avec la peau, la chair, et les os de ses brebis." As yet Luther knew not the Pope.

[2] "Deus rapuit, pellit, nedum ducit me. Non sum compos mei. Volo esse quietus, et rapior in medios tumultus." So Luther Epist. i. 231; written on Eck's challenging him, in 1519. (Merle ii. 18.) So again, after the 2nd Diet of Nuremberg, 1524, to Spalatine: "I wish our simple Princes and Bishops would at length open their eyes; and see that the present revolution in religion is not brought about by Luther, who is nobody, but by the omnipotence of Christ himself." Milner p. 824. And to Erasmus; "What am I? What but, as the wolf said to the nightingale, A voice and nothing else." *Vox et præterea nihil.* Mich. i. 56.—Indeed his sense of having been but the mouth to a Higher One than himself in the matter, appeared continually. So (Milner 964) to Melancthon one writes of Luther; "Three of his

—the voice echoed through continental Christendom, and through insular England also. It was felt by both friends and foes to be a mortal shock, not merely against indulgences, but against the whole system of penances, self-mortification, will-worship, and every means of justification from sin, devised by superstition, ignorance, or priestly cunning, and accumulated in the continued *apostasy* of above ten centuries;—a mortal shock too, though Luther as yet knew it not, against the *Papal supremacy* in Christendom. For there had been implanted in men's minds, both on the *main-land* and the *island*, a view of Christ's glory, rights, and headship in the Church, which, notwithstanding the support of the Papacy by most of the powers of this world, was not to be obliterated. The result was soon seen both in the one, and in certain countries of the other, (including specially some of the *Swiss Cantons*, as I must now add, brought through the independent but contemporary teaching of *Zuingle* and other Reformers to the recognition very similarly first of Christ,[1] then afterwards of Antichrist,) I say the result was there seen in the national erection of the gospel-standard, the overthrow of the Papal dominion, and the establishment of churches pure and reformed, that acknowledged Christ alone as in *spiritual* things their Master. Adopting the symbols of the Apocalyptic vision, we may say that the Angel's fixing of his right foot on the sea, and his left on the main-land,[2] was thus fulfilled, in sequence to the uttering of his voice as when a lion roareth. Nor did He quit either ground, or remove the marked stamp of his

best hours each day he spends in prayer. Once I happened to hear him. . . It is entirely, he said, thine own concern. We, by thy Providence, have been compelled to take a part." Again, after receiving the Pope's Bull; "Christus ista cœpit; ipse perficiet;" &c. Merle, ii. 141. Similarly Zwingle. "To whom are we indebted as the cause of all this new light and new doctrine? To God, or to Luther? Ask Luther himself. I know that he will answer that the work is of God."—Luther was absolutely troubled in conscience, when he saw an effect so much beyond what he had intended, produced by his Theses. See Merle, i. 274, 283; also my next Chapter.

Thus we see reason for the voice as of a lion roaring being ascribed to the *Angel*. What Luther and the Reformers did afterwards, on deliberation, and with their own full consciousness, is attributed to their representative *St. John*.—Compare Matt. x. 20; "It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your father that speaketh in you." Also 2 Peter i. 21; "Holy men spake, ὑπο Πνευματος ἁγιου φερομενοι" i. e. *borne out of themselves, and beyond their own intentions*, as it were, in what they said.

[1] See p. 98 Note [3] suprà.

[2] Compare Jacob's placing his *right* hand on Ephraim, his *left* on Manasseh, Gen. xlviii. 14.

interference, till the political overthrow had been accomplished, both in the one locality and the other, of a part of the mystic Babylon: in short until, as stated in the conclusion of this vision, "a tenth part of the city had fallen, and there had been slain in it names of men seven chiliads;"[1] a pledge of its total ultimate overthrow, and of the establishment, upon its ruins, of Christ's universal kingdom.—But in this last observation I anticipate.

§ 2.—DISCOVERY OF ANTICHRIST THE USURPER.

"And, when He had cried, the seven thunders uttered their own voices. And when the seven thunders had spoken I was about to write. And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Seal up the things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not!"[2] Apoc. x. 3, 4.

We have traced the *first* great step in the Reformation, as prefigured in the opening verses of the vision under consideration. It remains to trace the next, as prefigured in the two verses that follow, and which stand prefixed to the present Section.

In order to this, however, there will be needed in the first instance, a very careful sifting of the prophetic enunciation that developes it.—What mean *the seven thunders?*—This is the question that meets us at the outset of our inquiry. The careful attention needed to solve it will appear the more strikingly from the perplexity that it has occasioned to commentators, and the evident unsatisfactoriness of all their solutions. Many, because of the charge to St. John, "Seal up the things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not," have passed it over as a point never to be revealed, and therefore presumptuous to inquire

[1] My reason for so translating the *ἑπτα χιλιαδες* will appear in chap. ix. infrà.

[2] *Και ὁτε εκραξεν ελαλησαν αἱ ἑπτα βρονται τας ἑαυτων φωνας. Και ὁτε ελαλησαν αἱ ἑπτα βρονται ημελλον γραφειν. Και ηκουσα φωνην εκ του ουρανου λεγουσαν, Σφραγισον ἁ ελαλησαν αἱ ἑπτα βρονται, και μη αυτα γραψῃς.* So the critical text. The chief difference from the received text is in the not repeating *τας ἑαυτων φωνας*, a second time; "And when the seven thunders had uttered *their own voices:*" which repetition, however, Prof. M. Stuart (ii. 207) thinks accordant with the style of the Apocalypse.

into.[1] But, if such be the meaning, wherefore the description of John's hearing, and being about to write them, here given; and its handing down too in the Apocalyptic Book, as if for the benefit of the church, and as a part of the inspired prophecy?—Others have supposed it a pre-intimation of the septenary division of the seventh Trumpet;[2] a supposed pre-intimation altogether unmeaning, as well as out of place.—Three commentators only, of those I am acquainted with, interpret the thunders as significative of *actual events;* viz. *Vitringa*, who explains them of the seven crusades; *Daubuz*, who makes them the echo of laws, affirmatory of the Protestant doctrines of seven kingdoms that embraced the Reformation; and *Keith*, whose explanation refers them to the seven continental wars, characterized by the roar of "the modern artillery," which intervened, he says, to fill up the period between the Reformation as begun by Luther, and the sounding of the seventh Trumpet at the French Revolution. These solutions seem to me to carry their own refutation with them. Vitringa's is quite out of place, as referring to events long preceding the Reformation.[3] And, as to those of Mr. Daubuz and Dr. Keith, without entering into other particulars,

[1] So Mede (see the next note); also Bishop Newton, Woodhouse, Lowman. This, I believe, is a comparatively modern idea.

Of earlier commentators I may notice that both Primasius and Ambrosius Ansbertus explain the seven thunders of *gospel-preaching*, such as the *septi-form* Spirit of God might indite; though terribly puzzled, as well they might be on any such hypothesis, to explain the prohibition, Write it not! "Valde nodosissima, atque ad solvendum perplexa nobis quæstio," says Ansbert, B. P. M. xiii. 516. His solution is that it should be sealed and hid from *unfit* recipients.—A curious quotation from Origen occurs in Eusebius, (H. E. vi. 25,) on the same subject. In his list of the canonical writers of the sacred Scriptures, on coming to St. John, Origen thus briefly and enigmatically notices the passage under consideration; Εγραψε δε και την Αποκαλυψιν· κελευθεις σιωπησαι, και μη γραψαι τας των ἑπτα βροντων φωνας.

[2] So first *Mede;* at the same time that he intimates the vanity of inquiring into what God has chosen to make secret, as stated in the note preceding. "Vox tonitrui quid? Num *Bath Kol?* Si hoc, erunt septem Tonitrua *oracula* totidem quibus septimæ Tubæ intervallum quasi periodis quibusdam distinguetur; sed ignorandæ omnino rei, nec nisi suis temporibus percipiendæ. Quod innuit, Joanni voces tonitruum scripturo, cælitùs facta prohibitio, *Obsigna quæ locuta sunt septem tonitrua, et nè ea scribas.* Frustra igitur nos inquirendo erimus quæ Deus occulta esse voluit, et suis temporibus reservanda."

After Mede, Messrs Cuninghame and (I think) Bickersteth have offered explanations somewhat similar; supposing the Thunders to be emblems or warnings of the seven Vials of the seventh Trumpet. And so too Faber, S. C. i. 264—270; and Hales iii. 607.

[3] It is to be noted however that Vitringa does not explain the vision of the Covenant-Angel's descent, or the little book opened in his hand, of the Reformation; so that this interpretation does not involve *that* chronological inconsistency with *itself.*

who can believe that the injunction, "Seal up what the thunders have uttered, and write them not," could mean,—either, as the one says, a prophetic check to the multiplication and progress of Protestant institutions, beyond the original seven Protestant kingdoms;[1]—or, as the other, a mysterious concealment of the seven great wars that followed the Reformation; because the minds of men, being then inclined to hold to *Scripture prophecies* as *rules of action*, would, in case of those wars having been clearly predicted, have thrown themselves into them as with Scripture warrant?[2]

Proceed we then to a careful analysis of this most remarkable passage: well assured, even à priori, of what some of the expositors noticed by us seem really to have almost forgotten; viz. that it must needs have been meant to signify *something*, indeed *something of importance*, for the information and instruction of Christ's Church, as to things to come; accordantly with the profest object of the whole revelation.[3]—And in it *five* several *points* will be found to call for consideration:—1st, the *vocality* of the thunders spoken of; (vocality, albeit still as of *thunders*;) for they

[1] Daubuz, p. 472.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 17; "Never perhaps in the whole history of man was there a time when the prophecies of Scripture would have been so readily held as rules of action, rather than reasons of faith; and the perfection of wisdom in respect to them (sc. the prophetic Thunders) may have been even that they were not written."*

It may be satisfactory to the reader to know the views of some chief expositors of the *German* school. I therefore give those subjoined.

1. *Eichhorn.*—The seven thunders were symbols of coming woe to Jerusalem: John not to write it, because the triumph of Christianity was much more worthy of description than the fall of Jerusalem.

2. *Hienrichs.*—Much the same as Eichhorn, whom he refers to.

3. *M. Stuart.*—The seven thunders as the seven angels, the seven spirits, &c. *Ewald* supposes that the thunders of the seven heavens are meant. But not a trace of this opinion can we find in the Old Testament or Apocalypse; though the Jews of the first century so thought of the heavens. Therefore we take the septenary number to indicate very loud thunder.

[3] Apoc. i. 1: "The revelation which God gave to him, *to signify to his servants* what must shortly come to pass." In truth, forasmuch as the injunctions at the beginning and the end of the Apocalypse,—the one, (i. 19,) "write what thou hast seen," &c., the other, (xxii. 10,) "Seal not up the sayings of the prophecy of this book,"—necessarily include this vision and the thunders, just as all the rest, among what was to be written and revealed, they seem of themselves sufficient to refute such interpretations as those I speak of.

* In Dr. K.'s 8th Edition, published since my 2nd Edition, he has slightly altered his language. But his explanation, ii. 75, remains substantially the same as before.

are said to have *voices*:—2ndly, the pointed definition of the voices of the thunders, as voices proper and peculiar to themselves, "*their own* voices:"—3rdly, *the absoluteness of the prohibition*, "Seal up and write them not:"—4thly, the further definition of the thunders by *the septenary numeral*:—5thly, the *definite article* prefixed to them, "*the* seven thunders."—To which five phraseological characteristics of *the thunders* there must be added further a consideration of *St. John's symbolic character* on the Apocalyptic scene. Which done, all will appear clear, if I mistake not, as to the signification of the prophecy; and nothing more needed than a reference to history, to make its fulfilment clear also.

1st, then, there is to be observed the *vocality* attributed to the *thunders*; the thunders being said to have *voices*, and to *speak*, evidently in a manner intelligible to St. John. By this they are distinguished from the thunders elsewhere mentioned in the Apocalyptic visions, as proceeding from the throne: the which were known indeed to be sounds of wrath and judgment from on high, echoed in the judgments forthwith following on earth; but still sounds not articulate, or intelligibly vocal. Such being the case, the thunder mentioned in the 12th chapter of St. John's Gospel offers itself to our remembrance as a nearer Scripture parallel to those before us. For we read that there was heard in *it* also an articulate voice from heaven: the which the people around thought to be the voice of an angel, and of which the words are actually given us.[1] This, says Mede, was by the Jews called *Bath Kol*, בַּת קוֹל; *filia vocis*: and, coming whence it did, was considered, as he adds, a *voice from heaven*, or *oracle*.—It might seem probably inferable, respecting the thunders *here* spoken of, that they too, as they fell on St. John's *ear*, fell not only *intelligibly*, but also as *an oracle*, or *voice from heaven*.[2]

[1] John xii. 28; "There came a voice from heaven saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again. The people therefore that stood by, and heard it, said that it thundered. Others said, An angel spoke to him."

[2] With this last idea both the noun φωναι, and the verb ελαλησαν, well suit; they being alike used, the one and the other, in sacred Scripture, for the voices of prophetic inspiration. So Acts xiii. 27, "the *voices* of the prophets which are read every Sabbath-day." On which Kuinoel observes: Φωναι των προφητων sunt prophetarum oracula, literis commissa. Etenim φωναι dicuntur effata, dicta; cum ore prolata,

2ndly, comes up for consideration that singular definition of the voices as "the seven thunders' *own* voices:" for so, I think, we may fitly here render the reflective pronoun in the phrase τας ἑαυτων φωνας, as often elsewhere;[1] in order to mark with emphasis, what it was evidently meant markedly to imply, that these thunders had a voice distinctively and peculiarly their own. Remarkable in itself, this distinctiveness and peculiarity became the more remarkable from its direct contrast to, and distinction from, those other two voices that were mentioned in the context:—the one the voice of the Covenant-Angel, as of a lion roaring, which immediately preceded; the other that from heaven, which followed immediately afterwards. Was there then accordance between it and those other two; or discordance and opposition? This is the next point for inquiry, and a pre-eminently important one. And the next indicatory particular that we have to consider gives, as it seems to me, to the question an answer quite clear and decisive.—For,

3rdly, we were to note *the absoluteness of the heavenly prohibition* respecting them; "*Seal up* the things which the seven thunders have uttered, and *write them not!*"—Now had there been simply the first injunction, "Seal them up," instead of indicating the same thing as the *temporary* sealing spoken of in Daniel xii. 4, 9, ("Seal up *till the time of the end*,") with which not a few expositors have unadvisedly compared it,[2] we might even then rather have inferred a *permanent* consignment of these oracular voices to *oblivion;* seeing that no period, however distant, was assigned for *their* unsealing.[3] But, besides this, there was

tum literis tradita." Also Acts iii. 24; "All the prophets from Samuel, και των καθεξης, ὁσοι ελαλησαν, have foretold these days." On which Kuinoel: "Verbum λαλειν de prophetarum oraculis frequenter occurrit; ita ut sit *oracula edere, vaticinari.* Vid. Acts xxvi. 22, Heb. i. 1, 2 Pet. i. 21."

[1] So e. g. Matt. xxvii. 60; Εθηκεν αυτο εν τῳ καινῳ αὐτου μνημειῳ· "he laid it in his *own* new tomb:" Luke xiv. 26; "If he hate not την ἑαυτου ψυχην, his *own* life also:" Rom. viii. 3; ὁ Θεος τον ἑαυτου ὑιον πεμψας· "God having sent his *own* Son." Also Matt. xiii. 57, Mark vi. 4, Acts vii. 41, Rom. iv. 19, 1 Cor. vii. 2, (where it is in apposition with τον ιδιον,) Eph. v. 28, Phil. ii. 4, 12, Jude 13, 18: and in the Apocalypse itself i. 5; "who washed us from our sins εν τῳ αἱματι αὐτου· in his *own* blood."

[2] So T. C. C. in the Investigator, Vol. iii. p. 146.

[3] *Sealing* has two very different meanings: the one that of *authenticating*, as in John iii. 33; the other of *concealing from public view.* The latter is here evidently the meaning intended. So Vitringa p. 571: "*Obsignare*, stylo Scripturæ Veteris Testamenti, est *reconderc, non publicare.*" Compare Is. xxix. 11, and Matt. xxvii. 66.

added, as if by way of explanation, the further and yet more emphatic prohibitory clause, of which the absoluteness could not be mistaken, "Write them not!"—And what the reason of the prohibition? Surely it was as simply as satisfactorily to be inferred from the reasons of the contrary injunction, "Write them," given three times elsewhere to St. John, on occasion of his hearing other voices as from heaven. First that in ch. xiv. 13; "I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write! Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. *Even so saith the Spirit.*" Next in ch. xix. 9; "He saith unto me, Write! Blessed are they which are called to the marriage-supper of the Lamb. And he said, These are *the true sayings of God.*" Once more in ch. xxi. 5; "He said, Behold I make all things new. And he said to me, Write! for *these words are true and faithful.*" These are all the examples of the kind that occur, from the beginning of the prediction of things future in ch. iv. to the end of the Book. And in every case the reason given for the Apostle's writing was of one and the same character: viz. because the voice that was to be written was true and faithful;—because it was the voice of the Spirit;—because it was the true saying of God. The natural, indeed almost necessary inference, as to the reason of the *prohibition*, "Write not!" is this:—that what the seven thunders uttered, although *with semblance to* a Bath-Kol, or oracular voice from heaven, was *not* true and faithful, *not* the voice of the Spirit, *not* the true saying of God;—but, instead thereof, *false* and *an imposture*.

But, if so, what then were these voices; voices not really from heaven, yet with a certain semblance and pretension, as if they were?—Towards a solution of this question it will be not a little helpful, I think, to borrow an illustration from the times of St. John himself. For even then there were two voices that in a measure answered to the description. First, the Jewish Rabbis had been wont to palm upon the people their own false religious decrees and dogmas, as if *bath-kols*, or *oracles from heaven;*[1] at least

In De Maistre's "Pope," (Dawson's Transl. p. 92,) speaking of the French word *cachet* (a seal) fitly suggesting the verb *cacher*, *to hide*, the author is strangely incorrect in saying that *among the ancients sealing* was *only* for *authentication*.

[1] In the Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrase, on Canticles ii. 14, a traditional story is

till the fall of Jerusalem might seem to have set aside the idea of any influential deceiving power, as if from heaven, attaching to *them*. Further, from the world's mighty capital the voices of the imperial head of heathenism there reigning, as those of one deified in the view of the Roman people, were similarly recognised and feared as *thunders* from heaven.[1]—Now, with the light of these illustrations applied to the times here prefigured in the Apocalyptic drama, does not the thought suggest itself presumptively that the Christ-opposing voice of *the great Antichrist* may be the thunders here meant; especially as being the head of an apostasy prefigured as *Judæo-heathen* in character,[2] and one

told respecting Israel, when shut in between Pharaoh the sea and the wilderness, how that the congregation "opened her mouth in prayer before the Lord; and *Bath Kol* went out from the highest heavens: and thus it said; 'O thou congregation of Israel, who art like to a clean dove, &c.'" On which Dr. A. Clarke, in an Appendix to his Commentary ad loc., thus observes. "Frequent mention is made of this *bath-kol* in the writings of the Jews. It was a voice from heaven which revealed secrets, foretold future events, *decided controversies*, and directed in difficult matters. It was used in the second temple in the room of prophecy, which the Jews say then ceased.. By R. Levi Beñ Gerson in 2 Sam. i. s. 27, it is thought to be a more excellent and complete kind of divination. And indeed I am inclined to think that most of those voices which go under this name were mere *illusions of Satan;* designed to deceive the people, and lessen the credit of those voices which were heard from heaven in the time of Christ. See Matt. iii. 17, xvii. 5; John xii. 28."

[1] *Rome's* title Θεα Ῥωμη is well known. And hence, says Spanheim, pp. 395, 415, it is not wonderful that her voice was spoken of as *thunder;* so, e. g. as by Claudian;

Seu cœlum seu Roma tonat.

The same as regarded the emperors; especially the emperor Domitian reigning in St. John's time. So Pliny Paneg. i. 90 of that emperor; "Utrumque nostrûm ille optimi cujusque spoliator et carnifex,.. jacto *fulmine* afflaverat." And again Ep. iii. 11; "Tot circa me jactis *fulminibus* quasi ambustus, mihi quoque impendere idem exitium.. augurabar."—So again Statius, Sylv. iii. 3. 158;

attonitum, et venturi *fulminis* ictus
Horrentem, *tonitru* tantum lenique procellâ
Contentus monuisse senem.

Also Martial, Lib. vi, on the imperial sentence on Hetruscus:

Nam tu missa tuâ revocasti *fulmina* dextrâ:
Hos cuperem mores ignibus esse Jovis.

And again of Jove and Domitian; "Aspice Tarpeium Pallantinumque tonantem." Spanheim, 395.

All these examples refer to the imperial thunders fulminated by *Domitian*, St. John's contemporary emperor.* And it is observable that on some of Domitian's medals he is depicted as armed with a *thunderbolt* in hand, or on the head. "Ad caput imperatorium adpositum *(fulmen)* summam eorum et pœne divinam indicat potentiam." Rasche.

On Pliny Schwartz observes; "*Fulmina* vocantur animadversiones et pœnæ magnarum potestatum:" adding; "Hâc metaphorâ frequenter utuntur auctores." These imperial animadversiones were received, enrolled in the archives of their office, and published, by the provincial governors.—The word "monuisse" in Statius intimates the intelligibility of those thunders' voice: and the distinction between the *tonitru* and the *fulmina*, seems to be that between a condemnatory sentence uttered, and a condemnatory sentence executed. "Non affecisse supplicio, sed *monuisse errati* senem Claudium," says the Variorum Commentator.

[2] See Vol. i. p. 296.

* So Ovid, Tr. iii. 4, earlier of Augustus; "Sævum prælustri *fulmen* ab arce venit."

whose empire both by Daniel and Paul had been mysteriously connected with *Rome?* Certainly this notion will be found to gather strength not a little, on proceeding to consider the fourth characteristic of the Apocalyptic thunders in question: viz.

4thly, their being in number *seven* thunders.—For it strikes me there are but two senses in which the septenary number can well be regarded as symbolic: the one its *general* and more *abstract* significancy, as the *sacred* number;[1] the other its *particular* significancy, as referring to some *septiform local* source, such as might give to the voices thence issuing a kind of septenary force and value. And while, expounding the numeral as meant in the *former* sense, its applicability to the voice of the Papal Antichrist is obvious from the fact of its claiming and being supposed to have a Divine origin, still more, if expounded in the *latter* sense, would it answer perfectly and strikingly. For, in regard of a voice from *the seven-hilled city*, so natural was it in poetic or prophetic figure to depict it as *a septenary of voices*, that with Roman poets themselves such was *the actual form of expression:*[2] and similarly thunders thence issuing would answer to the designation of *seven thunders*.

And then, and so, 5thly, as to *the prefixed article*, "*the* seven thunders,"—that which to Bishop Middleton appeared strange and unaccountable,[3]—all would seem easily explicable: seeing that no seven-hilled city could be *the*

[1] From a rabbinical argument, drawn from the circumstance of God's thunders having been mentioned in Ps. xlix seven times, to the effect that those thunders might properly be called *seven thunders*, Züllig in loc. supposes them to be what is here meant, referring to Eisenmenger i. 425. And so more recently Hengstenberg.—Which view, however, or one very similar to it, M. Stuart, as we have seen, p. 102, rejects.

[2] So Claudian on the Consulship of Olybrias;

*colles*que, canoris
Plausibus impulsi, *septenâ voce* resultant.

On which says the commentator: "Universæ urbis acclamationibus septem Romæ colles resonant, et ideo *septem* remittunt *voces*." Does it not seem like a direct *Apocalyptic* comment?

Compare too Eurip. Phœnissæ, 234:

Ιω λαμπουσα πετρα
Πυρος δικορυφον σελας
ὑπερ ακρων βακχειων.

On which the Scholiast thus observes: Δικορυφον αυτον ειπεν, επειπερ εν αμφοτεραις ταις ακραις του Παρνασσου εισιν ἱερα, το μεν Αρτεμιδος και Απολλωνος, το δε Διονυσου.

[3] "Why the article is inserted here," he says, "I am unable to discover:"—

seven-hilled city but Rome;[1] no septenary of voice, or thunder, "*the* seven thunders,"[2] but those from the seven-hilled city of Rome.

All which considered, I cannot but believe that even to St. John himself, quite irrespectively of any peculiar intelligence that may have attached to him in his representative character in the extasis of the vision, the thought can scarcely but have occurred of the voice of *the predicted Antichrist* as the seven thunders presignified. For, as to *his* rule taking place of the imperial rule, and so his seat being probably in the same seven-hilled Rome, which Daniel and Paul had hinted,[3] it was afterwards expressly signified to John in the Apocalyptic visions.[4] It was *there* therefore that he was usurpingly to sit in the temple of God; and to utter voices with his mouth, and speak great things, as if God.[5]

Yet more with ourselves the conclusion may have seemed obvious that the seven thunders did indeed figure the voices of CHRIST'S *counterfeit*, the *Papal* ANTICHRIST, because of our having seen, and known, the striking fulfilment in him of all these prophetic indications. For do we not know that the voices of the *Roman Pope*, as exprest in his decrees and bulls, profest to be, and were regarded throughout Christendom as, oracles from heaven:[6] indeed that the name commonly given to them, when condemna-

asking, as that which might solve the difficulty, "Were the seven thunders anything *well known and pre-eminent?*" and adding, as his own supposition, that there may probably have been a reference to some Jewish opinion, giving them this notoriety; of which however, he says, he found not a vestige. (Compare on this point, Note [1] p. 109.)

[1] Indeed in the Apocalypse itself the article is emphatically prefixed, when mention is first made of the great city Rome; "This is *the* great city, &c." xi. 8, xvii. 18.

[2] e.g. such as of the seven echoes of the porch in the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, *την μεν γαρ εν Ολυμπῳ στοαν, απο μιας φωνης πολλας αντανακλασεις ποιησαν, επταφωνον καλουσι* at Elis, called *επταφωνος στοα*, described by Lucian, (De Mort. Pereg.) Pausanias, in Eliacis, and Plutarch, De Garrul.

[3] The "*let*" in the way of his manifestation being the imperial Roman power then reigning; and of which he needed the removal, in order to fill its place. See my Vol. i. pp. 229, 388—390: also my Vol. iii. Part iv. Ch. iii.

[4] Apoc. xvii. 9. [5] 2 Thess. ii. 4; Dan. vii. 8.

[6] So in the oration of Corvinus of Naples to Pope Julius II; "Sed me tua jussa, *tua divina oracula*, quæ servare religiosum, detrectare nefas est, ad dicendum impulerunt." Roscoe's Leo X; Vol. ii. 377.—This title is still given to the Pope's decrees. In a debate in the House of Lords, in July 1838, the Bishop of Exeter stated that the Romish Bishop of Malta could not, as he said, take the oath to the Supreme Council, till he had the *oraculum* of the Pope permitting it. Again, in the Pope's address to his Consistory on the erection of the bishoprick of Algiers, there was mention made of the Bishop of Cologne having received the Pope's *oraculum*.

tory, was that of Papal *thunders?*[1]—Again, as to *another* point, does it need to suggest to any one well acquainted with Romish writings, and Romish ceremonials, the Pope's affectation of the *septenary numeral*, in its primary sense of the sacred number?[2] And, as regards the other probable intent of the numeral in the Apocalyptic symbol, do we not know how the prophecy was fulfilled of his see being the *seven-hilled* site of the ancient Rome; ("The seven heads are *seven hills* whereon the woman sitteth:")[3] insomuch that occasion was thus given to the designation of the Papal see as that of "*the seven thrones* of the supreme Pontificate:"[4] whence, of course, as each one of these would furnish its own echo in *Papal* as well as *Pagan* Rome, the voice thence issuing might still fitly be designated in prophetic figure as a septenary voice, or seven voices. Indeed the truth is that, *so applied*, the allusion to the seven-hilled Roman site has in it a point and propriety quite peculiar. For so it was, that the locale of *Rome* seemed necessary to give the Papal thunders their full sacredness and authority in the estimation of Christendom. During the 70 years

[1] Leo X glorified his predecessor Julius II by speaking of him as "Jovem Opt· Max. qui, dextrâ omnipotente tenens ac vibrans trisulcum et inevitabile fulmen, solo nutu faceret quidquid vellet."

[2] So the seven keys and seven seals in olden time depending from the Pope's girdle. "Deiude ascendens palatium ad duas curules devenit.* Hîc baltheo succingitur, cum *septem* ex eo pendentibus *clavibus*,† *septemque sigillis*:‡ ex quo sciat se divinam septiformem Spiritûs sancti gratiam, sacrarum ecclesiarum quibus Deo auctore præest regimini, in claudendo aperiendoque tantâ ratione providere debere, quantâ solennitate id quod intenditur operatur." So the very ancient account of the pontifical inauguration of Pope Pascal II, in the year 1099. It is given by Cancellieri, in his Possessi Papali, p. 6: whose notes I subjoin.

Again, as I think I saw it myself in the "funzioni" on Palm-Sunday, or Easter-Day, Cancellieri notes the Papal practice of *seven wax lights* being borne before him in the grander ceremonials: "In questa città (sc. Roma) specialmente molte eran le cose allusive à questo numero. *Sette* erano i *candelabri* che si mandavano avanti il Pontefice celebrante, dalle sette regioni della città, à guisa de' sette candilabri d'oro descritti nell Apocalisse, i. 12."

[3] Apoc. xvii. 9.

[4] "Defuncto piæ recordationis Honorio 3, [A.D. 1227] .... Gregorius IX, ejus

* "Queste sono le due sedie porfiretiche:" the same that were noticed by me as in the vestibule of the Lateran, p. 60 suprà.

† "Ecco la prima menzione di questo rito misterioso." Then, after other remarks; "Non era senza mistero l'uso di attaccare al cingulo del nuovo Papa sette chiavi e sette sigilli. Poiche poterono rappresentare i sette doni dello Spirito Santo, di cui dovea [il Papa] essere rivestito, e i sette sacramenti che dovea amministrare."

‡ "L'unione de' sette sigilli alle sette chiavi poteva significar esser egli l'Agnello dell Apocalisse, c. 5, con le sette corna e i sette occhi, che sono i sette Spiriti spediti da Dio per tutta la terra, degno di aprire i sette sigilli del libro misterioso, scritto dentro è fuori."

secession of the Popes to Avignon, this became notorious. It is remarked on by Mosheim.[1] It is remarked on again by Le Bas. The language of the latter, more especially, is quite illustrative of the phrase we are discussing. "The *thunders*," he says, "which shook the world when they issued from *the seven hills*, sent forth an uncertain sound, comparatively faint and powerless, when launched from a region of less elevated sanctity."[2] Thus the seven hills seemed, like Olympus of old, to be an almost necessary *earthly* adjunct to the mock ideal *heaven* of the Papal Antichrist's Apostolic supremacy.[3] And accordingly, a century before the times of Leo and Luther, the Popes saw it to be their policy to return to the seven-hilled capital.

Finally, as to the *definite article* prefixed to the thunders, methinks had the learned prelate Bishop Middleton advanced thus far with us in the historical exposition of the Apocalypse, he would have seen the solution of his critical difficulty on the point, in the very fact that he suspected of the notoriety and pre-eminence of *the* seven thunders:—a notoriety of those from *imperial* Rome known in St. John's time; but much more of those from *Papal* Rome, afterwards known in Western Christendom, *at that time* to which the prophetic vision had reference.—For does it need anything more than the mere mention of them to satisfy us as to the notoriety and the pre-eminence of the seven thunders of the Papal Antichrist? In its full mystical sense the *septenary* attribute could indeed only attach to them. In a subordinate sense each synod, each primate, indeed each bishop, might issue ecclesiastical thunders, within his or its sphere and diocese. But the *Papal* bulls and anathemas[4] were emphatically *the* thunders,—the Pope

imitator, assumitur apud *septem solia* summi Pontificis; solium, fratrum instantiâ devictus, ascendens." Cancellieri p. 16.

[1] xiv. 2. 2. 5; "The Europeans in general were far from paying so much regard to the decrees and thunders of the *Gallic* Popes, as they did to those of *Rome*."

[2] Life of Wicliff, p. 198. [3] See p. 83, Note [7] suprà.

[4] The metaphorical term was early applied to the anathemas and decrees of Bishops and Synods; more especially those of the Roman See, as representing the apostles Peter and Paul. So in Venantius Honorius, a writer of the sixth century: (Bibl. Patr. Max. x. 541:)

Cœlorum portæ, lati duo lumina mundi,
Ore tonat Paulus, fulgurat ense Petrus.

Martene de Antiq. Eccles. Rit. Vol. ii. p. 322, (Bassano, 1788,) gives four speci-

the thunderer.[1] Regarded as he was in the light of God's Vicar on earth, there was supposed to be God's own condemning voice in the thunderbolts of his wrath: and with a range and extent to their efficacy universal as the universe itself.[2] Invested with which terrors by the prevailing superstition, throughout the long middle ages, where was the kingdom in Western Europe that did not tremble,—where the heart so stout, of noble or of prince, that did not quail before them?

And now then do I presume too much on my proof if I express a persuasion that the meaning of the seven thunders here spoken of is clear? Surely the five Apocalyptic distinctives answer completely, one and all, to *the thunders of the Vatican*. In fact (not to speak just at present of *his* so understanding the symbol *whom I suppose St. John at this point to have specially impersonated*, the great reformer Martin Luther [3]) certain eminent Papal expositors of the Apocalypse, as I have learnt since my first publication, have been led by the singular propriety of the symbol to a very similar conclusion; though without any analysis of it like my own, and withal taking good care not to give its proper Apocalyptic sense to the connected charge, "*Seal up the thunders, Write them not.*" Says Silveira, "The seven thunders are the *decrees of* [*Papal*] *Œcumenic Councils*, God's Spirit dictating them, and *thunders of their anathemas against heretics*."[4] And moreover, quite in our own

mens of Papal excommunicating thunders. The most elaborate of all, that against Luther, may be seen in Harduin's Councils, Foxe's Martyrs, and elsewhere.

[1] So in Capito's Elegia ad Elephantem; (Roscoe's Leo X. App. C.)

Sic Latio poteris gratissimus esse *Tonanti*:

i. e. to the Pope.

"Like another Salmoneus, he is proud to imitate the state and thunders of the Almighty; and is styled, and pleased to be styled, *Our Lord God the Pope*, *another God upon earth*, *King of kings and Lord of lords*. . . I devise not this. His own books, his own decretals, his own doctors speak it." Bishop Jewel's Apology.

[2] The Roman Casuist Liguori distinguishes between the limited extent of other excommunications, and the *universality* of those of the Popes. Let me exemplify in one of Leo Xth's. "Qui contrà mandatum hoc nostrum fecerit, . . is *universæ Dei ecclesiæ*, *toto orbe terrarum*, expers excommunicatusque esto." Roscoe iv. 492.

[3] See the extracts from Luther on my pp. 122, 123 infrà.

[4] "'*Septem tonitrua*,' id est Sacra Concilia generalia . . . '*Signa quæ locuta sunt septem tonitrua*:' hoc est, *decreta*, *definitiones*, ac *canones*, et *fulmina anathematum retorquenda in hæreticos*:—hæc, tunc tacita, erant reservanda; ut pro suo tempore convocarentur Concilia; in quibus, Spiritu Sancto dictante, veritas Catholica erat explicanda, hæreses que damnandæ." Silveira in loc. He takes the *seven* in its *abstract* symbolic sense, as the sacred universal number; but misses its singular *Roman* appropriateness.

times, an eloquent modern Romanist has adopted the precise symbolic phraseology of the Apocalypse, in designation of the Papal voice from Rome, as if a designation conventionally understood, or otherwise obviously appropriate: "*From Rome's seven hills seven thunders have uttered their voices.*"[1]—So natural is the sense that I give to the symbol. And certainly, in my opinion, there is nothing else whatsoever, to which the seven Apocalyptic thunders ever have been, or can be, with the slightest semblance of plausibility, made to answer.

And when, their signification being thus made clear, as I trust, we next inquire whether what was prefigured of the seven thunders uttering their voices of opposition, immediately after the Covenant-Angel's lion-like cry, had its fulfilment in the utterance of *Papal thunders* against Christ's voice by Luther, it needs only that we look into the historic page to see it. Scarce had Luther published his Theses, when the attack on them by Sylvester Prierias, the official Censor at Rome, and which was dedicated to Pope Leo, showed what was to be expected from the Pope himself: and, ere a year had elapsed, a solemn *Papal Bull condemnatory of Luther's Theses*, and *in defence of the whole system of indulgences*, was committed to Cardinal Cajetan, and by him presently after published.

It is added, "And when the seven thunders had uttered their own voices, *I was about to write; &c.*" We have here a statement which will be found to lead us forward another step, and a most important one, in the history of the Reformation. In order however to our drawing this inference from it, it will be necessary that we recall and apply that important exegetic principle, to the which I alluded already earlier in this Section,—namely, of *St. John's symbolic character* on the Apocalyptic scene.

[1] "The Pope has consecrated by his actions all that is noble, just, and holy in the people's efforts for freedom. Now Religion, as she ought, leads revolutions; and the Church floats above the ranks of freedom. Rome, the capital of the Christian world, now takes her proper place at the head of universal development; *and from her seven hills seven thunders utter their voices*, proclaiming that liberty and religion are henceforth inseparable." So a writer, signed *Albano*, in the "Nation," a Dublin Journal, of March 11, 1848. (A statement and sentiment somewhat curious to read in 1860, as I am passing my 5th Edition through the press!)

For I trust that the reader will by this time have become not only familiarized with, but convinced of the truth of, this most important view of the Evangelist's character, in the figurations of the Apocalyptic drama: it having been not only illustrated by me alike from parallel prophetic Scriptures,[1] and patristic authorities,[2] but also again and again confirmed from history, in the preceding volume.—It will be remembered *generally* that what was seen and heard by John on the Apocalyptic scene, appeared to be that which would be seen and heard by the faithful, at each successive epoch in the advancing drama, whom he presignified; whether the desolations of war, mutations of empire, or persecutions, sufferings, impressions, and worshippings, of Christ's people themselves.[3] More especially he will remember that memorable *sealing vision*, just before the bursting of the Trumpet-judgments, wherein was exhibited to St. John a manifestation of Christ, as rising with light from the East, and selecting and sealing his own people from amidst the professing Israel; (a revelation evidently such as the world in general would not have perception of;) and then the prospective vision appended, of the ultimate

[1] Even in unfigurative Scripture, we may observe, this representative principle often holds. Thus when Christ said, "I am with *you* always, even to the end of the world," he evidently regarded the whole succession of faithful ministers as summed up in the apostles before him. And so too in St. Paul, "Take heed to *thyself* and to *thy* doctrine;" and again, "Then *we* which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up, &c."—The same in the Old Testament perpetually. So, for instance, in the precept, "*Thou* shalt teach them to thy children;" a precept intended for Israel's successive generations. In some passages the pronoun means *future* generations *only*. So Deut. xii. 14; "In the place which the Lord shall choose, there shalt thou offer thy burnt-offerings, &c.:" which could only apply to Israel from the time of Solomon's building his temple at Jerusalem.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 300, Note [3].—Among ancient Apocalyptic expositors, Tichonius, Primasius, and Ambrosius Ansbertus may be specified as having recognised this principle of interpretation; and the two latter partially carried it into their interpretation of the vision we are discussing. Primasius on Apoc. v. 4, "I wept much because no one was found to open the Book," (a passage similarly explained by me, Vol. I. p. 95) thus first announces the principle; "Ecclesia in Johanne flebat:" and Ambrosius Ansbertus; "Non in suâ personâ flevisse creditur: Ecclesiam in suâ personâ flevisse creditur . . . . cujus hoc in loco figuram gerit."—Again on the passage before us Ansbertus observes; "Dicatur igitur Johanni, imo *unicuique prædicatori in Johanne*, Signa quæ locuta sunt septem tonitrua, et noli ea scribere."—I shall in a subsequent chapter quote at large both his and Primasius' application of the principle, in explaining verses 9—11 of this xth Chapter. See pp. 153, 154 infrà.

Among the moderns Vitringa, Daubuz, Cuninghame (p. 89), &c., have also (as observed Vol. I. p. 303) *stated* the principle. But, excepting Daubuz, the use they have made of it is very small; and what they have made seems from its fitfulness and inconsistency almost valueless.

[3] Compare parttcularly Vol. I. pp. 224, 227—233, 342, 507.

salvation and glory of the sealed ones, wherein he actually held colloquy with some of the twenty-four presbyters round the throne:—all which, otherwise enigmatical and most obscure, seemed to be explained, as simply as satisfactorily, by reference to Christ's doctrinal revelation respecting his own true Church of the election of grace, and the final assured salvation of his elect, to one that was St. John's truest successor in spirit at the chronological epoch corresponding, just before the Gothic invasions; I mean *Augustine*.[1]—And now behold the apostle in personal association with a yet brighter vision of Christ, and more glorious manifestation of Himself on the Apocalyptic mundane scene, than even in the Sealing Vision; and moreover yet more prominently, variedly, and remarkably acting out his own part in the dramatic vision. For we read of his rising up to meet the revelation, and, notwithstanding the cloud that mantled the Covenant-Angel, realizing the glory and the divinity of his aspect and his voice;—then, on occasion of the seven thunders sounding, preparing to write, until deterred by a warning from heaven against it;—then hearing a solemn declaration from the Covenant-Angel respecting the chronological place of this intervention in the great mundane drama, as separated by but one Trumpet more from the consummation:—then, under the same heavenly impulse as before, going and taking the book out of the hand of the Covenant-Angel, and eating it, and tasting its sweetness and its bitterness;—then receiving the Angel's solemn charge to prophesy again;—then being presented with a reed, like unto a rod, wherewith to measure the temple and them that worshipped in it;—then, finally, having the history of Christ's Witnesses through the dark ages preceding, even up to the time then present, retrospectively set before him. Which being so, supposing we are satisfied that St. John is to be viewed as a symbolic character, not merely will the *general* inference follow that there must have been prefigured hereby some singular *re-awakening at that time* in the Church of *ministerial apostolical spirit*, in all its energy of action,—such as in fact we know to have been the case, in measure unpre-

[1] See Vol. I. p. 305, &c.

cedented since apostolic times, with the Fathers of the Reformation, insomuch that historians can scarce speak of Luther more especially, and his first actings in the Reformation, without noticing the parallel;[1]—but also, as to *details*, that each *particular* thing heard or done by the Evangelist in vision, must have been meant to symbolize something correspondent in the views, history, and actions of these reforming Fathers, his successors in office and in spirit.

To show this is now my duty, as an Apocalyptic expositor: and it will occupy us both in what remains of the present chapter, and also in the three next chapters, afterwards following.

For the present it is the meaning of the *first particular statement*, viz. "When the seven thunders had uttered their own voices *I was about to write*," together with that of the clause following, "And *I heard a voice from heaven* saying unto me, *Seal up* those things which the seven thunders uttered, and *write them not*," that claims our attention.

"And when the seven thunders uttered their own voices *I was about to write*." Applying the principle of interpretation just laid down to this statement, the fact presignified seems clearly to be this;—that those members of Christ's true Church whom we suppose St. John to have symbolized, Luther most of all, even after witnessing the glory and beauty of Christ's revelation of Himself as the Sun of Righteousness, would yet, on hearing the hostile Papal thunders, be ready *to receive and publish them*, as if they were what they professed to be, *a voice from heaven*. An intimation strange indeed! Was it possible that such could have been the case with *Luther?*—We look into history; and behold! we find this to have been the very case. Indeed it forms a feature so prominent and interesting,

[1] "The commission received by him," says M. Merle (i. 194), "was like one of those extraordinary ones, received by the prophets under the old dispensation, by the apostles under the new." Again, p. 204; "It was thus that Luther joined hands with St. Paul across fifteen centuries:" and, as Michelet intimates, (i. 59, 278,) with St. John, as much as with St. Paul.—Among the medals struck at the Reformation we find one with this legend round Luther's portrait, *Lutherus Propheta Germaniæ;* others with the legend, *Tertius Elias*. See Junckner, Vita Lutheri, pp. 24, 402.

in the history both of the progress of Luther's own mind, and of the Reformation, that no ecclesiastical historian can properly develope the advance of that eventful history, without making a distinct reference to it.

The truth was that Luther formed acquaintance with the character of Christ some years before he formed it with that of Antichrist. The cry of the *Pope* being Antichrist, raised long previously by the followers of Waldo, Wickliff, and Huss, had almost died away in Christendom; and, if heard of by Luther at Erfurt, or at Wittenberg, had been heard of only as a blasphemous heresy.[1] With a conscience very tender, and tremblingly afraid of offending God, the supposed sacredness and authority of the Pope, as head of the Church and Christ's Vicar, (for such, in accordance with the long-received superstition, he as yet regarded him,) induced in his mind a pre-disposition to bow with implicit deference to the Papal decision, alike in other things, and in the controversy about indulgences that he had engaged in. In his Theses nothing appeared against the authority of the Pope, but the contrary.[2] Listen to his own account of his feelings at this time, as given many years afterwards. "When I began the affair of the indulgences, . . I was a monk, and a most mad Papist. So intoxicated was I, and drenched in Papal dogmas, that I would have been most ready to murder, or assist others in murdering, any person who should have uttered a syllable against the duty of obedience to the Pope." And again; "Certainly at that time I adored him in earnest." He adds; "How distressed my heart was in that year 1517, and the following, how submissive to the hierarchy, not feignedly but really, . . those little know who at this day insult the majesty of the Pope with much pride and arrogance . . . I was ignorant of many things which now, by the grace of God, I understand. I disputed; I was open to conviction. Not finding satisfaction in the works of theologians and canonists, I wished to consult the living members of the Church

[1] This is evident from what he tells us of his original feelings of horror at Huss and Hussite doctrines, and his astonishment on at length finding them to be agreeable to the Gospel.

[2] Merle, i. 269. "Cursed," it was said in one of them, (the 71st,) "be he that doubts it!" ib. 266.—See too the end of Note [1] p. 100 suprà.

itself. There were some godly souls that entirely approved my propositions. But I did not consider their authority as of weight with me in spiritual concerns. The popes, cardinals, bishops, monks, priests, were the objects of my confidence... It was from them I looked for the voice of the Spirit... After being enabled to answer every objection that could be brought against me from the Scriptures, one difficulty still remained, and only one;—that *the Church* [the *Roman* Church] ought to be obeyed."[1] "If I had then braved the Pope as I now do, I should have expected every hour that the earth would have opened to swallow me up alive, like Korah and Abiram."[2]—It was in this frame of mind that in the summer of 1518, a few months after the affair with Tetzel, he wrote that memorable letter to the Pope, of which the tenor may be judged of from the clause following; and what can more admirably illustrate the passage we are considering? "Most blessed Father! prostrate at the feet of thy Blessedness, I offer myself to thee, with all I am and all I have. Kill me or make me live, call or recall, approve or reprove, as shall please thee. I will acknowledge *thy voice* as *the voice of Christ*, presiding and speaking in thee."[3] Thus, "when *the seven thunders had uttered their own voices*, he was *about to write:*" i. e. as the phrase means,[4] to *recognise, publish,*

[1] The two extracts are from two Prefaces by Luther, the one to an Edition of his Theses, published after the termination of the dispute about indulgences, the other to an Edition of his Works, published in 1545, i. e. 28 years after the beginning of the dispute.—See Milner pp. 683, 684; also Merle i. 209.

[2] Michelet, i. 58.

[3] "Quare, beatissime Pater, prostratum me pedibus tuæ Beatitudinis offero, cùm omnibus quæ sum et habeo. Vivifica, occide, voca, revoca, approba, reproba, ut placuerit. Vocem tuam vocem Christi in te præsidentis et loquentis agnoscam." This was in Luther's first Letter to the Pope, written May 30, 1518. Merle i. 343.

[4] "Quod palam scribimus," says Ansbertus, "ad cunctorum notitiam deducimus." Compare Hab. ii. 2; "Write the vision, and make it plain on tables, that he may run that readeth it."

Similar to this was the mode of promulgating imperial decrees among the ancient Romans. And the same afterwards in regard of *Conciliar Decrees* and *Papal Bulls*. It was by *writing* them that they were published, on reception in any country. So Justinian, after the Constantinopolitan Council in 536. (Hard. ii. 1410.) So again Pope Paul II, A.D. 1469, to the Archbishop of Lyons, in accompaniment of a Bull of Excommunication against George de Pogiebrat and the Hussites. Paul thus directs its promulgation:—that it should be affixed in some public place, that all who wished might *read* or *transcribe* (legere vel inde exemplum transcribere); also that it should be read in the vulgar tongue before the people, in all city churches, three times in the year, at certain high festivals; and that, in order to all this, he, the Archbishop, was to send an *attested copy* of the Pope's original Bull, *transcribed* literally by a notary

act on them; even as if they had been, what they pretended to be, an oracle from heaven.

But so it was that just at this critical point of temptation and danger a *real* voice from heaven, the voice of God's Spirit, saying, "*Seal up* what the seven thunders have uttered, and *write them not*," was his preservation. Already in the October of that year, on being summoned and appearing, as we have intimated, before the Papal Legate Cardinal Cajetan, when the Pope's judgment was affirmed by the Legate to be in favour of indulgences, and also of the efficacy of the sacraments *ex opere operato*, independently of faith in the recipient,[1]—seeing its contradictoriness both to the word and spirit of the Gospel, he would not receive it. The Spirit's whisper began, "Write not!" Still however for a while he remained partially in suspense. He doubted, indeed discredited, the fact of the Papal sanction.[2] But soon after, when the publication of the Pope's Bull, in direct sanction of indulgences,[3] had forced him to identify the Pope himself with those antichristian abuses, —and yet more when in the year next following, on occasion of the approaching disputation with Eck,[4] he was brought by Eck's theses[5] into the positive necessity of

public, to all his suffragans: "juxtà idioma unius cujusque loci publicari facias; transmittens singulis ipsorum suffraganeorum unum, *transumptum ad litteram* originalis ipsius nostri, manu propii notarii, coram testibus, ac tuo pendenti sigillo roboratum." Harduin ix. 1490. Also ib. 1593, of Pope Julius' Bull; and x. 7 of that of Paul III for the Convocation of the Council of Trent.

[1] See my Note [1], p. 287, Vol. I; where this Papal advocacy in the 16th century of the *opus operatum of sacraments* is noticed in my sketch of the earliest development of this first principle of the Apostasy, about the end of the 4th century.—Dean Waddington, Ref. i. 158, shows that Cardinal Cajetan would have compromised on this point, if Luther would have yielded about the indulgences. Luther was alike firm on either point. M. Merle has incorrectly predicated the same of the Cardinal also.

[2] So in the Preface to his works already quoted from; "I felt assured I should have the Pope on my side." Milner 684.

[3] The Brief given to Cardinal Cajetan was dated August 23, 1518. It included Luther's excommunication in case of obstinacy, also the excommunication of all his adherents; and, in case of *princes* protecting him, placed their territories under an interdict. Merle i. 353, 354. It was not published by the Cardinal Legate till Dec. 13, 1518; (ib. 428;) but it was made known in substance to the Elector of Saxony soon after the close of the conference at Augsburg; i. e. about the end of October.

[4] The disputation took place at Leipsic, June 27, 1519, and lasted till July 16.—The challenge had been given by Eck some time previous.

[5] Eck had published thirteen Propositions against the heresies of Lutheranism. Of these his first, and that on which he mainly grounded his confidence, was that the Pope was Christ's Vicar, and successor to St. Peter. "Nous nions que l'eglise Romaine n'ait pas eté elevée audessus des autres eglises avant le tems du pape Sylvestre: et nous reconnaissons en tout tems comme successeur de St. Pierre, et Vicaire de

examining into the origin, foundation, and character of the Papal supremacy, then the real antichristian character of the Papacy began more and more to open to his view. Near the end of 1518[1] we find him thus writing to his friend Link, on sending him a copy of the acts just published of the conference at Augsburg. "My pen is ready to give birth to things much greater. *I know not myself whence these thoughts come to me.* I will send you what I write, that you may see if I have well conjectured in believing that the *Antichrist*, of whom St. Paul speaks, now reigns in the court of Rome." For a while, however, he combated the thought, to him so fearful.[2] Some three or four months after, in answer to the request from the Elector of Saxony to be in all things reverential to the Pope, he wrote to Spalatinus, (April, 1519,) "To separate myself from the Apostolic See of Rome, has not entered my mind." But still the views hinted to Link recurred; and pressed upon him with greater and greater force. The Elector was startled with hearing, (March 13, 1519,) "I have been turning over the Decretals of the Popes, with a view to the ensuing debate at Leipsic; and would whisper it into thine ears that I begin to entertain doubt, (so is Christ dishonoured and crucified in them,) whether the Pope be not the very Antichrist of Scripture."[3]— Further study of Scripture, and further teaching of the Holy Spirit, concurred with the Pope's reckless support of all the antichristian errors and abominations against which he had protested, (and well did the reminiscences too of his visit to Rome help on the conviction,)[4] to make what was for a

Jesus Christ, celui qui a occupé le siege de St. Pierre, et qui a eu sa foi." Merle ii. 20.

[1] Dec. 11, 1518. So Waddington i. 201.

[2] It may seem strange that, if in the middle of December of 1518 Luther had begun to have thoughts respecting the Pope being Antichrist, he should in the April of 1519 have written to Spalatinus that he had no thought of separating from Rome. But the following extract will explain it to us. In a letter to the Augustines of Wittenberg, dated Nov. 1521, he thus recounts all that passed in his mind in the interval, and the manner in which he resisted, and for a time silenced, the thought as sinful. "Oh! qu'il m'en a couté de peine, quoique j'eusse l'écriture de mon côté, pour me justifier par devant moi même de ce que seul j'osai m'élever contre le Pape, et le tenir pour l'Antichrist, &c.!—Ainsi je me débattais avec moimême; jusqu'à ce que *Jesus Christ*, par sa propre et infallible parole, me fortifiât, et dressât mon cœur contre cet argument." Michelet i. 277.

[3] Merle d'Aub. ii. 13. Wadd. i. 201. The passage is one that I shall again have to refer to, when expounding Apoc. xi. 8.

[4] "I would not for 100,000 florins but have seen Rome." Merle i. 186.

while a suspicion only, an awful and certain reality to him. And when at length, near the close of 1520, the Pope's final Bull of anathema and excommunication came out against him, when the seven thunders pealed against the voice that the Covenant-Angel had uttered by him, fraught with the collected fury of all the artillery of the Papal heaven,[1]—accordantly with that monitory voice from heaven which bade his Apocalyptic representative St. John long before to "seal them up,"[2] (almost a phrase of the times, I may observe, for rejecting Papal Bulls, and consigning them to oblivion,[3]) he did an action by which all Europe was electrified. He summoned a vast concourse of all ranks outside the walls of Wittenberg, students and professors inclusive; himself kindled a fire in a vast pile of wood previously prepared for the purpose; then committed the Bull, together with the Papal Decretals, Canons, &c., accompanying, to the flames.[4] Perhaps the impression was even then resting influentially on his mind, of which he told not very long afterwards, that the Papal Decretals, Canons, and condemnatory Bull, thus consigned by him to oblivion, were the realization of the selfsame "*seven thunders*," that St. John was bid not to write, but to seal up, when they uttered their own voices on the Apocalyptic scene.[5] Moreover, in his published Answer to

[1] "Rise up, O Lord! . . Rise up, Peter! . . Let the universal Church of God's saints and doctors rise up, &c." See the Bull in Foxe v. 660.

[2] "By the Spaniards, when they receive the Pope's Bulls, if they like them they are registered and published, i. e. executed accordingly. But if they do not like them, they are set by, being first lapped up, and no more is said about them. This they call *plegar la Bulla*, to *fold up*, or *seal up*, the Bull; i. e. to stop or hinder the execution of it, as being contrary to their customs or rights." Simon's Lettres Choisies; ap. Daubuz, 473: who however only quotes it in illustration of his own singular and totally different explanation of the clause, noticed by me p. 103 suprà.

[3] Compare Isa. viii. 16; "Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples:" where the *binding up* and *sealing* are, as in the above example, coincident. This passage is cited by Macknight in his comment on Heb. ii. 13; and he explains it to signify that the whole Mosaic economy was to be *laid aside*. He cites also σφραγισαι ἁμαρτιας, Dan. ix. 24, as used in a similar sense.—Compare my Note [1], p. 120, on the *writing* of Papal Bulls by Ecclesiastical functionaries, as a token of recognition of their authority.

[4] Dec. 10, 1520.

[5] "The Pontiff without law, to gratify his own arrogance, has ever *lightened* and *thundered* with puffed-out cheeks. It was all in vain for a man to give credence to the four Gospels, if he did not receive the Decretals of the Romish Church. These are *the seven thunders* of Papal intimidation in Apoc. x." So in the Tischreden. And also in his "Treatise on the Keys," (Smith's Transl. p. 44,) published in 1530.

It may be well to give the Original German of this remarkable passage.

"Gross ist des Bapst's Tyranney gewest: der, ohne gesetz, (ὁ ανομος,) nach all

the Bull, he rejected and poured contempt on those Papal thunders, as "*the infernal voices of* ANTICHRIST."[1]

Such was the memorable act that marked the completion of the first epoch of the Reformation. Once convinced by the heavenly teaching of this awful and so long unsuspected truth, no earthly terrors or power could induce from Luther its recantation. When summoned before the Emperor, Legate, and Germanic Princes and Nobles at the Diet of Worms,[2] the momentous cause intrusted to him was only strengthened by his intrepid confession. Moreover he was now no longer alone, as once, in the undertaking. A goodly company,—Melancthon, Carolstadt, Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, and many others, since known as Fathers of the Reformation,—had already joined themselves to him. In many too, perhaps in most, of the German universities and towns, by students and by people, and by not a few even of priests and monks also, the new doctrine had been embraced with enthusiasm; besides that in Switzerland the work was fast progressing. It is the remark of his biographer, when arrived at this epoch of the Reformation, that at various times the world has seen the power of an *idea*, even of common and earthly origin, to penetrate society and rouse nations: how much more, he adds, when, as now, it was *an idea originating from heaven*.[3] In this observation he is speaking of the new views at this time spread abroad of Christ and Antichrist. And have we

seinem Muthwillen, geblitzt, und mit vollen auftgeblazenem Backen also gedonnert hat . . . . Das sind *die sieben Donner des Bapst's drawunges in der Affenbarung*."

[1] Luther's Reply (which is given complete in Foxe, Vol. v. 671—676) bore date Dec. 1, 1520; and was entitled, An Answer to the execrable Bull of Antichrist. "I hold," he says in it, "the author of this Bull to be *Antichrist*, and Rome the kingdom of Antichrist." "Is not thy whorish face ashamed," he adds, "to set the vanities of thy naked words against the thunderbolts of God's eternal word?" Again; "Dost thou not show thyself to be *the adversary*, extolled above all that is called God? Art thou not that *man of sin* that denieth God the Redeemer?" And then to Christian princes; "Ye have given your names to *Christ* in baptism: and can ye now abide these *infernal voices* (Tartareas voces) such *an Antichrist?*"

[2] Held from Jan. 6 to May 8, A.D. 1521.—Luther's arrival at Worms was on the 16th of April, his departure April 27: the former about four months therefore after his burning the Pope's Bull.

[3] Merle d'Aubigné, ii. 172; "Si une *idée humaine* a une telle force, quel pouvoir n'aura pas une *idée descendue du ciel*, quand Dieu lui ouvre la porte des cœurs!" He observes that the world has not often seen this: instancing but two examples; the first that of the *opening æra of Christianity*, the second this of the *Reformation*. He adds, with reference to a yet more glorious coming exemplification, "Et il le verra en des jours futurs."

not a comment in it on the Apocalyptic statement, "I heard *a voice from heaven* saying to me, Write not!" The effect was seen and confessed by the Pope's astonished Legate, when, in travelling through Germany to Worms, instead of the wonted honours and reverence to his high office, he found himself disregarded and shunned as an *agent of* ANTICHRIST.[1] A mighty revolution, it was evident, had begun: and who could foresee its issue?

CHAPTER V.

REVELATION OF THE WORLD'S NOW ADVANCED CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION IN THE GREAT PROPHETIC CALENDAR OF DANIEL AND THE APOCALYPSE.

"AND the Angel which I saw stand upon the sea and upon the land, lifted up his right hand to heaven; and sware by Him that liveth for ever and ever, who created the heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea and the things which are therein, that time shall no further be prolonged:[2] but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, at what time he may have to sound,[3] the mystery of God shall be finished;[4] according to the glad tidings that He hath declared[5] to his servants the prophets."[6] Apoc. x. 5—7.

In the two preceding and primary acts of this vision of the self-revealing rainbow-circled Covenant-Angel, and its recorded accompaniments and consequents on the Apocalyptic scene, we traced in our former Chapter a most accurate prefiguration of the two grand religious discoveries, made first to Luther, and then to others in Christendom, which introduced the great Protestant Reformation. Is it the case that the present very different, but almost equally striking figuration, may be historically explained on the

[1] Ib. ii. 178. [2] ὁτι χρονος ουκ ετι εσται. See pp. 125, 126 infrà.
[3] ὁταν μελλῃ σαλπιζειν. See p. 127. [4] See p. 127 Note [3] infrà.
[5] ὡς ευηγγελισε τους ἑαυτου δουλους τους προφητας.
[6] The chief difference of the critical text from the received is in adding την δεξιαν in verse 5; and reading in verse 6, ὁτι χρονος ουκ ετι εσται, for ουκ εσται ετι, and in verse 7 και ετελεσθη, for και τελεσθῃ.

same principle; viz. as signifying a further revelation made, in due chronological order of sequence, to Luther and the other reforming doctors, and therein a further step of advance and progress in the Reformation? Let us, as before, first well consider the *figuration:* then turn to *history* to inquire after the fulfilment.

I. THE PROPHECY.

Now, with regard to the *prophetic passage* under consideration, it will be observed by the reader that two changes of translation have been made by me in it. The first is of the clause ὁτι χρονος ουκ ετι εσται, which I render *that time shall no further be prolonged;* (i. e. to *the mystery* spoken of in the next clause, a mystery including that of *the seven thunders;*) in place of our authorized version, "*that time shall be no longer:*"—the other of the clause ὁταν μελλῃ σαλπιζειν· which I render, "*at what time he may have*, or *be destined, to sound;*" instead of the authorized, "*when he shall begin to sound.*"—In the first of these changes we cannot, I think, be materially mistaken. The authorized version of it, "*there shall be time no longer,*" is one clearly inadmissible. For χρονος in the abstract sense of *time*, as opposed to *eternity*, is never, I believe, used in Scripture.[1] And, moreover, how could it be said that time should at the seventh Trumpet-Angel's sounding be no longer, when the mutations introduced by that Trumpet were to issue, as appears clearly from the Apocalyptic sequel, in the reign of Christ and his saints; —a reign including, as its commencing term, the definite period of 1000 years of time?—Another proposed translation, "*that the time shall not yet be,*" which in my earlier Editions I adopted from other preceding interpreters,[2] appears to me on reconsideration to be on grammatical grounds inadmissible; since I cannot find authority for ετι meaning *yet*, in that sense of our English word *yet*, or *as yet.*—

[1] The word most nearly used in this sense is αιων. So Matt. xiii. 39, 40, 49, εν τῃ συντελειᾳ του αιωνος, and elsewhere; where however it only notes the duration of the present dispensation; the terminating point of the αιων being in Christ's manifested reign, and the then regeneration of all things.

[2] The absence of the definite article before χρονος did not seem to me to be a sufficient objection to this, because of the grammatical rule that where the *copula*, or verb connecting the *subject* and the *predicate*, is the *verb substantive*, there the

And so again a third proposed translation, "*A time shall not yet be*," in the mystical prophetic sense of the word *time*, as a year of 360 *days*, counted on the year-day principle, as 360 *years*, seems to me objectionable; not with reference to the ετι alone, but because the word used here by the Angel is not καιρος, but χρονος.[1]—A fourth proposed translation, "*There shall be delay no more*," though quite suitable to the sense of the passage, yet seems scarcely warrantable;[2] because, though χρονιζω the verb means *to delay*, and χρονος itself, with verbs like ποιεω in connexion, be used sometimes also in the same sense of *delay*,[3] yet where is there example of χρονος with *the substantive verb* having that meaning?—I therefore settle down on a version very similar to that of our authorized English translation, only with quite a different sense; and that a sense gathered from the clause next succeeding. "There shall be time no longer extended," viz. to the mysterious dispensation of God which has so far permitted the reign of evil, including the power of Papal Rome's mock thunders; the 7th Trumpet's æra being its fixt determined limit. "For in the days of the seventh angel, when he shall sound, the mystery of God shall be finished."

article is omitted. See Middleton on the Greek Article i. 3. 3. p. 60. So Acts xxiii. 5, "I knew not ὁτι εστιν αρχιερευς·" rightly rendered, he says, "Ananias is *the* high priest." To which might be added two or three other examples, more exactly parallel with the clause under discussion, from their involving nouns of *time:* e. g. John v. 9, ην δε σαββατον, "it was *the* sabbath;" whereas usually, with other verbs σαββατον in the same sense has the definite article attached: again John xix. 14; ην δε παρασκευη του πασχα· "*it* was *the* preparation of the passover:" and Mark xi. 13; ου γαρ ην καιρος συκων· "it was not *the* time of fig-gathering." Yet once more we read in John v. 1, Μετα ταυτα ην εορτη των Ιουδαιων· which, as Middleton argues, though the article prefix is wanting, may yet be the Jewish Passover, or Feast κατ' εξοχην, on the same principle.

[1] This third version is that of Messrs. Birks and Bickersteth. Now, no doubt, the word χρονος is sometimes used for a *year*.* But it is never used to express the prophetic mystical period *time, times, and half a time*, either in the Septuagint translation of Daniel, (a prophet and prophecy here evidently referred to,) or in the Apocalypse: in these cases the word used being always and distinctively καιρος. Mr. Birks does not appear to me to have advanced a step towards removing the gravity of this objection. (See his Prophetic Elements, pp. 385—388.)

[2] So Vitringa, Heinrichs, Tregelles, Wordsworth.

[3] So Demosthenes, χρονον, or χρονους, εμποιειν τοις πραγμασι, moram negotiis exhibere. Compare Daniel ii. 16; Ηξιωσε τον βασιλεα ὁτι χρονον δω αυτω· also Acts xv. 33, ποιησαντες χρονον, and Apoc. ii. 21; Εδωκα αυτη χρονον.

* So, for example, Thucydides i. 30; Τον τε χρονον του πλειστου μετα την ναυμαχιαν επεκρατουν της θαλασσης· rendered by Duker, "*maximâ ejus anni parte.*" Also Diodorus Sic. Ἡ ολυμπιας πληρουται κατα τετταρας χρονους. And so Phavorinus in his Lexicon; Χρονος καλειται ἡ του ἡλιου κινησις απο του αυτου εις το αυτο, και ενιαυτος, και ετος. So too Lennep, Etymolog. and Suicer on the word.

With regard to the latter clause amended, I scarce need suggest to the classical reader that ὁταν μελλῃ σαλπιζειν cannot mean, as our authorized version renders it, "when *he shall begin* to sound." On the other hand my version, "at what time *he may have*, or *be destined*, to sound," is but according to one of the recognised meanings of the verb.[1] And, forasmuch as the event spoken of as to take place, viz. the ending or completion of God's mystery, is referred not to the time *just before* the seventh angel's sounding, but to *the days subsequently following on* the sounding,[2] —I therefore propose to construe the clause in question *parenthetically* thus; "But in the days of the seventh angel, (at what time soever he may have to sound,) then the mystery of God shall be finished." Thus all will harmonize:—by the parenthetic words a certain dubiousness only being made to attach to the time of the seventh Angel's sounding, and its results; though an event apparently not very distant.

This seems all that is necessary in the way of *critical* remark on the passage; Bishop Middleton having long since explained, and justified, the authorized rendering of και ετελεσθη.[3] I therefore now pass to the figuration itself.

[1] So Matt. xi. 14, Ηλιας ὁ μελλων ερχεσθαι, "Elias which *was for to come;*" Acts xxiv. 15, αναστασιν μελλειν εσεσθαι νεκρων, "that there *should be* a resurrection;" Apoc. xvii. 8, μελλει αναβαινειν. Vitringa, to much the same effect, translates, "Quando ille clanget:" and Dr. Wordsworth too, similarly, "When he shall sound."

[2] Εν ταις ἡμεραις της φωνης του ἑβδομου αγγελου, ὁταν μελλῃ σαλπιζειν. Compare the Septuagint Version of Jer. xxix. 10; Ὁταν μελλῃ πληρουσθαι Βαβυλων· ἑβδομηκοντα ετη επισκεψομαι ὑμας· where it is evident, alike from the Hebrew original, and from the necessary sense of the passage, that the time designated of God's visitation of captive Judah is that *following* on, not that just *preceding*, the *completion* of the seventy years.

[3] It is to be observed that there is another reading of this clause, και τελεσθῃ, in the aorist subjunctive. If this be adopted, as it has been by Mill, there will be nothing remarkable in the construction: the ὁταν governing the τελεσθῃ, as well as the μελλῃ; and the point of affirmation,—as inferred from the preceding assertion, "The time shall *not yet* be,"—being its contrary, "But the time *shall be* whensoever the seventh angel may sound, and the mystery of God shall have been finished."

The reading however of the best authority, and which is adopted by Griesbach, Scholz, Heinrichs, Tregelles, is that given above, και ετελεσθη, in the aorist indicative. Receiving this, the following is Bishop Middleton's satisfactory suggestion for its solution. He explains it as a *Hebraism;* the Hebrew idiom giving a future signification to a præterite following on a future, which has the *Vau conversive* to connect them. He illustrates from Judges iv. 8, "If thou wilt go with me, *then will I go;*" the Hebrew being וְהָלַכְתִּי,—literally "*and I went.*" So that the construction

And need I call attention to the exceeding impressiveness of the act and words figured? Who could witness, who hear or read them, and not thrill under the impression?—Consider *the announcement!* It told of no less an event than the certain approach and nearness, at the distance of but one more grand prophetic epoch, of the long-promised consummation. And what that consummation? The ending of what is emphatically called *God's mystery:* his mystery of *Providence*, wherein good has so long been overborne by evil, the saints by the world, Christ by Antichrist:[1]—his mystery too, his chiefest mystery, of *prophecy:*[2] seeing that in darkly-expressed figures, and enigmatic chronological periods, (of which more presently,) it enwrapt from of old each prediction of the *time* when God's providential mystery should have its ending; and of these, until the eve of the consummation,[3] it seemed that the Church would from age to age in vain seek a complete solution.—Consider too *the Person* announcing it, the Covenant-Angel Jehovah Jesus; that same divine Angel, and with the same glory as his own proper investiture, that communed with Daniel once by the river Hiddekel:[4]—and, yet once more, the exceedingly solemn *adjuration* by which he confirmed it: "He lifted up his hand to heaven, and sware by Him that liveth for ever and ever, who created the heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea and the things that are therein." It was an oath of which the *form*, by lifting up his hand to heaven, appears from other Scripture to have been that which was adopted as most

of this passage will be this; "In the days of the seventh angel, at what time he may have to sound, the mystery of God *shall be finished;*" the και ετελεσθη being by Bishop Middleton's rule tantamount to τελεσθησεται.—In the Critici Sacri the same explanation is given from Piscator. And so too Vitringa.

[1] "Revelation teaches us that the next state of things, after the present, is appointed for the execution of God's [final and perfect] justice: that it shall then be no longer delayed, but *the mystery of God*, the great mystery of his suffering vice and confusion to prevail, shall then be finished; and he will take to himself his great power, and reign, by rendering to every man according to his works." Butler, Analogy, Part i. ch. 2, Note *n*.

[2] The same word μυστηριον is used in Dan. ii. 18 of the mystery of Nebuchadnezzar's dream and symbolic image: also ib. 28 of all such prophetic mysteries generally.

[3] Compare Dan. xii. 4, 9.

[4] Dan. xii. 7.

solemn, not by man only,[1] but God;[2] and one in which *God himself* was invoked as witness to its truth. Moreover it is observable that the attributes of Jehovah specially mentioned in the oath, were precisely those that might seem best fitted to assure the disciple of his indubitable fulfilment of it. As the *ever-living and unchangeable One*, it must needs be that He would both foresee the coming future, without possibility of error, and would also carry on His designs without shadow of turning. As *Creator of the world*, He could not but have formed it with a view to the establishment of his own purposes, reign, and glory; and moreover could not but have power also over all, to accomplish that ever intended and blessed object.—Nor should there be overlooked the circumstance of the appeal from the Divine Covenant-Angel to the Divine Creator and Eternal One, as in fact an appeal to *Himself*. This however was no strange thing. The example cited by St. Paul, and his comment on it to the Hebrews, will suffice to satisfy us both of its accordance with Scripture usage, and of its intent. "Because He could swear by no greater, He *sware by Himself:* that by two immutable things," (his promise and his oath,) "in which it was impossible for God to lie, they might have a strong consolation who have fled to lay hold on the hope set before them."[3] *That they might have a strong consolation* who have fled to Jesus! Such was God's great object in the oath St. Paul speaks of. Was it not that also of the Angel, in the oath here heard by St. John?

Besides all which it is most important (as will soon appear on our entering on the history) that we mark the parallelism of the Angel's act and oath with that other just alluded to in Daniel; a parallelism so striking that it seems incredible but that the allusion to it must have been both meant by the revealing Spirit, and imprest on the mind of the disciple revealed to, St. John. The passage

[1] So Gen. xiv. 22; "And Abram said.. I have lift up mine hand unto the Lord, the most High God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take anything," &c.

[2] So in the passage from Dan. xii. 7, quoted in my next page; and again in Deut. xxxii. 40; "For I lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever."

[3] Hebr. vi. 18.

occurs nearly at the end of his prophecy. "I heard," says Daniel, "the Man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when He held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven; and He sware by Him that liveth for ever and ever, that it shall be for a *time, times,* and *an half time;* and when He shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished."[1] Here, besides the obvious similarity in respect of the *terms* and *manner* of the oath, as lifting up his hand to heaven, and swearing by Him that liveth for ever, it is evident from the context that He who used it was the Angel Jehovah, just as in the Apocalyptic vision under consideration.[2]—Further his *position,* as standing upon the waters of the Hiddekel or Tigris, (that representative and chief river of Persia,[3] the then dominant power of the four great empires of prophecy,) corresponds with the Angel's standing upon land and sea in the Apocalyptic vision; and similarly intimates his being HE to whom belonged the empire of the earth, and who would in due time vindicate it to Himself.—Yet again the *consummation* referred to in Daniel may be inferred, not otherwise only, but from the Apocalyptic Angel's express reference to *the ancient prophets,* to be one and the same with that meant in the Apocalypse.[4]—But amidst all these marked points of correspondence in the two cases, there was one point as marked of difference. Whereas to Daniel the vision was declared to be one of *many days,*[5] and the appointed time of the end to be not until after the lapse of an enigmatic

[1] Rather *fulfilled, accomplished.*

[2] On his first appearance to Daniel, he is thus described. "As I was by the side of the great river Hiddekel, I lifted up mine eyes, and looked. And behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz! His body also was like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words as the voice of a multitude." Dan. x. 4—6. Comparing this with the description of Christ in the 1st of the Apocalypse, the correspondence seems such as almost necessarily to involve identity. Of which identity all that follows is confirmatory.

[3] So as the Euphrates was symbolic of Assyria, or Babylon. Is. viii. 7; Jer. xiii. 4.

[4] In Daniel this is described as characterized by the intervention of Michael (whether Christ, or a created Angel) for his people; and the waking up of the saints from the dust of the earth, to take the kingdom with Christ, and to shine therein even as the sun in the firmament. With which compare what is said in the heavenly song at the blast of the seventh Trumpet, Apoc. xi. 15, 18; "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord: . . the time is come to give reward to thy servants, &c."—We shall hereafter (viz. in Part VI.) have to enter fully on this subject.

[5] Dan. x. 14.

period,—a *time, times,* and *half a time,*[1] measured from the epoch of some notable but darkly-hinted erection of the abomination in the holy place,[2]—it was here on the other hand declared to be approaching, and comparatively nigh at hand. It would not indeed, the Angel intimated, be just at present. But He swore also that there should intervene but one more Trumpet-sounding before it. "In the days of the seventh Angel, (at what time soever he may have to sound,) then the mystery of God *shall* be finished, according to the glad tidings that He hath declared to his servants the prophets."—Oh, how heart-cheering to St. John, as well as how solemn, this peculiarity in the revelation made to him, as compared with that to Daniel! How joyous this striking, as it were, of the hour on the chronometer of heaven: to tell that the mystery was indeed near its ending; the grand, the long-desired consummation, at length drawing nigh!

But this directs us at once to our next Head; on,

IIndly, THE HISTORICAL FULFILMENT.

For here, as elsewhere, St. John is to be considered not so much in his *personal,* as in his *symbolic representative* character. Whence the inference follows, that there ought to have been some impression on the mind of Luther and other Fathers of the Reformation, whom the Apostle now represented, correspondent at the time, in real historical fact, with that figured in the drama, as it was impressed on the ear and mind of the Evangelist. Already examples have occurred of certain solemn *chronological* notices, declared on the open Apocalyptic scene, having had their fulfilment in history, just as well as other prefigurations. Thus, under the fifth Seal, the intimation heard given to the souls beneath the altar, of there being another set of martyrs to be slain even as they before the consummation, was shown to have had that which exactly answered to it, in the universally received conviction among the sufferers under heathen Rome's oppression, of Antichrist's reign,

[1] Dan. xii. 7.

[2] Dan. xii. 11.—In the 6th and last Part of my Work this whole concluding Prophecy of Daniel will come under examination. On the verse referred to I shall have to state that the right translation is, "and *an* abomination, &c."

persecution of the saints, and slaying of other martyrs, having alone to intervene before the end.[1]—Again, in the case of the Angel flying through mid-heaven before the fifth Trumpet's sounding, with the denunciation of, "Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth, by reason of the remaining trumpet-voices of the three angels that have yet to sound," we saw reason to suppose a pre-intimation of certain strong general portendings as to the world's end being close at hand, and woes and trials with it, that prevailed after the ruin of the old Roman empire.[2]—Hence the rather a conviction, that in this the most emphatic, distinct, and striking of all the Apocalyptic chronological notices, there must have been intended the prefiguration of some proportionally strong and definite expectation of the consummation, impressed in its due order of time on the minds of the Reforming Fathers:—impressed upon them *in that view of the coming consummation*, and *as grounded on that prophetic evidence*, and *connected with those associations*, which struck upon St. John's ear and mind in the Angel's oath:—impressed too, not as an evanescent though momentarily strong idea, (in which case it would have been no subject for *such* a symbolization,) but abidingly; as abidingly perhaps, from the time of its first communication to the Reformers, (an epoch following soon after that last described,) and as influentially in its measure, as the other two ideas previously impressed upon their minds, of the grace of Christ and the imposture of Antichrist.—Was this then the case?

I said, *in that view of the consummation which the Angel's oath signified.* And before reverting, for an answer to my question, to the history of Luther and the Reformation, I wish to premise a word in illustration of my meaning. And this I may perhaps do best by suggesting, in contrasted view, that expectation and fermenting of the public mind of Christendom, with reference to the coming future which was manifested, it will be remembered, already before the commencement of the Reformation, and when the name of Luther had scarce been heard beyond his own monastery. From the unprecedented burst of literature and intellect

[1] See Vol. i. 227—232. [2] See Vol. i. p. 387, &c.

which had followed on the invention of printing, from the discovery of a new world, and from the introduction into it of the Christian arms and professedly Christian faith,—from these and other considerations the æra had struck the minds of men as one very remarkable and extraordinary: and new and indefinite prospects opened before them in the misty future, to which imagination, according to the genius and character of the contemplatist, gave of course a somewhat various colouring. But alike in other European countries, and above all in Italy, the centre of the literature as well as religion of Europe, this was observable;—that, excepting a very few like Savonarola, who spoke of the nearness of Christ's coming to take the kingdom, the expectations prevalent were all of courtly theory, and in harmony with the established *anti-christian* superstition. The anticipations prevalent were anticipations of the imminent fulfilment of the promised latter-day glory *in the* POPE'S *universally extending empire:* anticipations not unnaturally resulting, in the progress of time, from that earthly view of the latter-day glory, which began to be broached, as was noted by me long since,[1] in the fourth century. It was an idea, we saw, expressed alike vividly by the painters, poets, and orators of the day;[2] as also by the preachers of the great Council-General of Western Christendom, assembled at Rome in solemn conclave, just about the time of Leo the Xth's elevation to the Popedom.[3] And, as if in order that no gloomy counter-views might cross and interrupt these glowing anticipations, the subjects of *Antichrist* and the *time* of *the last judgment* were interdicted as forbidden subjects.[4]

But the prophecies of Daniel, and that too of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, (which latter seemed also by implication referred to in the Angel's oath,)[5] exhibited the

[1] See my Vol. i. p. 266. [2] See pp. 57, 71, 81 suprà.

[3] Not however without a rather curious intimation by one of the Lateran preachers, to the effect of the 1st Apocalyptic woe having fallen on Jerusalem, the 2nd on Constantinople, in its recent overthrow by the Turks; and an alarm having existed, some little time previous, lest the 3rd and last should fall, by the ageney of the same Turks under their Sultan Mahomet, on Italy. Hard. ix. 1792.—See my notice of Mahomet's Proclamation at the time, pp. 31, 32, suprà.

[4] See p. 84 suprà.

[5] St. Paul's words (2 Thess. ii. 4), "Him that opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, and is worshipped," are generally, and I think justly, regarded

coming future in altogether a different aspect:—the object *there* set forth as to be looked and hoped for, being *the kingdom of* CHRIST, not that of *the Popes of Rome:* and its establishment, as what was not to be effected until after the previous destruction, before the brightness of his coming, of that same Papal Antichrist, with his abomination in the Holy Place;[1] that same Man of Sin, and his apostasy,[2] from off the face of the earth.—Can the imagination of man conceive a greater contrast?

Now, after the Reformers' discovery of the Pope's being the Antichrist of prophecy, and the marvellous events consequent thereon, it is easy to see how all this might well have been expected by them to follow quickly as a sequel. For the same prophecies that foretold Antichrist's *character*, and *doings*, had spoken too of *his days as numbered*, and *his destruction certain:* and moreover had specified the *manner* and the *means* of his destruction; how it should be, as it were, without hand of man, by *the breath of the Lord's mouth*, as well as the *brightness of his coming!*[3] What then more natural than that when, within three or four years, the Bible had been drawn forth from its long concealment, and its prerogative as the sole rule of faith vindicated, when the gospel of the grace of Jesus had been revealed again in its divine beauty, and the shadows of Papal superstition in not a few districts fled before it, when a public exposure too had been made of Popery, and the exposure been believed and repeated by multitudes,—what more natural, I say, than that these circumstances should be regarded as the incipient fulfilment of those prophecies of the fall of Antichrist, and sign of the promised brighter day soon coming?—Accordingly so in fact it occurred. Not on Luther's mind only, but, as we shall presently see, on that of the whole reforming body, this idea now fixed itself, somewhat like the two earlier heaven-revealed ideas spoken of in the preceding Chapter, with all the unction and influentiality of a voice from the Spirit of Jesus; alike in Germany, in Switzerland, and in England. But with this peculiarity and difference between the Reformers in

by expositors as adopted from Daniel xi. 36. See my Comment. on Dan. xi. in my Vol. iv. [1] Dan. xii. 11. [2] 2 Thess. ii. 3. [3] Dan. ii. 34, 2 Thess. ii. 8.

those three countries respectively;—that, whereas Luther, and his fellow-working *German* Reformers, grounded their strong and hopeful impressions chiefly (though not wholly) on *Daniel's* and *St. Paul's* prophecies,[1] referred to in the Angel's oath,—those in *Switzerland* and *England* soon passed from the prophecies alluded to, to that of the Apocalyptic Angel himself alluding; seized on this very prophecy for application; and for the first time, upon grounds of evidence sound and tenable, concluded on the fact of progress having been made up to it, in the evolution of the great mundane drama, and on their own chronological place being already far advanced under the sixth Trumpet, and in near expectancy of the seventh Trumpet, of the Apocalyptic prophecy.—I proceed to give illustrations.

1. And first I exemplify from *Luther* and his *German* coadjutors.—Already then, about the close of 1520, and consequently just after his discovery of the true Antichrist, we find him in his answer to Ambrosius Catharinus thus hinting his hopes and anticipations, with special reference to the prophecy of *St. Paul.* "Sure that our Lord Jesus yet liveth and reigneth, I fear not thousands of Popes. Oh that God may at length visit us; and cause to shine forth the glory of Christ's coming, wherewith to destroy that Man of Sin!"[2]—Not long afterwards, on his being summoned before the Emperor at Worms, when there were some that dissuaded his attending, from recollection of the treachery practised on a similar occasion against Huss and

[1] At the time of publishing his first translation of the N. T. Sept. 21, 1522, Luther had doubts about the genuineness of the Apocalypse; doubts excited in part by the hesitation of certain of the ancients to receive it, (the same that I have spoken of in my Preliminary Essay,) in part by the obscurity of the prophecy, in part perhaps from its abuse by fanatics like Storck and Munzer (Merle iii. 61): and so exprest himself in the Preface to that Book in his first edition of the German Testament. It seems, however, that down to the spring of 1521, or time of his going to Worms, this doubt had not crost his mind; for till then he argued from *it*, as well as from Daniel and Paul, against the Popes as Antichrist: (Wadd. i. 383, 385:) also that in 1528 he had nearly dismissed it. Hence in the Preface to his second edition of the German Bible, the opinion exprest in his former Preface was greatly modified; and afterwards he received and referred to the Apocalypse as an inspired though obscure prophecy. See the sketch of Luther's prophetic views in my History of Apocalyptic Interpretation, Vol. iv.

[2] Merle D'Aub. ii. 166: "Ostendat illum diem adventûs gloriæ Filii sui, quo destruatur iniquus iste." Also Waddington Ref. i. 437; who gives the date Apr. 1. 1521; while Merle seems to date the letter in 1520.

Jerome, his reply was that their fears for him "could only arise from the suggestion of Satan; who was apprehending the approaching ruin of his kingdom."[1] Still, on leaving the Diet, and after condemnation had been pronounced against him by the Emperor, he fell back for comfort on the same joyous expectation. "For this once," he said, "the Jews [as on the crucifixion-day] may sing their Pean: but Easter will come for us; and then we shall sing Hallelujah!"[2] The next year again, writing to Staupitz, he enforced a solemn appeal against his abandonment of the Reformation, by reference to the sure and advancing fulfilment of *Daniel's* prophecy in the events in progress. "My father, the abominations of the Pope, with his whole kingdom, must be destroyed; and the Lord does this without hand, by the *word* alone. The subject exceeds all human comprehension... I cherish the best hopes."[3] In 1523 he thus in similar strain expressed his hopes. "The kingdom of Antichrist, according to the Prophet *Daniel*, must be broken *without hand:* that is, the Scriptures will be understood by and by; and every one will preach and speak against Papal tyranny, from the word of God, until this Man of Sin" (here his allusion is again to *St. Paul's* prophecy) "is deserted by all his adherents, and dies of himself:"[4]—and again to the Duke of Savoy, on hearing of his favourable inclination to the Reformation; "Let there be no compulsion:.. only let those who sincerely preach the gospel be protected, and known to be in no danger: this is the way in which Christ will destroy Antichrist by the breath of his mouth; and thus, as it is in *Daniel*, he shall be broken without hand; he whose coming is with lying wonders."[5] Once more on hearing, still in the same year, of the condemnation and martyrdom of some of his followers in Flanders,—the first blood shed in that country in the cause of the Reformation,—he thus comforts him-

[1] Milner, 750. Luther arrived at Worms Apr. 16, 1521; left it Apr. 26.

[2] Merle D'Aub. ii. 275.—It appears from his Table Talk, chap. lvii, that he had, in later life at least, and consequently perhaps earlier, an impression that Christ's second coming would be at *Easter*. "About the time of Easter, Pharaoh was destroyed in the Red Sea, and Israel led out of Egypt: about the same time the world was created, Christ rose again, and the world is renewed. Even so, I am of opinion, the last day shall come about Easter, when the year is at its finest and fairest." (ii. 265.)

[3] Milner, 692. [4] Milner, 796. [5] Ib. 820.

self; "But the Judge is at the door, and will soon pronounce a very different sentence."[1]

So in earlier days the Reformer *Luther*. Nor did the circumstance of the *fanatics* of the day adopting, and making unsound and unscriptural use of, this expectation of the near advent of Christ,[2] affect his belief in or declaration of it: for it seemed but Satan's well-known artifice, by abuse or by a counterfeit, to bring contempt on what was important and true. Rather, though it made him cautious and jealous afterwards of the unguarded use of prophecy,[3] yet he regarded it as an additional mark of the last day being at hand; Satan perceiving the fact, and putting forth his final fury.[4]—Nor indeed did *the idea* ever leave him.[5] Still resting mainly and strongly on that prophecy in Dan xi. and xii. respecting the apostate King the Pope, and his abomination making desolate,[6] as that which Christ himself (*the Apocalyptic Covenant-Angel of the vision before us*) had most solemnly called attention to,[7] and which St. Paul had both copied after and illustrated,[8] he gathered, as life advanced, that still some few things

[1] Ib. 816.

[2] Such was the case in 1522 with the Anabaptists under Munzer.—Again in 1528 the Duke George wrote thus of the state of things in Thuringia; "that the common people there were expecting their real Lord and Master to appear shortly, in defence of his own word and gospel: . . and everywhere it was the cry of these enthusiastic visionaries, No tribute! All things in common! No tithes! No Magistrates! Christ's kingdom is at hand."—Milner, 939; who observes, however, that probably among this multitude there were not a few sincerely pious, though unlearned and simple, led away by the more artful and fanatic.

[3] Seckendorf mentions (Lib. ii. p. 113) that in 1528 Luther blamed those who (incompetent as they evidently were to the task) expounded the Apocalypse in public lectures. He had said the same about expositions of Zechariah.

[4] "I have a new species of fanaties from Antwerp, who assert that the Holy Spirit is nothing more than men's natural reason and understanding. How does Satan rage everywhere against the word! This I reckon by no means the slightest mark of the approaching end, viz. that Satan perceives that the day is at hand, and pours forth his final fury." (Milner, 896.) This was in 1525. Of course his remarks embraced other outbreaks of fanaticism, such as that previously under Munzer.

[5] "This light of the gospel," said he somewhat later, "now in our time, is a certain sign of the glorious appearing of our Lord and Saviour; like the morning redness . . before the everlasting day." Table Talk i. 297.

[6] On this Papal application of Daniel see my comment on Dan. xi, xii. Vol. iv.

[7] "Daniel was an exceeding high and excelling prophet, . . touching whom Christ said 'Whoso readeth, let him mark!' . . Read Dan. xi. throughout." Table Talk, chap. xxiii. on Antichrist. And again: "Truly the Pope's kingdom is . . an abomination of desolation, standing in the holy place; as Christ saith, 'Whoso readeth let him understand.'" Ibid. (Vol. ii. pp. 2, 4.)

[8] "St. Paul read Daniel thoroughly, and useth also his words where he saith, 'And he will exalt himself above all that is called god, or is worshipped.'" Ib. chap. xxii. (Vol. i. p. 421.)

remained to be fulfilled ere the glorious consummation:—some further consumption and wasting of the Popedom through the gospel-word;[1] or perhaps some temporary apostasy of the Protestant body, and consequent brief revival of the Papal power;[2] perhaps too some confederation of Pope and Turk against Christ's Protestant faithful ones:[3]—else the world's wickedness marked it as even then fully ripe.[4] Thus, though God's mystery of the prophetic numbers, *the time, times, and half a time*, baffled him by its obscurity, and at one time, in his conjectures about the destined epoch of the consummation, he fancied that it might be less than 20 years off,[5] at another deprecated the

[1] "The Pope is the last blaze in the lamp, which will go out, and ere long be extinguished; . . he that lightens and thunders with sword and bull... But the Spirit of God's mouth hath seized on him."—"I hope he hath done his worst; and though he falleth not altogether, yet he shall increase no more, but rather decrease." Ib. chap. xxiii. (Vol. ii. pp. 4, 5.)

[2] "Seeing this abomination (of the Papacy) is now showed in God's word, and found out by experience through our wicked lives, such thoughts do arise in me as willingly I would not have; viz. that this acknowledgment of the Word will fall again, and the bright shining light of the Gospel be extinguished... For, the gospel saith, Christ will come at midnight, when neither day nor light will appear." Ib. ch. xxiii. (ii. 15.)—Again: "I am not so much afraid of the Pope and tyrants, as of our own unthankfulness and contemning of God's word. The same, I fear, will help the Pope again into the saddle. When that comes to pass, I hope the day of judgment will soon follow." Ib. ch. iv. (Vol. i. p. 140.)—Elsewhere he predicted a defection in the Protestant body from the right faith after the death of himself and Melancthon; somewhat as in Israel, after the death of the elders that overlived Joshua. So in Aurifaber's Preface, appended to the Table Talk, p. 13.

[3] "It is now time to watch; for we are the mark they shoot at. Our adversaries intend to make a confederacy with the Turk: . . for Antichrist will war, and get the victory against the saints of God, as Daniel saith." Ib. ch. xv. on Prayer. (i. 361.) Elsewhere he intimates an idea that the Turk might perhaps come to Rome, in this confederation, and there pitch the tabernacles of his palace on the (professedly) Holy Mount. (ii. 339.)

[4] "When people live securely without the fear of God, and blaspheme Christ, and persecute his word, as now the Papists, &c. do, and with great rage banish and murder godly people, as if heretics, then surely the end is not very far off. As it went with the Jews when they blasphemed Christ, &c.: when the Lord had . . gathered the wheat into his garner, then he set the chaff on fire." Ib. ch. vii. on Christ. (i. 225.)—Again: "The world is grown very stubborn and headstrong since the revealing of the word of the gospel. It begins to crack sorely; and I hope will soon break, and fall on a heap, through the coming of the day of judgment; for the appearing of which we wait with yearning and sighs of heart... Let us pray, Thy kingdom come!" Ib. ch. iv. (i. 139.)

Similarly in 1543 he wrote thus. "The world is, as it ever has been, the world; and desires to know nothing of Christ. Let it go its own way. They continue to rage and grow worse from day to day: which indeed is a solace to the weary soul, as it shows that the glorious day of the Lord is at hand. For the unspeakable contempt of the word, and unutterable lamentations of godly men, show that the world is given up to its own ways; and the day of its destruction, and of our salvation, should be hastened. Amen! so be it!"

[5] After saying, "I cannot define this prophecy, *a time, times, and half a time*," he throws out the idea (a fanciful one), that *possibly* its *secondary* application to *Antichrist* (the *primary* being to *Antiochus Epiphanes*) might be on the scale of

extension of the interval to 50 years,[1] and at others mentioned 200, or 300, as the furthest limit that entered his imagination,[2] yet the prevalent idea of its being near at hand remained with him even to his dying hour,[3] and was a perpetual topic of consolation, encouragement, and hope.

Very similar were the views of the other great German Reformer, *Melancthon.*—Like Luther he intently fixed his mind on Daniel's prophecies of Antichrist, and on St. Paul's subsequent prophecy, (the latter almost a comment on Daniel's,) as that which was Christ's own positive direction and charge.[4] Like Luther he undoubtingly explained the wilful or apostate King of Dan. xi., in respect of both his abomination making desolate, his pride, tyranny, and fated end,[5] (not to add the little horn of Dan. viii. also,)[6] to

a time equalling the *thirty years* of our Lord's life: in which case $3\frac{1}{2}$ times would equal 105 years; and, reckoned from the Turks' taking of Constantinople, (the Turks being the *Eastern* Antichrist,) end at A.D. 1558. "God knoweth." Ib. ch. xxiii. (ii. 3, 343.)—Another idea he threw out was that perhaps the Apocalyptic number of the Beast 666 might mean the number of years of established Papal power; which, measured from the time of Charlemagne, would come nearly down to the Reformation. (ii. 12.)

[1] Near the time of his death he said; "God forbid the world should last 50 years longer. Let him cut matters short with his last judgment." Table Talk, Michelet ii. 216. This was said in grief at the unfaithfulness of many Protestants.

[2] "The wickedness of mankind is . . risen to that height, that I dare presume to say the world cannot continue many hundred years longer." Ib. ch. ix. on *Sins.* (i. 253.) Again (ii. 35): "In about 200 years (or, i. 90, "in less than 200 years,") the power of their damnable religion will be broken." And (i. 11): "I persuade myself verily that the day of judgment will not be absent full 300 years more . . God will not, cannot suffer this wicked world much longer."—Elsewhere in the Table Talk, he expresses his impression of their having come down to the vision of Christ proceeding forth on the White Horse (Apoc. xix.) in the Apocalyptic Drama. (ii. 264.)

[3] Seckendorf, Lib. iii. p. 640: "Deus, Pater cœlestis, . . postquam mihi, secundùm magnam misericordiam tuam, . . apostasiam, cœcitatem, et tenebras Papæ, ante diem tuum extremum, *qui non procul abest, sed imminet*, et lucem Evangelicam quæ nunc per orbem effulsit secuturus est, revelasti," &c. These were words in his prayer the evening before his death. They illustrate the subject of the preceding chapter, as well as of this.

From Junckner's *Vita Lutheri Nummis Illustrata*, I add the following further illustrations. 1. At p. 24 there occurs a medal with Luther's bust on the obverse, and the legend, *Tertius Elias;* on the converse an Angel flying with the everlasting gospel in his hand, and the legend, *Cecidit Cecidit Babylon.* 2. At p. 234 a German medal of 1546 is given, representing Christ as come down to judgment, and the dead rising, with the legend, "Watch, for ye know not at what hour the Lord cometh." It was struck just after Luther's death; and shows, says Junckner, the then general apprehension among Protestants of the judgment-day being at hand.

[4] In the general Preface to his Comment on Daniel, he quotes the passage, "Let him that readeth, &c., understand."

[5] In his comment on Dan. xi. he expounds the verses respecting the abomination of desolation primarily of Antiochus Epiphanes, but secondarily and chiefly of Antichrist.

[6] The little horn in Dan. viii. he judged to be the Papacy, that in Dan. vii. to be Mahomedanism; an order which I conceive should be inverted.

mean the Popes and Popedom. Like Luther he judged that fated end to be near and imminent. On the mystically-expressed periods that fixed the chronology of that ending, he could but indeed conjecture. But, in commenting on the passage that contains the oath involving them of the man that stood clothed in linen upon the waters of the river, after strongly insisting on the predicted fact of there rising up no *fifth earthly universal empire*, after the Roman in its last form under the little horn, but only the kingdom of Christ and his saints,[1] he thus adverts to that same chronological argument, by way of corroboration, that had been used long before him, as we have seen, by the early Christians; I mean the argument from the seven days of creation.[2] "The words of the prophet Elias should be marked by every one, and inscribed upon our walls, and on the entrances of our houses. Six thousand years shall this world stand, and after that be destroyed: 2000 years without the law; 2000 years under the law of Moses; 2000 years under the Messiah; and, if any of these years are not fulfilled, they will be shortened (a shortening intimated by Christ also[3]) on account of our sins." Dr. Cox, after quoting the above from Melancthon's Commentary, gives the following manuscript addition, that he had found in Melancthon's hand, in Luther's own copy of the German Bible: "Written A.D. 1557, and from the Creation of the World 5519: from which number we may be sure that this aged world is not far from its end."[4]—With this calculation he conceived that Daniel's numbers 1260 days and 1335 days might, on the *year-day* system, be made well to coincide.[5] At any rate he felt persuaded, alike from

[1] When the little horn "jam pœne ad fastigium suum venerit, necesse est brevi ruiturum esse; ac tunc illucesceet dies ille quo mortui revocabuntur ad vitam."

[2] See Vol. i. pp. 231, 396.

[3] "Et dictum Eliæ, *et Christi dicta*, significant decurtandum esse hoc tempus, sicut et curriculum ad diluvium decurtabatur, ut citiùs abrumpantur flagitia."

[4] See his Life of Melancthon.

[5] While primarily applicable to the history of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, he adds; "Haud dubiè aliquid significat etiam de fine hujus mundi:—ac facilis est accommodatio *si dies in annos commutaveris*." His suggestion is that the 1290 and 1335 years, added together, might mark the interval between Daniel and the consummation; a computation well agreeing with that from Elias' tradition:—the division of the whole period into two having this meaning, that it would be some 1290 years from Daniel to the early development, and "initia postremi regni impii, Mahometici et hypocritici;" i. e. of Mahommedism in the East, and Popery in the

Daniel and St. Paul, that the reformation and protest against the Papal Antichrist, just accomplished through the light of the gospel, was the consumption and conviction of that enemy, predicted as to occur just before his final destruction at Christ's coming.[1] And upon this prophecy and prospect it became Christians, he thought, much and earnestly to dwell, alike for consolation, direction, and warning, till that glorious day should itself burst upon them.[2]

2. I turn to the *Swiss* Reformers contemporary with Luther and Melancthon; and first take *Leo Juda* as a specimen. In his comment on the Apocalypse, an English translation of which bears date 1552, and which must consequently have been written and printed in the original some time previously, I find a very interesting comment

West; the 1335 showing the "curriculum regni impii" (except in so far as it might be cut short) "usque ad finem mundi."

[1] On Dan. ii. he explains the *stone cut out of the mountain without hands*, which was to smite the image, and become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth, to mean *Christ*, whose kingdom was to be formed not by human counsel; it being a spiritual kingdom, formed through the *word*. Then he adds how God's word "*primum arguet prædicatione*, posteà evertet, et afficiet hostes æternis pœnis."—Again on Dan. viii., and the expression about the little horn being broken *without hand*, he observes: "Significat ante extremum judicium venturam renovationem evangelii, in quâ auctoritas Pontificum labefactabitur sine armis; hoc est, docendo reprehendentur errores Pontificii, renovatâ luce evangelii. Sicut et Dan. xi. 33, 'Docti in populo docebunt multos, et ruent in gladio:' et ad Thessal. ii.; 'Quem destruet Dominus spiritu oris sui:' nam quædam reprehensio errorum Antichristi præcedet extremum judicium, sicut Aurora solem præcedit. Porro satis perspicuè apparet hoc vaticinium pertinere ad hanc nostram ætatem, et doctrinam hoc tempore divinitùs patefactam."—And so again on Dan. xi. ad fin.

I may observe in passing that he too thought, like Luther, that the *Turk* might fulfil the prophecy of the King of the North pitching his palace in the holy mountain between the seas; but this by attacking the *Protestant* churches: and that then Michael would stand up for them; i. e. Christ come to judgment.

[2] See both the preface to his Comment on Daniel, and his conclusion of the Comment.—This Comment was written A.D. 1542, and published at the beginning of 1543.

In the Augsburg Confession, the expression "senescente mundo," which occurs in the article *De conjugio Sacerdotum*, shows the impression to have been generally prevalent among the German Reformers. It was drawn up by Melancthon. See the Sylloge Confessionum, p. 137.

Osiander, another of the *German* Reformers, in a work, "De Ultimis Temporibus et Fine Mundi," published at Nuremberg in the year 1544, argues like Melancthon from the tradition of Elias: observing that as not all the sixth day was employed in creation, but its evening partly taken into the Sabbath, so it might be expected that all the sixth millennium would not pass before the sabbatism; but the sabbath begin ere it had all run out.—He also rather curiously notices *Phocas' Decree*, A.D. 606, as constituting a notable Papal commencing epoch, from which to A.D. 1500 Christ's doctrine had been hid. The epoch is one that had been noted as remarkable by Luther also; (Table Talk, ch. lxxiv. on the Turks; Vol. ii. p. 343:) and has been subsequently made use of by many eminent Apocalyptic expositors.

on the two concluding verses of Apoc. ix.; applying the charges therein of idolatry, sorceries, fornication, murders, &c., to Rome's antichristian Church of his day, just as I have done; and the xth chapter also generally, as I have done, to the blessed Reformation. And then he thus further applies to his own time the Angel's oath. "Christ taketh an oath, and sweareth by God his heavenly Father, even with great fervencie and holiness, that the tyme of his glorious last comming to judge al the world, both quicke and dead, is now already nigh and at hand: and that when the victory that was prophesied to be fulfilled of Antichrist, (which victory the seventh angel must blowe forth according to his office,) wer once past, then should altogether be fulfilled what al prophetes did ever prophesy of the kyngdom of Messias the Saviour: which is the highest mystery."

Again, *Bullinger* (about the year 1556[1]) similarly dwells on this same prophecy; advancing yet a step further in explaining the sixth Trumpet (as Luther's comment nearly does) of "Mahometrie and wo of the Saracens and Turks:" —then charges the dæmonolatry noted in Apoc. ix. 20 on the Papists of his day:—then explains the Angel's descent to the Reformation:—and, on Christ's oath in the passage before us, to the effect that there was but one Trumpet remaining, he adds; "Therefore let us lift up our heads, because our redemption draweth nigh."[2]

3. Let us now cross the ocean-strait, and mark how in *Britain* also, that isle of *the sea* where the Angel was represented as planting his right foot, there was awakened the same joyous persuasion and hope.—My quotations in evidence shall be first from *Bishop Latimer*. In his third sermon on the Lord's prayer he thus expresses himself. "Let us cry to God day and night, Most merciful Father, let thy kingdom come! St. Paul saith, the Lord will not come till *the swerving from the faith* cometh; (2 Thess. ii. 3;) *which thing is already done and past.* Antichrist is

[1] The date Jan. 1557 is given in his Preface.

[2] I might add *Œcolampadius* to the list; judging from *Joye's Exposition of Daniel*, gathered out of Melancthon, *Œcolampadius*, Pellicane, and Draconite: a book published early in Elizabeth's reign; and, like the others cited, very interesting.

known throughout all the world. Wherefore the day is not far off."—Then, reverting to the consideration of the *age of the world*, the same as Melancthon, Osiander, and others;—"The world was ordained to endure, as all learned men affirm, . . 6000 years. Now of that number there be past 5552 years, so that there is no more left but 448 years. Furthermore those days *shall be shortened* for the elect's sake. Therefore all those excellent and learned men, whom without doubt God hath sent into the world in these latter days to give the world warning," (mark here Latimer's testimony to the universality of the impression,) "do gather out of Scripture that the last day cannot be far off."—Yet again, in a sermon on the second Sunday in Advent, after noticing the expected shortening of the days, he thus strongly expresses the same opinion on the nearness of the second Advent; "so that peradventure it may come in my days, old as I am, or in my children's days."[1]

For another example I turn to *Bale*, afterwards Bishop of Ossory in the sister island: and, I find him, in that valuable and interesting work entitled *The Image of both Churches*, published in 1545, and which includes in it an Apocalyptic commentary, in sundry points applying this part of the Apocalyptic prophecy to his own times. On Apoc. x. 7, the verse before us, he explains the time then current as the sixth age of the church, and speaks of the seventh Trumpet only as to come: as also on Apoc. xi. 15,

[1] p. 365.—And as *Latimer* so his brother *Ridley*. "The world without doubt (this I do believe, and therefore say it) draws towards an end." (Ridley's Lament. p. 75.)

Let me add from *King Edward's Catechism* (published A.D. 1553) the following allusion, in very similar views and spirit, to the verse before us. "The end of the world Holy Scripture calleth *the fulfilling of the kingdom and mystery of Christ*, and the renewing of all things. For saith St. Peter, We look for a new heaven and new earth," &c. So p. 510; Parker Ed.—Again at p. 520 the prophecies and world's position under them are thus alluded to. "We see not yet all things in subjection to Christ; we see not the stone hewed off from the mountain without work of man, which all-to bruised and brought to nought the image which Daniel describeth; that Christ, the only rock, may obtain and possess the dominion of the whole world granted him of his Father. Antichrist is not yet slain. For this cause do we long for, and pray, that it may at length come to pass, and be fulfilled, that Christ may reign with his saints, according to God's promises; that He may live and be Lord in the world, according to the decrees of the Holy Gospel. . . God grant his kingdom may come, and that speedily."

Our Anglican Reformers, and those too of the continental churches, had no notion of any such spiritual millennium intervening before Christ's coming as Whitby afterwards advocated, and which has since his time been so much received.

thus drawing his line between the fulfilled and unfulfilled; "Thus have we heere what is done already, and what is yet to come under this *sixt* trompet-blowyng, *whereunder we are now:* which al belongeth to the second wo."—Again on Apoc. xx. 3, after recounting a list of Christian confessors, including Luther, Œcolampadius, Zuingle, Melanchton, Bucer, Bullinger, &c., by whom Antichrist's tyranny had been disclosed, he says; "I doubt not but within fewe dayes the mightie breath of Christ's mouth, which is hys lyving gospell, shall utterly destroye him."

Further respecting this "oath that all shall be finished in the *seventh* age of the Church," he adds, "Necessary it is that both good and badde know it: the faithful to be assartened that their finall redemption is at hande, to their consolation; the unfaithfull to have knowledge that their judgemente is not farre of, that they may repent and be saved."[1]—And again elsewhere: "This (the Beast's) will be the rule of this present age. No doubt of it. Unto kings hath not God given to subdue these Beastes. This is reserved to the victory of his living word. Only shall the breath of his mouth destroy them. Let the faithfull beleever, considering the mischief of this time, appoint himself to persecution, loss of goods, exyle, prison, sorrow, death, for the truthe's sake; thinking that his porcyon is in the land of the lyving. For now are the perilous dayes under the voice of the *sixte trompe:* whereas under the *seventh* the carnal church shall be rejected, Antichrist overthrown, and the right Israell, tokened with fayth, peaceably restored into the possession of God."

I add but one more example, that of the martyrologist *John Foxe*. In his *Eicasmi in Apocalypsin*, published in 1587, he confidently explains the 6th Trumpet woe to be that of the *Turks;* adding that, after the Protestant restoration of gospel-preaching, figured in Apoc. x, the 7th Trumpet's sounding could not be far off. Then he dwells

[1] He here thus refers to, and gives his view of, the parallel passage in Daniel. "Not unlike is this othe to the othe in Daniell, of time, times, and half a time. Whereof the *time* was from him (Daniel) to Christ; the *times* the ages from Christ to the seventh seale opening, or seventh trumpet blowing; the *half-time* from thenceforth; wherein the dayes shall be shortened for the chosen's sake. . .When that time shall begin we know not, tyll God shall open it by his seventh Angel. Of the thing we are certaine and sure." p. 147. 1st Ed.

on this passage on which we are commenting thus: "O what an adjuration! Of the truth and certainty of which we can no more doubt, than we can of the existence of God Himself."[1] And, after arguing against the scepticism of ungodly men, on the subject of the world's ending, he urges from the Angel's oath the certainty of that end coming;[2] and certainty too, as appeared from the Angel's prophetic caution, (though the exact time was not to be known,) that it could not be very far off from the time then present. "Which being so, let both all pious Christians, and all the multitude of the ungodly, diligently listen to, and observe, what the Angel says and swears. For in the whole of Scripture, I think, there is no passage more clear, none more suited to our times: none more calculated to strengthen the faith, and minister consolation to the pious; and, on the other hand, to alarm the minds, and break the attacks of the ungodly."[3]

Thus have I shown, as I proposed, that from immediately after the time of Luther's and Zuingle's first heaven-made discovery of the Antichrist of prophecy being none other than the Roman Popes, there was also impressed on them, with all the force and vividness of a heavenly communication, the conviction of the fated time being near at hand, though not indeed yet come, of Antichrist's final fore-doomed destruction, and therewith also of Christ's kingdom coming, and God's great prophetic mystery ending; just agreeably in respect of time, as well as of subject-matter, with the Angel's oath heard at this epoch in the Apocalyptic drama, by the representative man St. John:—further, that the impression connected itself, in the case of Luther and his brother *German* reformers, chiefly, though by no means only, with that *prophecy of Daniel* that was alluded to so strikingly by the Apocalyptic Angel; with the

[1] "O quale quantumque juramenti sacramentum! Cujus de fide et firmitate inevitabili tàm certo nobis constare possit, quàm certum sit et indubitatum Deum vivere" p. 103. (Ed. 1587.)

[2] On Apoc. xi. 16 he notes, as among the results of the seventh Trumpet's sounding, *Antichrist's* being cast into the barathrum of perdition. p. 196.

[3] p. 105. See somewhat more on this subject in § 5 of my Sketch of the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation, given in the Appendix to my 4th Volume.

Angel's own oath and prophecy, in the case of the Reformers in *Switzerland* and *England:* (a view this involving the great prophetic discovery of their being then under the sixth Trumpet in the evolution of the Apocalyptic drama, and the seventh only having to blow in order to the consummation :)—finally, that the impression was no mere barren piece of prophetic chronological information imparted to the Reformers, but one most influential and practical ; in fact precisely that which was best suited to animate them for the great work that they had before them, both in respect of doing and of suffering, in all their subsequent conflicts as the Lord's witnesses, with Antichrist, the world, and Satan.—Is it possible that we can help seeing and admiring God's goodness and wisdom in the matter?

In conclusion, let me not pass from this subject without suggesting to the reader, that as the view thus communicated, considered as a *prophetic chronological discovery*, was all but unprecedented,[1] (it being then more distinctly than ever before revealed to Christians whereabouts they were, in God's grand prophetic calendar of the world's history,) so the idea, like those two other heaven-revealed ideas about Christ and Antichrist that preceded it, established itself permanently in the mind of Protestant Christendom. Pareus, Mede, Vitringa,[2] and almost all the host of other principal expositors that followed on the continent and in England, kept up the idea as certain, throughout the 17th century, that the Reformation had been accomplished under the sixth Trumpet, and that the seventh only afterwards yet remained to sound. Indeed it is from

[1] My qualifying words "all but," have reference to the case of the Christians' partial understanding on the matter under Pagan Rome's persecution, alluded to early in this Chapter, and of which I spoke long since as also prefigured, Vol. i. pp. 227—233. Alike in this case of the Christians of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and in that of the Reformers described in my present Chapter, we have to admire both the truth and the practical value of that rule of Christ's revelations to his people, which had been long before announced to the twelve disciples; "It is not for you to know *the times and the seasons*, &c." Had these been revealed to them, they would have known that the establishment of Christ's kingdom was even yet in their respective times at a distance, comparatively speaking; and so their joyous hopes and encouragements been much lessened.

[2] See the conclusion of § 5, and the earlier part of § 6, in my sketch of the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation, in the Appendix to Vol. iv.

this, as from a point of light, that the chief subsequent Protestant interpreters have ever since gradually, though painfully and interruptedly, made advances towards the solution of other parts of the Apocalyptic prophecy; even up to the end of the last century, and time now present.

But in this I anticipate, and must return back to the history and time of Leo X and of Luther, whence I started. After what has been said in illustration of it, the Apocalyptic passage itself, I think, needs but to be repeated, in order in the best way to bring back our thoughts to that crisis when first it began to have fulfilment in the impression stamped as from heaven upon the minds of the early German Reformers, with respect to the chronology of the Papal Antichrist's destined time of empire :—an impression about it as being then *not* at its *commencement*, *not* about its *middle epoch*, (the latter especially a view that might have been quite supposable by them,) but already *far advanced towards its ending* :—and so to prepare us for the continuation, as in the next Chapter, of the history of Luther and the Reformation. "And the Angel, which I saw stand upon the sea and upon the land, lifted up his hand to heaven; and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created the heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea and the things that are therein, that time shall not further be prolonged; but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, (at what time he may be destined to sound,) then the mystery of God shall be ended; according to the glad tidings that He hath declared to his servants the prophets."

CHAPTER VI.

THE PROGRESS AND ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

"AND the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, and said; Go, take the little book[1] which has been opened, in the hand of the Angel which standeth upon the sea and upon the land. And I went unto the Angel, and said to Him, Give me the little book! And He saith unto me, Take, and eat it up: and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth sweet as honey. And I took the little book out of the Angel's hand, and ate it up: and it was in my mouth sweet as honey; but when I had eaten it, my belly was bitter. And He saith unto me,[2] Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and languages, and kings.[3]—And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: [and the Angel stood,][4] saying; Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and those that worship therein. But the court that is without the temple, cast out, and measure it not, for it has been given to the Gentiles."[5]—Apoc. x. 8—xi. 2.

What have we here but a prefiguration of the two next

[1] *βιβλαριδιον.* So Griesbach, Scholz, Hahn, Heinrichs. Tregelles prefers *βιβλιον*; though in verse 2 he reads *βιβλιαριδιον* like the rest.

[2] *Και λεγει μοι.* So Griesbach's text, Scholz, Hahn, and Heinrichs, as also the textus receptus. Tregelles prefers the reading, *Και λεγουσι μοι*; rendering it, "And it was said unto me." I cannot but prefer the former.—Compare Ezekiel's case, Ezek. iii. 1. Who there bids him prophesy, but the same Divine person who bade him eat the roll?

[3] The division of chapters here ought surely not to have been made. The conference, begun in the xth between St. John and the Angel, is continued in the xith.

[4] I have placed the words, "And the angel stood," *Και ὁ αγγελος ειστηκει*, of the received text, in brackets; as being a reading rejected by the critical texts, alike of Griesbach, Scholz, Hahn, Heinrichs, Tregelles. In case of rejecting them I conceive the easiest mode of construing will be by regarding the clause, "And there was given me a reed like unto a rod," as in a manner parenthetic; the angel being the nominative to *λεγων*, and construed absolutely. So that the sense will not be affected by the difference of reading.—But on this I shall have to remark again, when coming to the discussion of the clause, at the beginning of the second Section of this Chapter.

[5] There is no other variation of reading between the received and the critical texts of the least consequence, except those that have been noted.

great steps of advance in the Reformation:—*first*, the special commissioning by Christ of faithful spiritually-prepared ministers of the Reformation, to preach his gospel in various countries and languages;—*next*, the constitution and definition of evangelical and reformed churches, to the exclusion, as heathen-like and apostate, of the Church of Rome?—Let us consider the two separately.

§ 1.—COMMISSIONING BY CHRIST OF THE GOSPEL-PREACHERS OF THE REFORMATION.

"And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, &c. . . . .[1] And He saith unto me, Thou must prophesy again before[2] many peoples, and nations, and languages, and kings."—Apoc. x. 8—11.

The points to be noted in this passage are the Spirit's direction to St. John to take the little book from the Angel; —the Angel's giving it him, together with the charge to eat, and prove both its sweetness and its bitterness;—then, after St. John's so eating and proving it, the Angel's solemnly *commissioning* him to the *resumption* of the work of his *ambassador* and *gospel-preacher;* "Thou must prophesy again, before many peoples, and nations, and languages, and kings."

I have paraphrased the word *prophesy* in the last clause of the quotation, as signifying the fulfilment of the work of *Christ's ambassador* and *gospel-preacher*. And it may perhaps be well,—considering the restricted signification of *predicting future events* that is now in common parlance almost alone attached to it, and the exposition also by many modern commentators, as if, "Thou must prophesy again," meant, "Thou must *predict* again, or, "*begin a new series of predictions*,"—to show the reader that this both accords with the original and more proper sense of the word, as

[1] See the completed quotation at the head of the Chapter above.

[2] επι λαοις. *Before* is Schleusner's version of the preposition. Elsewhere it sometimes means *among*, which would here be to the same effect. So Acts xxviii. 14; Παρεκληθημεν επ' αυτοις επιμειναι ἡμερας ἑπτα.

used in Scripture, and is moreover that which the context itself determines to be the sense here intended.

Προφητευω, then, is the Septuagint rendering of the Hebrew נִבָּא,—the Niphal of נָבָא, to *bring forth, show, announce:* and to נָבָא the first meaning affixed by Gesenius is "*to speak as God's ambassador,*" whatever the subject.[1] Thus it included not the prediction of future events only; but the general predication of God's mind and will, the explanation of his mysteries, the pleading of his cause; and, in this, the exhorting, instructing, reproving, warning, and expostulating with, a rebellious people. The particular and restricted meaning of *predicting future events* came to be attached to the word simply as being *one* of the frequent functions of the prophetic office: just in the same way as that of *other* of the prophetic functions was attached to it, though less frequently, also.[2]—So much as to the Hebrew original, and its Greek Septuagint version, in the *Old Testament.* Nor is the use of the word προφητευω in the *New Testament* much different. For example, in Matt. vii. 22 the question, "Lord, have we not *prophesied* in thy name?" means evidently, "Have we not *preached as thy ambassadors?*" Similarly in that passage of the same Evangelist, (x. 41,) "Whoso receiveth a *prophet* in the name of a *prophet* shall receive a *prophet's* reward," we cannot doubt but that each faithful *ambassador* of Christ,

[1] On the verbal derivative noun נָבִיא Gesenius very appropriately cites Exod. vii. 1, by way of illustration; in which Aaron's official relation to Moses is thus stated, "Aaron thy brother shall be thy *prophet:*" προφητης· Sept.—a passage well explained by another preceding it, Exod. iv. 16; "He (Aaron) shall be thy *spokesman* to the people; and he shall be thy *mouth;* and thou shalt be to him as Elohim."

Illustrative passages, like that of Ezra vi. 14, will readily occur to the reader; "They prospered through the *prophesying* of Haggai;" i. e. through the time of Haggai's bearing the prophetic commission.

[2] So in Ezek. xxxvii. 4 of *preaching* to people; "Again He said unto me, Prophesy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord!"—In verse 9 it is used to designate the *invocation* of the life-breathing Spirit on the Jewish people; "He said unto me, Prophesy unto the wind, Son of man, and say, Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live." Similar to which is the use of the word in the account of Baal's prophets in 1 Kings xviii. 29; "And when the mid-day was passed, and they prophesied (i. e. called on Baal) until the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice, there was neither voice, nor any to answer, nor any that regarded."—Yet again in 1 Chron. xxv. 1, we read of David separating persons "to the service of the sons of Asaph, . . who should *prophesy* with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals;" (where the Hebr. as well as English is the same word as before, though the Sept. Greek different;) i. e. lead the devotions of the people in holy psalmody.

and *preacher* of his Gospel, is intended; whether endowed with the predictive faculty, or not.[1]—To which let me add that the term was specially applied in the Apostolic times to the function of *expounding the written Scriptures*, and *exhorting* from them, in the Christian churches:[2] a function then assisted by a more plenary inspiration of God's Spirit; yet, otherwise, very much the prototype of the same prophetic function, as subsequently fulfilled in the Church by every faithful gospel-minister.[3]

Thus from the *general* Scripture use of the word it appears that it is, in the present instance, open to us to construe it in the sense of *preaching the Gospel* as Christ's ambassador, just as much as in that of *predicting future events*. From which if we turn to consider the *Apocalyptic context*, it will be evident, I think, that the former can alone be the true meaning. For, *first*, this is the undoubted sense of the word as used by the Angel in his account of the Witnesses, just but a verse or two after that we were considering; "I will give power to my two Witnesses, and *they shall prophesy* 1260 days in sackcloth." Who would construe it *there* to signify, "They shall *enunciate predictions* for 1260 days?"[4]—*Further*, it is this

[1] It must be remembered that all preaching of Christ's Gospel necessarily involves the enunciation of God's predictions as to the great issues of futurity.—In Matt. xxvi. 68 it is used to signify the enunciation, as by supernatural intelligence, of the secrets of the time then present; "Prophesy unto us, who it is that smote thee."

[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 3; "But he that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort." Compare, in the same epistle, chap. xiii. 2; "Though I have the gift of prophecy, and understaud all mysteries, and all knowledge:" also Rom. xii. 6; "Or whether (they have the gift of) prophecy, let the prophesying be according to the proportion (or analogy) of the faith:" and Acts xv. 32; "Judas and Silas, being prophets also themselves, exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them." See also 1 Cor. xi. 4.

[3] To this sense of the word there is an according testimony from the earliest times downwards. So, as an example from the Fathers, Augustine: (Quæst. in Exod. iv. 16:) "Propheta Dei nihil aliud est nisi enunciator verborum Dei hominibus." So patristic expositors of the Apocalypse; as Primasius and Ambrose Ansbert. See p. 153 Note [3] infrà. So middle-age Romish expositors, as Thomas Aquinas. So again the Apocalyptic expositors of the Reformation very generally. See my Sketch of Apocalyptic Interpretation, Vol. iv. To use the words of the Helvetic Confession: "*Prophetæ* præscii futurorum vates erant; *sed et Scripturas interpretabantur; quales etiam hodiè inveniuntur.*" In Bishop Taylor's "Liberty of *Prophesying*," the same sense attaches to the word.

[4] xi. 3. In fact in this passage the *witnessing for Christ*, and the *prophesying* as his prophets, seem used almost as convertible terms. And so elsewhere also. For example in xix. 10; "I am thy fellow-servant, and [the fellow-servant] of thy brethren that keep up the witness for Jesus: for *the witnessing for Jesus* is *the spirit of the prophesying:*" το πνευμα της προφητειας.

sense which alone agrees with the *symbolic act* noted as the preparative to John's receiving the commission, "Thou must prophesy again;"—I mean his *receiving and eating the little Book* in the Angel's hand. For the little Book is evidently the substance and manual of that which he was to prophesy. And as, in the precisely parallel case of *Ezekiel*,[1] the book given to be eaten by *him* was not the mere *predictive part* of God's message entrusted to his charge, but the *whole* of it, and moreover not to be prophesied by him simply by committal to *writing*, but to be declared and preached by him, as God's ambassador, to the Jewish people *vivâ voce*, ("I have made thee *a watchman* to this people,") so we may infer the same respecting both *the subject-matter* and the *mode*, here intended, of *St. John's* prophesying.—Nor must we omit to mark the consistency of the interpretation thus given, with the antecedent part of the vision. For, whereas the message entrusted to Ezekiel, and to the other ancient prophets, was the same substantially that we find in the several prophetic Books bearing their names, it is, we know, the *Gospel* of the *New Testament* which is emphatically enjoined as the subject-matter of *their* preaching, on each and every one of the ambassadors of the Lord Jesus. And this was long since

[1] In illustration of this parallelism it may be well to cite the passage from Ezekiel. The circumstances of his commission are thus described; Ezek. ii. 3, 7, 10, iii. 3, &c. "He said unto me, Son of man, I send thee to the children of Israel: . . . and thou shalt speak my words unto them, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear. . . But thou, son of man, hear what I say unto thee! (Be not thou rebellious, like that rebellious house!) Open thy mouth, and eat that I give thee! And when I looked, behold a hand was sent unto me: and lo! a roll of a book was therein: and he spread it before me. . . . And he said unto me, Son of man, cause thy belly to eat, and fill thy bowels with this roll that I give thee. Then did I eat; and it was in my mouth as honey for sweetness." After which it follows in iii. 10; "Son of man, all my words that I shall speak unto thee receive in thine heart, and hear with thine ears!" and in verse 14; "So the Spirit lifted me up, and I went in *bitterness*, in the heat of my spirit." One chief cause of which *bitterness* may be well illustrated by the frequent use of a verbal derived from a root signifying *bitter*, alike in the Hebrew and Greek SS, to signify the *rebelliousness* of those whom the prophets had to preach to: e. g. Ezek. iii. 9, 26, 27, "that *rebellious* house;" Greek οικος παραπικραινων.

To which let me add two other and not dissimilar cases.—1st, that of *Jeremiah*. Of him we thus read, Jer. xv. 16: "Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart: for I am called by thy name, O Lord God of Hosts!" i. e. called thy prophet. After which follows: "I sat alone because of thy hand, for thou hast filled me with indignation." He too had, in the delivery of God's word, to taste the bitterness as well as the sweetness. —2ndly, the case of THE PROPHET κατ' εξοχην: whose preparation for the prophetic work assigned Him is thus described by Himself; "My *meat* is to do the will of my Heavenly Father, and to accomplish his work." John iv. 34.

our inference respecting the opened *little book* in the Angel's hand, (an inference drawn from the circumstance of its opening being represented as the accompaniment and instrumental cause of the light of the Reformation,) that it must have been either the *whole Bible* in miniature form, or else some miniature *Part of the Bible;* such a Part as contained in it that which is the substance and essence of all Bible doctrine, the record of the gospel of the grace of Jesus Christ:—and hence probably *Christ's gospel-ministers' chief manual*, the *Little Bible*, the *New Testament.*

This premised, and with the remembrance further of *St. John's symbolic character* on the Apocalyptic scene, as representative of Christ's faithful ministers of the time figured,—more especially, in this present Act of the Apocalyptic Drama, of him that was the head, guide, and master-spirit of the ministers of the Reformation, *Martin Luther*,[1]—the thing pre-signified in the passage heading the present Section will appear to be this:—that, at the time following on Luther's recognition of Antichrist's voice in the Papal Thunders, and recognition too of that Antichrist's fated and approaching doom, both he and other reformers with him, *impelled by the same heavenly influence* as before, and *prepared by the experimental digestion of the Gospel* in their own hearts, would be *re-commissioned* as from Christ Himself, (there being apparently some particular reason for noting this *divine origin* of their re-commissioning,) to go forth as his *gospel-preachers* and *witnesses*, specially against the Papacy:[2]—the word *again* implying some notable previous *suspension* or *interruption* of this preaching work; (somewhat perhaps as in the case of *St. John* himself, when by Domitian's Decree banished from the ministerial work to Patmos:[3])—the concluding words

[1] See pp. 89, and 115—117 suprà.

[2] This seems inferable from its being said "*The same voice* which I heard from heaven," (viz. that which said to him, "Seal up what the seven thunders have uttered, and write them not!") "said to me again, Go, take the Book," &c.

[3] So Primasius and Ambrose Ansbert.

Primasius comments thus on the verse. "Sicut solet Scriptura divina de *genere* ad *speciem* sermonem sæpe deflectere, sed etiam consequenter utraque complecti, sic et nunc ad *Johannem* quidem intentio certa dirigitur, quem adhuc oportebat, de exilio liberatum, non tantùm hanc revelationem in notitiam ecclesiæ Christi deferre, sed etiam evangelium in populos, in nationes, in linguas, et reges multos altiùs prædicare. Veruntamen *omni* quoque *ecclesiæ* hanc vocem nullus ambigit convenire, quæ nunquam debet à prædicatione desistere." B. P. M. x. 313.

of the sentence further indicating that this gospel-preaching would thenceforth be before *many different kings and people*, and also in many different *languages*.—All this, I say, seems to be implied; nor will the historical fulfilment here fail to appear on investigation, as simply and completely as in all before.

Before proceeding however to show this, in the sequel of the history of Luther and the Reformation, let us mark, in passing glance, a few prominent facts respecting the varying *practice* and *regulation* of the function of *gospel-preach-*

Ambrosius Ansbertus, who had evidently Primasius before him, enlarges on the same idea of this double reference to the type and antitype, to St. John and the ministers of the Church in after times. "Johannes itaque pæne omnia (imo omnia quæ præmissa sunt) non *specialiter* ex suâ, sed *generaliter* ex electorum protulit personâ. Nunc autem illa quæ in hoc versu narrantur et suæ, et aliorum personis congruere docet. . . . Ad *Johannis speciem* intentio certa dirigitur, quia dicitur, 'Oportet te iterum prophetare populis, et gentibus, et linguis, et regibus multis;' quem adhuc oportebat ab insulâ Patmos Ephesum reductum non solùm hanc Apocalypsim, quam manu suâ inibi scripserat, ad notitiam sanctorum deferre, verùm etiam evangelium populis et gentibus et linguis et regibus multis altiùs quàm alii prædicare. In prædictâ siquidem Patmo insulâ, à Domitiano exilio deportatus, hanc vidit Apocalypsim: et cùm provectæ jam esset ætatis, putaretque se celeriùs ad Christum è mundo migrare, interfecto impio Cæsare, et post cuncta ejus jussa divino judicio cassata, ab exilio reductus præfatam Apocalypsim ecclesiæ tradidit legendam. Ebione autem, Valentino, ac Cerintho adversùs Christum oblatrantibus, episcoporum precibus flexus, Evangelium etiam scripsit. Et ideo tot populis et gentibus et regibus et linguis prophetavit, quia ejus Evangelium ad eorum notitiam pervenit. Verùm etiam, ut præmisimus, ea quæ *illi* specialiter ascribuntur *sanctis prædicatoribus* generaliter deputantur. Ad quorum personam rectè nunc dicitur, 'Oportet te iterum prophetare,' &c.; quia nimirum toto tempore vitæ præsentis, aliis ad Christum migrantibus, electorum ecclesia in subsequentibus suis prædicatoribus iterum non desinit prophetare. *Prophetare* autem intelligere debemus *prædicare;* quia et Paulus dicit, 'Prophetæ duo vel tres dicant, et cæteri dijudicent.'" B. P. M. xiii. 519.

In the *general* application to church-ministers it will be observed, 1st, that both Primasius and Ambrosius Ansbertus interpret *prophetare* as tantamount to *prædicare;* although somewhat inconsistently in *St. John's personal* case they explain the word, not as we might expect, of his resuming his *preaching* labours, but of his *publishing the Apocalypse* and the *Gospel* that bears his name, on his return from Patmos: 2ndly, that in their *general* application of the passage they explain the word *again* of the rising up of a continually-renewed succession of gospel-preachers in the Church, as elder ones in the ministry might die off.—In which latter view they quit the parallelism between St. John's personal particular case, and that of the Christian Church and ministry at the time prefigured. For, did the parallelism hold, it seems plain that we ought to suppose the gospel-preachers of the time prefigured to be under some similar authoritative suspension and interruption, in regard of the exercise of their ministerial and preaching functions, as St. John in Patmos.

I have given the above extracts at length, as being perhaps about the best specimens I could select of the application made by early patristic expositors of that great exegetic principle, of which I have made so much use, of *St. John's representative character* on the Apocalyptic scene.

Foxe (p. 107) is very clear and strong on the word *again*.

ing, as they strike an observer in the progressive history of public worship, from age to age in the Christian Church.

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature!" Such were the terms of our Lord Jesus Christ's original and never-to-be-forgotten commission to his Apostles. The instrument he would make use of from the first, for the promulgation of his gospel, was the *living voice of men* declaring and preaching it,—the "viva favella d'uomo."[1] And the terms of the promise added, "Lo I am with you alway, even to the end of the world,"[2] while they assured to the disciples first addressed the needful help of his presence, showed moreover that the charge and the promise included not the disciples then present only, but their successors also in the Christian ministry, even to the consummation.—So the Apostles themselves proceeded at once to fulfil the charge. And who knows not the wonderful success which, as might have been anticipated from Christ's promised presence and help, attended them in it? The weapon of warfare assigned them, however despicable in the eyes of men, proved mighty with multitudes, to the pulling down of strongholds, and bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ. "It pleased God by *the foolishness of preaching* to save them that believed."

Now it is to be observed that it was not in addresses to the *heathen* only, but in the *congregations* of the *Church* also, as it was gradually formed and extended, that this important function of proclaiming Christ's gospel, and all Scripture as bearing on it, was to be fulfilled. For that same word which had been, in the first instance, the instrument of their conversion to Christianity, was also still profitable, we may say essential, for reproof, for doctrine, for correction, and instruction in the way of righteousness. Moreover it is to be observed that the public *reading* of the Scriptures was included in this function, as well as the *preaching*, according to the divinely-approved practice of

[1] Dante.—A similar phrase παρα ζωσης φωνης, is used by Papias in reference to knowledge gained from the conversation of living Christians, in contrast with that derived from the Christian books. Euseb. H. E. iii. 39.

[2] συντελειας του αιωνος, the end of the *age*. Matt. xxviii. 20.

the Jewish synagogue.[1] All this appears from the Apostolic precepts and ordinances. The *reading* of the inspired epistles in their congregational worship is enjoined by the Apostle Paul himself on the early Churches.[2] The official ministration in them of those that were called *prophets*, (one to which I have already once alluded,[3]) exhibits to us the commencement of the practice of expounding and exhorting from the written Scriptures.[4] Further, the charge to Timothy, "Preach the word! Do the work of an Evangelist! Make full proof of thy ministry!" appears both from Timothy's appointed office as a Bishop, and also from the prophetic warning added, "For the time will come when they [evidently professed Christians] will not endure sound doctrine, but will heap to themselves teachers having itching ears,"[5] to have had reference, principally at least, to ministrations in the *Christian Church*.—Thus much, I say, we may infer from Scripture as to the Apostolic times and practice. And, both as regards the *reading* and the *preaching*, the ecclesiastical records of the three next centuries represent these acts as still a constant part of the common Christian Sunday worship.[6]

[1] See the narrative, Luke iv. 17, &c., of Christ's attendance on a sabbath at the synagogue of Nazareth; and there having the book of the Prophet Isaiah given him, from which to preach and exhort. Compare also Acts xiii. 15, xv. 21.

[2] Col. iv. 16; "When this epistle has been read among you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans: and that ye likewise read the epistle (transmitted) from Laodicea." 1 Thess. v. 27; "I adjure you by the Lord, that this epistle be read to all the holy brethren."

[3] p. 151 suprà.

[4] From the passage, "But if all prophesy," i. e. successively, "and there come in one that believeth not, .. he is convinced of all, he is judged of all," (1 Cor. xiv. 24,) it appears that heathens might then attend, and hear the Scripture exposition.

[5] 2 Tim. iv. 2, 3, 5.

[6] So Justin Martyr, Apolog. i. 67: Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατα πόλεις ἡ ἀγρὸς μενόντων επι το αυτο συνέλευσις γινεται· και τα απομνημονεύματα των αποστολων, ἡ τα συγγράμματα των προφητων αναγινωσκεται, μεχρις ἐγχωρεῖ· ειτα, παυσαμένου του αναγινωσκοντος, ὁ προεστως δια λογου την νουθεσιαν της των καλων τουτων μιμησεως ποιειται· επειτα ανισταμεθα παντες, και ευχας πεμπομεν, &c. See also Tertullian, Apolog. c. 39. From a passage in his De Præscr. Hær. 36,—"Legem et Prophetas cùm Evangelicis et Apostolicis literis miscet (sc. Ecclesia), et inde potat fidem,"—it appears that the range of the *reading* then embraced *all Scripture;* and all as pointing out the *Christian faith*, i. e. Christ. So much as to the second century.—Let it be observed that Sunday was the only fixt day of public worship, up to the close, or near the close, of the 2nd century. Bingh. xiii. 9. 1.

For the two next centuries I refer to the Apostolical Constitutions, Chrysostom, and Augustine. The first says, ὁταν αναγινωσκομενον ῃ το ευαγγελιον... παρακαλειτωσαν οἱ πρεσβυτεροι τον λαον, ὁ καθεις αυτων, αλλα μη απαντες, και τελευταιος παντων ὁ επισκοπος. Augustine speaks of an anthem preceding the Liturgy, then scripture-reading, (first the Prophets, then the Epistles,) then a

Pass we on then yet a few centuries further, in the history of Christendom. By the close of the 4th century, we know, Christianity had subverted heathenism on the Roman earth. A century or two later, the Goths, that invaded as heathens or Arians, had settled down into orthodox Christianity. Thus the world was, in outward profession, identified with the Church. Within the precincts of the old Roman empire it was in the Church alone that the work of the Evangelist, the preaching of the gospel-word, had henceforth to be performed.—And what then the performance?—We find from the rituals that both the *reading* and *preaching* did continue *formally* to be integral parts of the church-service. But, as regards the *reading*,—besides the diminution of Scripture-lessons in the public worship, arising in part probably out of the monastic multiplication of services, accordantly with the now recognised *seven canonical hours* of prayer, (the most of which services were attended by priests and monks only,) and apportionment to them of much that was before read to the congregation,[1] besides this, I say, *legends of saints*[2] had now begun to be read at times, instead of Scripture;—the *Psalms*, the chief Scripture lessons remaining, were *chanted* by priests, instead of being *read* to the people; and moreover in the

Psalm, then the Gospel, then the Bishop's Sermon. All the Books of the Old and New Testaments were read in the fourth, as in the second, century. See Bingham, xiv. 3. 2, (citing the Apost. Const. ibid. and Cyril, &c.,) or Riddle's Antiq. 394, 405.

In this early Christian worship the heathen attended up to the *reading* of the Scripture and the *preaching*, as well as Christians; just as in St. Paul's time; (see Note [4] p. 156;) — then, they and the catechumens having been dismissed, the *prayers*, *Lord's supper*, and *agape* followed. See Palmer's English Ritual, i. 13, &c. This on the *Sunday* service.

[1] See Palmer's English Rit. i. 202—206, ii. 46—48. In the passage last referred to, Mr. P. notes the discontinuance in the Western Churches of the Old Testament Lessons;—a change arising probably out of the cause noted in the text above. In the former passage he observes how judiciously the *Nocturns*, *Matins*, and *Prime* were at the Reformation, under Edward the Sixth, abridged and compressed into the English Morning Sunday Service, the *Vespers* and *Compline* into its Evening. In fact there was in this a reversion to primitive antiquity; which had but two Sunday Services, the early Morning and the Afternoon or Evening. So too Humphry on the Common Prayer, pp. 15, 16.

See also Bingham xiii. 9. 8, xiv. 3. 12: who says that after the introduction of the canonical hours, not till the 4th or 5th century, the longer lessons were assigned to the *anteluean* service, the shorter to the *other* canonical hours.—On the introduction of which *canonical hours* it may be useful to turn to the account of Jerome in Gilly's Vigilantius, p. 253.

[2] Hence called *legenda*, or *writings to be read*, in place of the original *legenda* from *Sacred Scripture*. Their introduction into the Church Service was as early as the 5th century. Bingham xiv. 3. 14.

West, as language underwent its mutations, through the intermixture and settlement of the invading Gothic hordes,[1] the *Latin* in which they were chanted,[2] was rapidly becoming an *unknown tongue*.—Then as to the *preaching* (which is our more immediate subject) it had both become rare, and, where performed, was of anything but the primitive evangelic character. To the former result (its *rarity*) two causes had contributed, of early origin. First, the narrow view of its *obligation*, as if incumbent on the *Bishops* only;[3] which (though the faculty was accorded in practice to *certain* of the *city Presbyters* and *Deacons*) operated necessarily to deprive the mass of the rural population of the preaching of the word of God:[4] next, that early exaggerated and unsound estimate of the inherent efficacy of the sacraments, long since spoken of, which led both clergy and people to consider that, where the sacraments were administered, all was done that was *essential* of the duties of the priesthood.[5]—The second result, I mean the general *unevangelic character* of preaching, where continued, followed necessarily from the darkening *superstitions* introduced ere the end of the fourth century.[6] After which

[1] "Des le sixième siècle la langue Latine étoit tombée dans un état de corruption peutêtre irreparable . . . . Il s'étoit établi une transmutation des voyelles, presque toujours employées les unes à la place des autres." So Raynouard, Poesies des Troubadours, i. 16.

[2] The *Psalter* used in the Gallican Church before the close of the 6th century was Jerome's *Latin* translation; although called indeed the *Gallican Psalter*, from its being first authoritatively received by that Church. Bingham ib. 17.

[3] Bingham ii. 3. 4.—Thus Prudentius, speaking of the *pulpit*, speaks as if the Bishop alone preached from it: Hymn. de Hippol. (B. P. M. v. 1034:)

Fronte sub adversâ gradibus sublime tribunal
Tollitur, *antistes* prædicat unde Deum.

In the Theodosian Code there is an Edict of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, A.D. 384, "De munere seu officio *Episcoporum* in prædicando verbo Dei," speaking of a bishop's neglect of preaching as sacrilege: but still showing that it was regarded distinctively as a *bishop's*, not (generally at least) a presbyter's office. Bingham xiv. 4. 2.

[4] Even in Chrysostom's time, and by Chrysostom, this was confessed. Bingham, xiv. 4. 9.—A Canon of the Council of Vaison, held A.D. 529, strikingly illustrates the evil and its cause, while seeking to remove them. "Hoc etiam pro edificatione omnium ecclesiarum, et pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit, ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis, verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem." Hard. ii. 1105.

[5] How different St. Paul's feeling! "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel!" &c. &c. 1 Cor. i. 17.

[6] See the characteristic specimen of a sermon of Chrysostom on St. Paul's greatness and character, given by Le Bas in the Introduction to his Life of Wicliffe, p. 11. See too Mosheim, iv. 2. 4. 3, 4; and partially with regard even to sermons of bishops in the previous century, iii. 2. 4. 2: also my Vol. i. pp. 330—341.

period, and amidst the political convulsions of the two centuries succeeding, the continued and increasing darkness of *superstition* having that of the grossest intellectual *ignorance* superadded to it, an incompetence characterized the clergy, such that thenceforth, even if Prince or Council more zealous than others might wish to enforce the right fulfilment of the clerical duties, the *preaching of the Gospel* was scarce enjoined on Priests, or even Bishops; as if a performance out of the question. The reading of certain Homilies, translated by the Bishop, or by some one more learned from the earlier Fathers, (that which in other times had been but an alternative,[1]) was now enjoined in lieu of sermons, as quite the best thing to hope for.[2] And even these were, after a while, for the most part omitted in the West;[3] Rome itself, much the first, setting the example.[4] —Besides all which, there were now *restrictions*, canonically imposed, on the free preaching of the Gospel, that would necessarily impede its revival. First, as already intimated, the rule existed that no *Presbyter* might preach, unless *expressly authorized by the Bishop*.[5] Again, A.D. 691, it had been made a Canon of the Trullan Council, (a Council supplemental to the 6th General Council, celebrated shortly before at Constantinople,) that in their preachings, especially on all controverted points, the Bishops

[1] In the Life of Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles for nearly the first half of the sixth century, Cyprian (previously Deacon under Cæsarius) notices his zealous performance of preaching every sabbath day, and on the festivals; and how, when infirm, "vices suas presbyteris et diaconis committebat, à quibus sermones, aut à se aut ab aliis patribus compositas, recitari jubebat. Et ne sacerdotes alii à prædicandi munere forte se excusarent, longè positis in Franciâ, in Galliâ, in Italiâ, &c., transmisit per sacerdotes quod in ecclesiis suis prædicari facerent; sc. dictatas à se Homilias sive Conciones." Martene iii. 24.—Compare the Canons of the Council of Vaison, a Council alluded to in a Note just preceding, and which was held under his presidency. Hard ibid.

[2] In Gaul, *Alcuin* and others composed Homilies by command of Charlemagne, for this purpose: whence the collection was called the *Homilarium of Charlemagne*. See Mosheim viii. 2. 3. 5; who says the effect was only to increase the sloth, and perpetuate the indolence, of the clergy.—Again in the 2nd Council of Rheims, A.D. 874, and 3rd of Tours, 887, a provision of Homilies from the Fathers, translated into the vulgar tongue, was enjoined on the *bishops* for *their own use*, if needed. Palmer ii 64; Martene, ibid.

[3] Palmer ii. 61.

[4] Sozomen notes even in the 5th century, that no Sermons to the people were delivered either by bishop, or any other minister, in the Church at Rome. Sozom. vii. 19. (See Valesius' Note ad loc.) He remarks on it as then a singular omission. So also Cassiodore. Leo I revived the practice of preaching: but, after a while, the neglect was renewed for ages.—Bingham xiv. 4. 3.

[5] Bingham ii. 3. 4.

should take care to broach no opinion *diverse* from what was *received as orthodox*, or from the "*divine tradition of the Fathers*." [1] It is evident that either rule was capable of application, such as to oppress the preaching of Christ's Gospel; wheresoever the orthodoxy in vogue might be a system corrupt and erroneous, and the tradition of the Fathers regarded as accordant with it. In fact they passed with this use for evil, and not for good, and that for a permanency, into the whole Western Church.[2]

So were the dark middle ages entered on; and, as they advanced, the neglect of this primary duty of the Christian ministry continued through the length and breadth of Christendom. Here and there we read of attempts at its revival; for example in England by the Archbishop Egbert, Bede's contemporary,[3] by King Alfred,[4] and by Archbishop Ælfric.[5]—But the attempts were but as momentarily as partially successful. About the middle of these dark ages the doctrine of *transubstantiation* gained authorization, confirmed the Clergy more than ever in their neglect of

[1] "Oportet eos qui præsunt ecclesiis in omnibus quidem diebus, præcipuè Dominicis, omnem clerum et populum docere pietatis et rectæ religionis eloquia; ex divinâ Scripturâ colligentes intelligentias et judicia veritatis, et non transgredientes *jam positos terminos*, vel *divinorum Patrum traditionem*. Sed et si ad Scripturam pertinens controversia aliqua excitata fuerit, ne illam aliter interpretentur quàm quomodo ecclesiæ luminaria et doctores suis scriptis exposuerint." Canon xix. Martene iii. 24.—The "ii qui præsunt ecclesiis" are the *Bishops;* specified as if those to whom the *duty* of preaching belonged alone, and who could alone be supposed able to perform it. The *clerus* or *clergy* are mentioned, it will be seen, as those that were to *be taught*, not to *teach*.

[2] For example, we meet the *former*, in a Royal Ordinance of the 14th century, against Wicliffite preachers, charging them with preaching "*without licence of the Ordinary;*" and, as the proper penalty, delivering them over to the Sheriff to imprison. Le Bas, p. 264, from Foxe.—And so too in the case of Huss. See Foxe's Martyrs, iii. 408, &c.—The *latter* also meets us again in the 13th and following centuries, and as abused to the same purport, e. g. in Canons of the 4th and 5th Lateran Councils; which latter has been already noticed, pp. 83, 84, suprà.

How different the use of this direction of the Trullan Canon in the *English Reformed Church* under Edward the Sixth!

[3] In Egbert's Pontifical Book we find the following order; "Ut omnibus festis, et diebus Dominicis, unusquisque sacerdos evangelium Christi prædicet populo." Martene ibid.

[4] On Alfred's accession, A.D. 872, it has been said that not a single Priest was to be found south of the Thames, who knew Latin enough to understand the daily services which he muttered. Le Bas, 56. His efforts at instructing and evangelizing both the priesthood and the people are noted in every history of England.

[5] Ælfric in 957 issued an order for the priests in each parish to explain the Gospel, Creed, and Lord's Prayer to the people. He also composed Homilies for their use. See the notice of him in Palmer ii. 64, and Gilly's Romaunt Version of St. John, Preface p. xiii.

the work of the evangelist.[1] As the general undue exaltation of the sacraments in the fourth century led to its depreciation, how much more the dogma of the Priest having power, in the one of those two sacraments, to offer up at his pleasure, and for his congregation, the all-atoning sacrifice of the Lamb of God! Their salvation thereby ensured, if he pleased it, what the need of preaching the gospel to them?—Hence from the lips of the parochial clergy, the sound of the Gospel was a sound in those middle ages all but obsolete. What Archbishop Peckham said of the state of *England* in his time, was applicable generally to the state of *Christendom;* that the duty of instructing the people had been so neglected by the clergy, as to reduce no small portion of them to the state described by the prophet; "when the children ask bread, and there is none to break it unto them: and the poor and destitute cry for water, and their tongue is parched up."[2]—On the rise of the *mendicant Friars*, they gained credit, as observed in a former chapter, by professedly reviving the practice.[3] But it was in fact no revival of *gospel*-preaching. Their preaching was for the most part little more than a setting forth of the lying legends of saints, insomuch that *legends* and *fables* came to be words of identical meaning;[4]

[1] Having been for some two or three centuries previous preached on and promulgated, it was at length in the year 1215 authoritatively adopted and enforced by Pope Innocent III, and the fourth Lateran Council. See pp. 11, 59 suprà.

Ere the close of the third century the Lord's Supper had been called a *bloodless sacrifice;* and mysterious expressions used of Christ's presence in it, (see my Vol. i. p. 405,) though not till now in the sense of *transubstantiation*. To use Mr. Milman's words; "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper imperceptibly acquired the solemnity and the appellation of a sacrifice. The mysterious identification of the Redeemer with the consecrated elements was first felt by the mind; till, at a later period, a material and corporeal transmutation began to be asserted. That which the earlier Fathers in the boldest figure called a bloodless sacrifice, became an actual oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ." Hist. of Christianity, iii. 427.

[2] Le Bas' Wicliff, i. 85. Mr. Le Bas adds:—"To remedy this crying scandal, the Archbishop commanded that each parochial clergyman should preach to his people, either himself or by a substitute, once at least in every quarter of a year; and should expound to them in a popular manner, and without any fantastic texture of subtilty, the fourteen Articles of Faith, ten Commandments, twofold precept of love to God and our neighbour, the seven works of charity, seven capital sins, with their progeny, the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace. And, lest the clergy should convert their own ignorance into a dispensation from the order, he added a variety of instructions for the proper discharge of the duty enjoined."

[3] See p. 34 suprà. The Canon of the 4th Lateran Council, "De Prædicatoribus instituendis," will be found in Hard. vii. 27.

[4] Originally *legends*, or *legenda*, meant *sacred Scripture* pieces to be read in service; as stated p. 157 Note [2] suprà.—Compare 2 Tim. iv. 4; "And they shall turn away their ears from the *truth*, and be turned to *fables*."

or perhaps declamatory orations, in the style and with the false dogmas of the schools.[1]—A few exceptions indeed there were; (in the *Church*, I mean, not here referring to *direct separatists;*) and one especially glorious, about a century after Bishop Peckham, I mean that of *Wicliff*. "Regarding," says Le Bas, "the neglect of the office of preaching as the *foulest treason* to Christ," he both himself set the example of indefatigable preaching of the Gospel, in style plain and popular to the people,[2] and moreover sent forth his *poor priests* as preaching missionaries;—having previously translated the Bible into English, for the better preparation of both preachers and people. And, as Wicliff in England, so too Huss in Bohemia. But both the Wicliffite preaching ministers, and the Hussites, were soon excommunicated as heretics, and nearly suppressed by the terrors of the sword.[3] In the Church, things returned much into their former course.[4]—Thus this most important function of the Christian ministry continued to be neglected almost universally. Living addresses to the heart and conscience, fresh from the living fountain of truth, and which set forth God's grace and love through a dying, risen, and interceding Saviour, continued all but unknown in the established church-worship, even up to the close of the 15th century, and was at that time all but suppressed too in sects without: i. e. at the epoch of Luther's first preaching; or of the commencement of the Reformation.

And now we have to show the fulfilment of the Apocalyptic symbolization contained in the passage that heads the

[1] Le Bas, 211.—See, I pray, the absurd specimen given by Hottinger, from a book of Sermons composed by the Theological Faculty of Vienna, A.D. 1430; ap. Bingham, xiv. 4, 18.—Melancthon, in his Apology, speaks of Aristotle's Ethics being sometimes read to the people, instead of the Gospel, shortly before the Reformation.

[2] Ibid. 210.—There still remain, says Mr. Le Bas, above 300 of his *Postils*, or *expository* discourses on Scripture.

[3] See my Chapter viii. infrà, on the death of Christ's prophesying Witnesses.

[4] Let me cite, with reference to the beginning of the 14th century, the testimony of the famous *Gerson*, Huss's condemner and survivor. In his 4th Letter on Theological Reform he writes thus to P. D'Ailly. "I speak from experience. In our cathedral churches, and almost everywhere, there are absurd rites celebrated, which are the remains of the sacrilegious ceremonies of Pagans and idolaters. . . The word of God, which is indeed the great balm for all spiritual malady, and the preaching of which is the principal duty of Prelates, is given up as useless, and beneath their grandeur." Quoted by Bonnechose, in his "Reformers before the Reformation;" p. 50.

present Section; "The Angel said, *Thou must prophesy again* before many nations, &c.:" in other words, "Thou must resume, on the scale of the nations, the function and work of *gospel-preaching*." As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the symbolization will be found to have marked most exactly the next important epoch, and the next great step of progress, notable in the Reformation.

But had not Luther already at an earlier epoch of the Reformation begun to fulfil this sacred function of the ministry; even from the very time of his first discovery of Christ the Saviour, and right understanding of his gospel? No doubt he had. And it will be quite to our purpose to pause a moment, ere proceeding further, on the fact: and to mark how, even while yet attached to the Romish Church, he did this in accordance, as he judged, with his *ordination-vows* and *ordination-ritual*.

For so it was that though, on ordination to the *Priesthood*, the *paten and the chalice* having been delivered into his hands by the ordaining Bishop, he was therewith only empowered and enjoined to *sacrifice* (i. e. in private masses and the sacramental rite) *for the living and the dead*,[1]—a ceremonial awfully blasphemous, as Luther himself soon learnt to view it,[2] and which, arising out of the reception throughout Western Europe of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*,[3] had been adopted to mark what was thenceforth considered as the consecrated priest's grand office, to the supercession of all inferior and obsolete offices, such as that of *preaching God's word*,—yet at his previous ordination as *Deacon* there had been observed a ritual, and a charge been given him, of comparatively early institution,[4]

[1] Martene (ii. 23) refers the origin of the ceremony to the tenth century; quoting Hugh Victorin, Peter Lombard, &c., in illustration.—The former, writing De Sacramentis, ii. 3. 12, says; "Accipunt calicem cùm vino, et patenam cùm hostiâ, de manu episcopi, quatenus his instrumentis potestatem se accepisse agnoscant placabiles Deo hostias offerendi."

[2] "At the moment when the officiating Bishop (Jerome of Brandenburgh) conferred on him the power of celebrating the mass, he put the cup into his hand, and addressed him with the solemn words, *Accipe potestatem sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis!* . . At a later period these words made Luther shudder. 'That the earth did not swallow us both up,' he said, 'was an instance of the patience and long-suffering of God.'" Merle D'Aub. i. 171.

[3] See p. 160.

[4] Comparatively early; because, though not adopted at any rate for the four first centuries, as appears from the fact of its being unnoticed in the Form of Diaconal

not founded on man's falsehood, but on Christ's own appointment; which, according to the rite's proper and plain significancy,[1] pointed out this gospel-preaching as his duty. For, the *Book of the Gospels* being then placed in his hand by the Bishop,[2] he was thus charged; "Take authority to read the Gospel in the Church of God:"[3]

Ordination given in the so-called Apostolical Constitutions of the 2nd or 3rd centuries, (see B. viii. 16. Ed. Coteler.) nor in that of the Council of Carthage, of A.D. 398, mentioned in the next Note, and moreover not generally adopted in the *continental* churches of Western Christendom till the tenth century in their ritual of ordination, yet it appears that in Egbert's English Pontifical, bearing date in the 9th century, the giving of the *Book of the Gospels* to the *Deacon* is mentioned as then and there the established custom; whence, as Martene observes, it past to the continental churches.

The form still continues in the Church of Rome: see Catech. of C. of Trent, ii. 7. 21: also on the ordination of the *chief* Deacon, or Presbyter, in the churches of the *Syrian Maronites* and *Syrian Nestorians*. See Martene, ii. 21, 22, 35; 103, 110. Also my Note [2] infrà.

[1] The *traditio instrumenti* was always meant to signify the *function* ordained to. Thus in a Council of Carthage held A.D. 398, (Hard. i. 979,) we find described the ceremonies of ordination to the several inferior sacred orders then recognised; viz. of the *Psalmistæ* or *Singers*, the *Ostiarii* or *Door-keepers*, the *Readers*, the *Exorcists*, the *Acolyths*, or *Lighters of wax-lights* in service, and the *Subdeacons*. And the following are the rites prescribed:—that, on the ordaining of the *Door-keeper*, *the key of the Church* be delivered into his hands by the Bishop; on that of the *Reader*, the *Codex* or *Book* out of which he was to read; on that of the *Exorcist*, the *Book of Exorcisms;* on that of *Acolyth*, the *Wax-candle sconce;* on that of the *Subdeacon*, (whose business it was to carry the sacred vessels to the officiating Priest,) the *Chalice* and the *Paten*, but each *empty*. The last rite was thus distinguished from the subsequent ritual of *Priest's* ordination; (i. e. after the 12th century:) according to which the *chalice* delivered to the priestly candidate was to have *wine* in it, and the *paten* to have the *hostia*, or transubstantiated bread. The same *traditio instrumenti* to the candidates, on ordination to these inferior clerical orders, is also noted in Martene, ii. 18, 19, 75.—Riddle (Christian Antiq. p. 275) says that the ceremony of delivering the sacred vessels, &c., to the parties ordained, was not established *as a whole* till the 7th century; though several particulars of it may be traced to an earlier date.

On the same principle, on any cleric's condemnation for heresy, he was first degraded from his sacred function by the taking away of his badge of office. So in the case of *Santre*, condemned by Archbishop Arundel, his degradation from Holy Orders was signified by the taking from him successively of *all* these *instrumenta officii*. As *priest* he was deprived of the *paten* and *chalice*, as well as priestly *casule;* as *deacon* of the *New Testament* and *stole;* as *subdeacon* of the *alb and maniple;* as *acolyte* of the *candlestick*, *taper*, and *urceole;* as *exorcist* of the *book of exorcisms;* as *lector* of the *lectionary;* as *sexton* of the *keys of the church*. And then his *clerical tonsure* was erased; and he was given up as a *layman* to the secular court. Southey's Book of the Church, ch. xi. p. 211. Compare Harduin vi. i. 884.

[2] From the above case of *Santre*, the Book then given in the *English* diaconal ordination would seem to have been the *New Testament*. Elsewhere it was almost universally the *Book of the Gospels*, as that chiefly to be read by him.

So Sozomen, in the fifth century, Hist. Eec. vii. 19; Ταυτην δε την ἱεραν βιβλον (*scil.* των ευαγγελιων) αναγινωσκει ενθαδε (sc. in the Alexandrian Church) μονος ὁ αρχιδιακονος, παρα δε αλλοις ὁ διακονος, εν πολλαις δε εκκλησιαις οἱ ἱερεις μονοι, εν δε επισημοις ἡμεραις επισκοποι.—In Peter Siculus' account of the origin of the Paulikians in the 7th century, it is mentioned that the conversion of Constantine, founder of the Sect, arose from the perusal of two books given him by a Deacon whom he had entertained, returning from captivity in Syria; the one the *Book of the Gospels*, the other the Book of St. Paul's Epistles. p. 30. (Ed. Gieseler, 1846.)

[3] "Accipe potestatem legendi Evangelium in ecclesiâ Dei!" there being added

and words were added respecting his duty, as that not only of "assisting the priests in ministrations at the altar," but also of "declaring the Gospel and other Scriptures of the New Testament, and of preaching the word of God."[1] Thus, mere form as the rite was now regarded, and lost as had become all its spirit,—the deacon's duty in practice being confined to reading the Gospel in an unknown tongue, and in the priest's case thought to be superseded by the higher function of sacrificing for the living and dead, so that the rite remained but like a shadowy silent memorial of the custom of a bygone age,[2]—yet Luther, taught as he was by the Spirit, even before his discovery of the anti-christian character of the Papacy, felt, as others felt not, the reality and the responsibility of the charge. And his subsequent ordination as *Priest* not having invalidated the obligation, and the order of his Vicar-general having confirmed it,[3] and, the more he was quickened from above, the deeper having become his sense of the obligation laid on him, (for he looked through the ordaining Bishop to Him in whose name he considered the Bishop to have acted, even the *Lord Jesus*,[4]) he had thus from his earliest ordin-

the words (an addition grafted on the doctrine of purgatory, and which Luther would little respect) "tàm pro vivis quàm pro defunctis, in nomine Domini." I take this from an ancient ritual of *Mayence*, in a manuscript of the xivth century, given by Martene, ii. 79: Mayence being the Archbishoprick to which Erfurt and Wittenberg were subject.—In the yet older *British* Pontifical of Egbert, (Ib. ii. 35,) the words of commission were, "Accipe istud volumen Evangelii, et lege, et intellige, et aliis trade, et tu opere adimple." So also in that of the Monastery of Bec. Ib. 64.

[1] In the Mayence ritual, the ordaining Bishop is directed thus to declare the duties of their office, to the candidates for Deacon's orders gathered round him. "Diaconum oportet sacerdotibus assistere, et ministrare ad altare, et in aliis sacramentis ecclesiæ, atque Evangelium aliamque Scripturam Novi Testamenti pronuntiare, et prædicare verbum Dei." Ib. 79.—The summary of the Deacon's duty, given in the *Sermo*, similarly comprehends that of preaching. "In Novo Testamento ab apostolis ordinati, (sc. Diaconi,) divini verbi præcones . . constituuntur." This *Sermo*, or Address to the candidates, is from a Pontifical of the Church of Rouen. Ib. 18.

[2] Was it not also a silent protest against the Church that had so set aside the reading and preaching to the people, as enjoined by it, of the pure word of God?

[3] See p. 98 suprà.

[4] "In nomine Domini," occurs frequently, as words used by the Bishop in the rituals of ordination. See the citation in my Note above.—I need not remind the reader how early the Bishop was looked on in the Church, in respect of his official functions, as Christ's representative. And justly so, when the Bishop ruled and acted *according to Scripture*. But Ignatius* and Cyprian little anticipated the subsequent abuse of this title of honour, by application to the Episcopal office, when most unscripturally exercised.

* If what the Syriac copy wants of the Ignatian Letters is nevertheless still to be ascribed to Ignatius.

ation to the priesthood, and while as yet but partially enlightened, recognised the duty, and given himself to the fulfilment of the function of *Evangelist*.

So then (as before noted) the Church of Wittenberg heard the strange sound of a revived preaching of the gospel. And thus at the same time both by his preaching and his lectures in the University, by the public circulation of evangelic writings, and by the influence as well of his personal intercourse as of that which he had officially to exercise in a Visitation, as the Vicar-general's substitute, of the Augustinian convents in Electoral Saxony,[1]—in all these ways, I say, he was already unconsciously, but most effectively, preparing not a few others of the monks and clergy, to be evangelical preachers in the new and better church that was soon to be established. Still as time proceeded, and his mind began gradually to open to the true character of the Papacy, this his desire could not but increase. "Would that we could multiply *living books*, i. e. *preachers*,"[2] was in 1520 the expression of his most cherished heart's wish. And when at length the truth broke fully on him, and in Rome's seven thunders he recognised the voice of Antichrist, the feeling rooted itself the deeper. Of the *restrictions* that we have noted he perceived at once the antichristian tendency, and set them aside. Remonstrances from *his Bishop* on this point he heeded not. To the Pope himself he wrote in his final letter, "There must be no fettering of Scripture with *rules of interpretation:*" (referring doubtless to the decrees already noted of the Trullan and Lateran Councils, and the Romish use made of them:) "the word of God must be left free."[3] Even up to the Diet of Worms both himself and his brother reformers acted on this feeling: and thus, in their limited spheres, began to re-attach to the Christian minister's

[1] This was as early as the year 1516. M. Merle observes on it (i. 212); "that before the world had heard of Luther's opinions, they were discussed in the convents, especially those of the Augustines; and that more than one convent thus became a nursery of the Reformation: so that as soon as the great blow was struck at the Papacy, men of boldness and piety issued from their obscurity; and quitted the retirement of the monastic life, for the active career of ministers of God's word."

[2] "Si *vivos* libros, hoc est concionatores, possemus multiplicare." Merle ii. 114. Compare the similar expressions of Dante and Papias, p. 155 suprà.

[3] "Leges interpretandi verbi Dei non patior, cùm oporteat verbum Dei esse non alligatum." Merle D'Aub. ii. 127.

office that function of gospel-preaching, or prophesying, which had within the Church been so long intermitted, and in sects without it been apparently put down. Would the attempt so begun succeed, or prove abortive?

Now mark the *crisis!* It followed (just accordantly with the position of the vision before us) forthwith after Luther's recognition and rejection of the Papal oracle, as but the voice of the foredoomed Antichrist, and his persistance in rejection of it at Worms before the Emperor. For thereupon the supreme *secular* and *ecclesiastical* powers had issued condemnatory decrees against both him and his fellow-labourers; and so, virtually, against the gospel-ministry itself. By the *ecclesiastical* decrees they were excommunicated from the Church, and virtually degraded from the ministerial office: by the *secular* they were, on pain of confiscation, imprisonment, and even death, interdicted from the preaching of the Gospel.[1] And as for Luther himself, he was proscribed as one out of the protection of the law; insomuch that confinement in a lonesome castle in the Wartburg forest seemed to his friend the Elector of Saxony the only alternative, whereby to hide him a while from the storm, and to save his life.[2]—Such was the crisis. And so then, and there, was the time for his reflecting in solemn solitude and insulation, on things past, present, and future: on what had been done in other days, and on what it now needed that he should do, for the cause and church of the Lord Jesus. It was somewhat like St. John himself, when in exile for the testimony of Jesus: and Luther indeed recognised and marked the resemblance, by calling the castle his *Patmos*.—And what then did he? Did he bow to the storm, and abandon the work but just begun? Let us but follow out the Apocalyptic figurations, as further enacted by *St. John* on the visionary dramatic scene; and we shall find that what *he* then and there heard, felt, and

[1] See Merle or Milner.

[2] Wartburg Castle is about a mile from Eisenach in Thuringia. Its site marks the boundary of the inroads of the Romans under Drusus, who could penetrate no further into the Hercynian forest. The castle itself was erected about A.D. 1070 by Count Ludwig, in the Byzantine style of architecture; and was for some time the residence of the landgraves of Thuringia. Early in the 13th century Count Herman made it famous as the focus of German poetry, tournaments, and troubadours. In 1817 it was the meeting-place of a number of German students, on occasion of the tercentenary of the Reformation.

did, depicted in just the best and truest manner the next actings of LUTHER in this crisis of the world's living drama; and therewith the further progress of the Reformation.

First, "the voice said, Go, *take the Little Book* out of the Angel's hand." The chief occupation to which Luther was directed from above, during this his year of exile,[1] was the taking in hand the *New Testament*, with a view to its translation into the vernacular German. To this he was impelled, not only by his own love of the Book, but by the conviction of its being that which would prove his most powerful help towards the diffusion of gospel-light, alike among ministers and people in Germany,[2] and the overthrow of the Papal superstition. And truly it was a work in which his very soul felt complacency. He expresses his annoyance when forced by any temporary press of controversial writing to desist from it.[3] Already long since he had fed upon, and experimentally digested, its sacred contents. And now, in their more particular and accurate consideration, he again *digested it*, and again *tasted its sweetness*:[4] just like other translators of kindred spirit, both before, contemporary with, and after him.[5] However bitter

[1] From Apr. 26, 1521 to Mar. 3, 1522.

[2] It has been noted already that though there were various German versions of the Bible before Luther's, printed at Nuremberg in 1477, 1483, 1490, and at Augsburg in 1518, yet they were not permitted to be read; nor indeed were readable, on account alike of the badness of the translation, and badness of the printing. So Seckendorf, i. 204. See the Note, pp. 91, 92 suprà.

[3] In his answer to Latomus, he says; "I grudge the time spent in reading and answering this worthless publication; particularly as I was employed in translating the Epistles and Gospels into our own language." Again; "You can scarce believe with what reluctance I have allowed my attention to be diverted (by it) from the quiet study of the Scriptures in this Patmos." Milner 766, 768.

[4] For the Scripture use of the figure elsewhere see p. 152 Note [1] suprà. It is a figure used also by other authors. So, for example, Clemens Alexandrinus; Της Ἑλληνικης φιλοσοφιας, καθαπερ των καρυων, ου το παν εδωδιμον. Strom.

[5] *Before* him, as by *P. Valdes* and *Wicliff*:—*with* him, as by *Melancthon*, who soon joined Luther in the translation of the Bible:—*after* him, as in the case of *Henry Martyn*, for example, while occupied in his Hindoostanee and Persian translations. "What," said he, "do I not owe the Lord for permitting me to take a part in the translation of his word! Never did I see such wonders, wisdom, and love in the blessed book, as since I was obliged to study every expression." Life p. 271.—And let me instance too Martyn's predecessor, *Dr. Buchanan*. While detailing to a friend, just a little before his death, the laborious plan pursued by him of a five times repeated revision of the Syriac Testament, during its reprinting, he said with emotion even to tears; "At first I was disposed to shrink from the task as irksome; and apprehended that I should find even the Scriptures pall by the frequency of this critical examination. But, so far from it, every fresh perusal seemed to throw fresh light on the word of God, and to convey additional joy and consolation to my mind." Pearson's Memoirs, ii. 364.

the consequences of preaching it, (and bitter indeed he afterwards found them, above all from the continued perversity of most that heard it,[1]) the case was now with him just as with St. John himself; when, having received the Little Book from the Angel, he ate it, and found it in his mouth *sweet as honey.*

Then "the Angel said, *Thou must prophesy again.*" It was with a view, I said, to *Christian Ministers* like himself digesting and preaching the Gospel, as well as to the people generally reading it, that Luther in fact urged on his translation of the New Testament. For full well did he recognise that gospel-preaching was still instrumentally the power of God unto salvation;—that to its long neglect and interruption through the dark ages was very principally owing the establishment of the great antichristian apostasy in Christendom;—that by its renewal, and an effective revival in this way of the long all but extinct work of witnessing or prophesying for Christ,[2] (mark the word, "Prophesy *again*,") the power of the apostasy was to be partially and primarily broken, according to Daniel's and St. Paul's predictions;—and that on them, the ordained ministers of Christ, who had been enlightened to seek a Reformation, the obligation specially lay of accomplishing it. Could the *Pope's* official annulment of their ministerial orders either cancel those orders, or alter the obligation consequent? What! the act of Antichrist cancel a commission which, traced upwards to its course, not he, but Christ himself had communicated? Strong as was Luther's sense of the necessity of a proper commission to the ministerial office,[3] and of the duty of ecclesiastical order, such a conclusion was impossible. Nor again, notwithstanding all his defer-

[1] "If I should write of the heavy burden of a godly Preacher, which he must carry and endure, as I know by my own experience, I should scare every man from the office of preaching." Luther's Table Talk, i. 419. So also pp. 405, 406, &c. Compare again Note [1] p. 152 suprà.

[2] Compare what was afterwards retrospectively figured by the divine revealing Angel concerning the history, death, and *resurrection* of his two representative witnesses, whose mission it had been to prophesy in sackcloth, Apoc. xi. 3, 7—11.

[3] "He who undertakes anything," Luther said, "without a divine call to it, seeks his own glory. For myself, I was constrained to become Doctor." Merle D'Aub. i. 195. Again, in his letter to Melancthon, on the subject of the pretended prophets, Stork and others; "God never sent any prophet, who was not either called by proper persons, or authorized by special miracles." Milner 780. So too in his Table Talk, i. 406.

ence to "the powers that were," could the *Emperor's* interdict, any more than the Pope's, move him on that point; convinced as he was that God's word might not be bound by any earthly potentate.—Hence, after the issuing of the Decree of Worms, and when himself confined in Patmos, he recognised the voice of duty, and stimulated Melancthon and his coadjutors at Wittenberg to the continued exercise of *evangelical preaching*,[1] just as if there had been no Papal revocation of their orders, or Imperial interdict against their preaching:—in other words, he urged upon the reforming ministers, *at this momentous crisis of their insulation from the Romish Church and Empire*, the fulfilment of what the Angel's injunction prefigured in vision, "Thou must prophesy again." As respected himself indeed *personally*, both regard to the Elector's kindly mandate,[2] and the fear of rushing uncalled by God into danger,[3] made him awhile resist the desire that burnt like fire in his bones.[4] Yet so soon as the doubtless divinely-intended objects of his seclusion had been accomplished,—so soon as he had completed that most important work of the German translation of the New Testament, which was in God's providence to be one of the mightiest assistances towards the progress of the prophesying again, and of the Reformation,—and when a crisis had arisen, in part through the bitter persecution of fellow-labourers in Germany for preaching what were called Lutheran or evangelic doctrines, in part

[1] Milner 770, 771.

[2] See Milner 777, 783.—The Elector's objection against Luther's returning, arose chiefly doubtless out of regard to Luther's own safety; but also in part from the fear of his being himself embroiled with the Emperor, in case of Luther's public reappearance.

[3] That this was one chief guiding motive, appears from what he wrote soon after to Langus, Pastor of Erfurt; "I must not come to you: it behoveth me not to *tempt God* by seeking dangers elsewhere:" (Milner 789:) compared with the quotation from his Letter to the Elector given p. 171 Note [3]. At the same time, reluctance to compromise the Elector no doubt had some weight with him. He writes in the same Letter to the Elector (Milner 783); "I am well aware that my conduct is capable of being represented as causing a multitude of dangers and difficulties to your person, your government, and your subjects."

[4] To Justus Jonas he wrote; "Beseech the Lord that I may be delivered from wicked and unfaithful men, and that a door may be opened to me for the praise of the merciful gospel of his Son." And to Melancthon; "I would much rather burn on live coals, than live here alone, half alive and useless." Milner 765, 769.—So Jer. xx. 9; "The Lord's word was made a reproach to me... Then I said, I will not.. speak any more in his name. But his word was in my heart as a burning fire, shut up in my bones; and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay."

LUTHER

AS AN AUGUSTINIAN MONK.



LUTHER

AS THE EVANGELIST & PREACHER



From Pictures by Jageman

OBVERSE OF MEDAL STRUCK ON LUTHER'S BECOMING THE EVANGELIST.



From Junckner

through official hindrances to the progress of the Gospel in the Saxon Electorate itself,[1] and in part too through the rise of a fanatic sect called Anabaptists, who, styling themselves apostles and prophets, as if inspired from heaven, were but Satan's counterfeits, raised up by him in order to bring discredit on the true ministers of apostolic spirit,—insomuch altogether that the fulfilment of the Angel's injunction by his reforming brethren seemed, humanly speaking, to depend on Luther's returning to his post at Wittenberg, (and so indeed Melancthon urged the point,)—then, as under direction of that same *voice from heaven*, and with a view to heading them in the fulfilment of this their *ministerial*, may I not say *apostolic* commission,[3]—he took the decisive step of returning to Wittenberg; albeit without the Elector's permission, and at the imminent risk, proscribed as it was, of his own life.[3] And on the road he wrote thus to the Elector, explaining his motives: "Inevitable reasons compel me to the step: *the divine will is plain, and leaves me no choice:* the Gospel is oppressed, and begins to labour."[4] Adding, with allusion not so much to the significant rite of his former ordination as Deacon, as to the higher commissioning from above, and obligations consequent, that resulted from Christ's own opening of the Gospel to his soul; "It is not from *men* that I have *received the Gospel*, but from *heaven*, from the *Lord Jesus Christ:*[5] and henceforth I wish to reckon myself simply *his* servant, and to take the title of *Evangelist.*"[6] So the Ru-

[1] The Elector, although the protector of the Reformers against the execution of the Decree of Worms, yet prohibited them from preaching or disputing publicly on questions which might offend the adherents of that which was still, even there, the *established* religion.

[2] I may observe that the necessity was not unlike that which, as Ambrosius Ansbertus hints in his parallelism, arose out of the spread at Ephesus of the Cerinthian and Ebionite heresies, for the return of *St. John*, after *his* year of exile in Patmos. See the quotation, p. 154 suprà.

[3] So in his Letter to the Elector: "I have reason every hour to expect a violent death, from the Imperial edicts and *the Papal thunders:*"—and so also, to the same effect, in his letter to Gerbelius, written soon after his return: "I am now encompassed with no guards but those of heaven. I live in the midst of enemies, who have a legal power of killing me every hour." Ib. 783, 788.

[4] Milner pp. 783, 784.

[5] So he said elsewhere of his heavenly commission; "Christ spake unto me as He spake to St. Paul: where he saith, 'Arise and preach, and I will be with thee.'"—Table Talk i. 407.

[6] "Ce n'est pas des hommes que *je tiens l'Evangile*, mais du *ciel*, de notre *Seigneur Jesus Christ;* et j'aurais bien pu, comme je veux faire dorenavant, m'appeller son serviteur, et prendre le titre d'Evangeliste." Michelet i. 113. And Milner 783.

bicon was crost, the decision made: and the *evangelic ministers*, with *Christ's commission on their banner*, constituted themselves a body independent of, as well as separated from, Rome's ruling Antichrist.

It is scarce my present business to observe how, on Luther's returning to his post at Wittenberg, and in the re-exercise of his prophesyings as *Evangelist*, under this clear commission from above, the Covenant-Angel shed upon him his blessing, and fulfilled the implied promise in his words of re-commissioning: how the effect of his preaching,[1] counsel, and authority, was such as soon to restore order at Wittenberg,[2] to put down the tumultuary outbreaks of the populace, quell the fanaticism of Carolstadt, and refute the *false* prophets and prophesyings, by appeal conjointly to the written word, and the inward experience of the *true* prophet: or how, at the same, time his intrepidity and example animated the evangelic ministers who had been depressed under persecution; and the publication of his German New Testament aided, above every other instrumentality, in the diffusion and confirmation of the Gospel. Suffice it thus briefly to suggest how the gospel cause, delivered both from the opprobrium and the difficulties that threatened to oppress it, became thus free to advance, agreeably with the next clause in the Apocalyptic prediction, "Thou must prophesy again *before many nations and kings*, &c.;" as God might open the door to its progress. And precisely what we next read of in history is, how the door was thus opened, and that in many different countries. It was in March, 1522, that Luther returned, and resumed his work of prophesying at Wittenberg. And within the next two or three years we are told of its successful preaching (before princes as well as people) not in Germany only, but in Sweden, Denmark, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Livo-

[1] Milner gives an interesting abstract of his first sermon. "Once more," he began, "I am allowed to sound the gospel in your ears: once more you may derive benefit from my exhortation. By and by death will come, and then we can do one another no good." Then followed an admirable abstract of the Christian doctrine of salvation. p. 785.

[2] Dr. Schurff, who had been sent by the Elector to confer with Luther on his return, in his report to his master praised Luther as "an Apostle and Evangelist of Christ. He said that all ranks and orders, learned and unlearned, were delighted with his return; and that he was now daily in the most admirable manner teaching true doctrine, and restoring order everywhere." Ib. 782.

nia;—in France, Belgium, Spain, and Italy also, though not so successfully;[1]—and further, last-mentioned but not least, in England. We read too of translations of the Bible being made simultaneously by evangelic ministers into most of the vernacular tongues, after Luther's prototype; the first being that into Swedish under direction of Andreas the king's Chancellor, and his Secretary Olaus Petri: and how these ministers generally approved themselves men that, like Luther, had *tasted* of the good word of grace:—witness the example, not to be forgotten by us, of *Bilney* in England.[2] The prediction seemed fulfilling, "The Lord gave the word, great was the company of the preachers:"[3] and, yet more particularly and exactly, that clause of the Apocalyptic prophecy that prefigured it, "Thou must prophesy again *before many people, and nations, and languages, and kings.*"

Still there remained on this head yet another point for decision:—a point essentially connected with the continuance of this renewed evangelic preaching; and by far too important either for the Reformers to overlook in acting, or the Apocalyptic Interpreter in expounding.

It is obvious that in the first instance the fulfilment of the charge, "Thou must prophesy again," embraced those only who, *already ordained in the Romish Church*, had been by the Papal and Imperial decrees interdicted from preaching, and degraded from Holy Orders: in regard of whom we have seen Luther's decisive judgment and course of acting, and that of the other Reformers associated with him.—But what of the *future?*—Cut off from the ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and without any Bishop, at least in the

[1] See Milner 797, 808—820.

[2] Having, when in much distress of mind, procured Erasmus' Latin Testament, which he had heard praised for its Latinity, and till when he knew not what the New Testament meant, he tells us, in his Letter to Bishop Tonstal, that he opened on a text which at once gave comfort and healing to his wounded soul; "*This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all men to be received, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.*" Then, he says, the Scripture became to him sweeter than honey or the honey-comb. And he adds presently after: "As soon as by the grace of God I began to taste the sweets of that heavenly lesson, which no man can teach but God alone, I begged of the Lord to increase my faith; and at last desired nothing more than that I, being so comforted of Him, might be strengthened by his Spirit, to teach sinners his ways;" &c. Middleton Biograph. Evang. i. 114.

[3] Psalm lxviii. 11.

Saxon Electorate,[1] uniting with them, whence was to come the *subsequent ordination* of their ministers, whereby to furnish the supply necessary for the continuance of the preaching of the Gospel? The more regular apostolic constitution of Christian churches, as defined in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, and moreover for ten centuries the *almost* constant,[2] and afterwards *constant* practice in the

[1] The Bishop Thurzo, of *Breslau* in *Silesia*, who died August, 1520, and his successor James of Salza of the same See, are the only two Bishops noted thus far as favouring the Reformation. Milner 815.

[2] I thus express myself, because especially of the well-known allowance, both in the Eastern and Western Churches,—and that for some centuries,—of ordination by *Chorepiscopi;* a class whose ecclesiastical rank and character may perhaps be not unfitly resembled to that of *Archdeacons* in our Church; certainly, as it seems to me, to them much more than to *Bishops* proper.

As their case has been overlooked, so far as I know, in the late controversial publications on the subject of ministerial ordination, and what has been called apostolical succession, it may perhaps be useful to subjoin a little fuller notice of them.

Originally, as Mosheim observes in his History of the Church in its first Century, they were *Suffragans* or *Deputies*, appointed by the *Bishop of a City*, to instruct the societies gathered into the Christian Church in the rural districts adjacent. Hence their title *Chorepiscopi, rural Bishops;* the word *Bishops* then, it must be remembered, including simple *Presbyters.*—Now the inferiority of their ecclesiastical rank to that of Bishops proper, as soon afterwards defined, appears thus. First, it is expressed by the not unfrequent comparison of the *latter* to the *apostles*, of the *former* to the *seventy elders.** For, I conceive, the seventy elders cannot be regarded of the same rank or order as the Apostles; and so neither the Chorepiscopi of the same as Bishops.—Further, both the manner of *appointment* of the Chorepiscopi to their office, and the mode also in which they *exercised* their office, marked their inferiority. The *appointment* of the Chorepiscopi was made singly and alone by each city Bishop: (so we learn from the Council of Antioch:†) whereas *consecration by three Bishops* was in the Nicene Council (one recognised by that of Antioch) declared necessary to the canonical constitution of a proper Bishop.‡ Again, whereas *independency* of action characterized the Bishop, insomuch that Bingham declares the very *essence* of the episcopal order involved in it, (ii. 1. 1, ii. 3. 2, &c.) it was laid down by the Council of Antioch, among others, that the Chorepiscopi might not ordain presbyters and deacons without the consent of the city Bishop, on pain of degradation; and, as we learn from Basil's own practice, they were obliged frequently to consult him even on the fulfilment of lesser functions.§—On all these accounts it seems clear to me that the *Chorepiscopus* was of an inferior order to the *Bishop* proper. Bingham contradicts himself, as will appear even from what has been said above, in his attempt to make them out to be of the episcopal order. As for his chief proof, drawn from a passage in Athanasius distinguishing the *Chorepiscopus* from a *Presbyter*,‖ the proof is valueless: because there were then not *three* clerical orders simply, as in our Reformed Churches, but *nine;* of which the four higher were

* So in the Council of Neocæsarea, (A.D. 314,) Can. 14; οἱ δὲ χωρεπισκοποι εισιν εις τυπον των ἑβδομηκοντα. Harduin i. 286.

† Held A.D. 341; Can. 10. Hard. i. 598. ‡ Can. 4; Hard. i. 323.

§ Ep. 181, referred to in Bingham ii. 14. 6.

‖ "There needs no fuller proof that the Chorepiscopi were properly Bishops, than this,—that Athanasius . . puts a manifest distinction betwixt Presbyters and Chorepiscopi. For he says that . . the Churches of Marcotis . . never had either Bishop or Chorepiscopus among them, but only Presbyters, fixed each in their respective villages." Bingham ii. 14. 4.—If we said of a certain district that it had never had either *Bishop* or *Archdeacon* residing there, but only the *Parochial Clergy*, would it prove the Archdeacon to be a Bishop?

Church visible, had affixed to the *episcopal order* alone the function of ordaining deacons and presbyters. Was then the future supply to remain unprovided? Was the Reformation to be left, like that begun more early by the

Presbyter, *Archipresbyter*, *Chorepiscopus*, and *Bishop:* and consequently the distinguishing them from *presbyters* would not establish their equality with *Bishops.** And, in fact, in the only ancient ritual (so far as I can find) in which the *Chorepiscopal* rite of ordination is given (that of the Syrian Maronites) it is followed by the rite of *Episcopal* ordination: and in the latter the newly-elected Bishop is stated to have been raised by imposition of hands from the order of Chorepiscopus, as from a separate and inferior one. †

The conclusion I come to is much the same as *Bellarmine's*, among others, and that of the *schoolmen* and *canonists*. *Mosheim* too expresses a similar opinion. "Quod quidem genus," he says of the Chorepiscopi, "medium veluti inter episcopos et presbyteros interjectum erat; inferius episcopis, superius presbyteris." ‡

Such was their inferiority of order to the Bishop. Yet they *ordained*, and their ordinations were held *legitimate*.—In evidence of this, for the *earlier* centuries the reader need only consult Bingham. For the *later* centuries, he may consult Martene De Rit. ii. 12. The latter in illustration cites (besides the earlier Council of Antioch) that of Meaux, held in the year 845; also Isidore, Pope Zachary, famous in the time of Pepin, Pope Nicholas I; &c. &c. I quote the extract of the Epistle of the last-mentioned Pope (whose Episcopate lasted from A.D. 858 to 867) given by Martene. It was in reply to the query of Rodulph, Archbishop of Bourges, on the subject of Chorepiscopal ordination. "A Chorepiscopis asseris multas esse in regionibus vestris ordinationes presbyterorum et diaconorum effectas; quos quidam episcoporum deponunt, quidam vero denuo consecrant. Nos vero dicimus nec innocentes oportere percelli, nec ullas debere fieri ordinationes vel iteratas consecrationes. Ad formam enim *septuaginta* Chorepiscopi facti sunt, quos quis dubitet episcoporum habuisse officia." Martene endeavours to explain away the general force of this by a citation from the Acts of the Cenomanensian Bishops of the time of Charlemagne, to the effect that no Chorepiscopus might make the chrism, dedicate churches, &c., much less ordain, *unless ordained by three Bishops;* "quæ omnia summis sacerdotibus, et non chorepiscopis debentur;" adding that they considered this to have been the doctrine of the Holy Fathers before them. But where do we find any such limitation in the early Fathers *before*, any more than in the expressions of Pope Nicholas himself *after*, them?—No doubt there were anciently certain cases of ἐπισκοποι σχολαζοντες, Bishops regularly ordained, but, it might be, driven from their own sees; and who, in *another* Bishop's diocese, were only permitted to act as Chorepiscopi: § e. g. the case of the Novatian and the Meletian Bishops, &c., as noticed in the Council of Nice; ‖ very much like that of our Colonial Bishops, after return to England. But these were but a few among the many. The *rule* for Chorepiscopal ordination was that laid down (see p. 174) by the Council of Antioch. Indeed, if *regularly* consecrated as Bishops, the Chorepiscopi, according to the ecclesiastical law then generally received, would have been of the order not of the *Seventy*, but of the *Twelve*.

See too, on this subject of the Chorepiscopi, the fact of their often ordaining, and the general jealousy felt against them in consequence by Prelates of higher rank, Harduin i. 768, iii. 339, iv. 1314. In the two former of which references the letters given as those of Pope Damasus ofabout the date A.D. 380, and John III, of about A.D. 560, are probably spurious; yet may be regarded as evidences to the point stated by me of date earlier than that of the Canon of the Council of Paris, held A.D. 829, given in the third reference.—Both Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons in the 9th century, and Gottschalc, of whom I shall have to speak in my Chapter on the Witnesses, were *Chorepiscopi*.

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* Martene ii. 1 105. † "Offerimus Sanctitati tuæ, Metropolita noster, hunc qui . . impositionem manûs divinæ accepit ex ordine Chorepiscopi." Martene ii. 106.

‡ i. 2. 2. 13.

§ Bingham ii. 14. 3. ‖ Mosheim iv. 2. 3. 18.

Bohemians,[1] to dry up for want of Pastors? Could it be Christ's will that the very separation from Antichrist should involve as its consequence Antichrist's triumph?—Surely not.—In fact the case might seem to be one provided for in the original Scripture record of the first times of Christianity; not merely by the absence in it of any direct Apostolic *prohibition* of other than episcopal ordination, but by the Apostolic constitution of some of the Churches, (of *Corinth*, for example,[2]) with but the *two* clerical orders, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, not the *three*. Thus satisfied that both the *spirit of Scripture* countenanced the proceeding contemplated, and, though not the usual *rule*, yet the *exception*, of *Apostolic practice*, Luther decided to arrange for the future, independently altogether of the Romish hierarchy. He announced his judgment in a Treatise against the falsely-called Ecclesiastical Orders of Pope and Bishops;—not against true Bishops, he said, but against them that oppressed the truth:—and in which, renouncing the titles of *Priest* and *Doctor*, given him originally by the Papal authorities, he styled himself simply *The Preacher*.[3] This was in 1523; about which time, I believe, a change of ministerial vestments, such as my Plate illustrates, marked the fact to the eye of the public.—A year or two after, the function of ordination was formally taken by the Reformed Churches into their own hands. In the *German* Churches it was vested in Superintendent Presbyters, chosen among themselves as a substitute for Bishops;—and so too at first in the *Swiss* Churches, (which I must not leave out in this notice,) though afterwards simply in the Presbytery.[4] On

[1] "Where no preachers are all will go to the ground. . In this sort the Pope overcame the Bohemians . . and brought them again to his bay, when they had no ministers . . Then the Popish Bishops forced those that were new-ordained by oath to hold in, and subject themselves under their command." "But we," adds Luther, "by God's grace, hold the jurisdiction to ordain in our Churches, &c." Table Talk i. 417.

[2] The only notice, I believe, in the *New Testament* of the ecclesiastical officers in the church of Corinth is in 1 Cor. xvi. 15; "Ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the first-fruits of Achaia, and they have addicted themselves to the *ministry* of the saints: (εἰς διακονιαν τοις ἁγιοις) that ye submit yourself to such; &c." Besides which in Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, (ch. 42,) written probably very soon after Domitian's persecution, there is mention only of Bishops and Deacons, i. e. Presbyters and Deacons, (for οἱ πρεσβυτεροι το παλαιον ἐκαλουντο ἐπισκοποι, says Chrysostom, Hom. i. in Phil. i. 1,) as officers in the then Corinthian church. See my Vol. i. p. 295, Foot Note.

[3] Milner, 795.

[4] See Mosheim, Cent. xvi, Part ii, chap. 1. 4 and 2. 12.

the other hand, in the cases of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *England* it was through God's favouring Providence so ordered that the direct episcopal succession passed into the Reformed Church, and the more regular medium of ordination was continued; all, however, in Christian harmony and fellowship with their continental sister-churches of the Reformation.[1]—Thus was a provision made for the *permanent* fulfilment of still the same Apocalyptic commission, "Thou must prophesy again."—Of course, on account of the departure in *some* cases from direct Episcopal ordination, and on account of the ordaining Bishops in *the other* cases being excommunicated and degraded by Rome, the cry was raised by their enemies against ministers so ordained, as if in reality unordained and uncommissioned.[2] But

[1] The well-known xxiiird Article of the Church of England, "Of ministering in the Congregation," was notoriously so worded as to allow of the recognition of Ordinations in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, *which be chosen and called to this work, by men who have public authority given to them in the congregation* to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard."—It is well known that the practice of the Reformed Church of England, through the reign of Edward VI, and the greater part of that of Elizabeth, was entirely conformable to the spirit of this Article. Ministers of the continental Reformed Churches (as Bucer) were admitted to English livings, and into the Universities; and their ordination declared valid also by Act of Parliament, 13th Elizabeth. See Lathbury's English Episcopacy, pp. 19, 63; from Strype's Annals.*

In Bishop Burnet's Comment on the 23rd Article, he specifically notices the case of Bishops failing in a particular Christian community, or kingdom,—so as was the case in the Saxon Electorate at the Reformation; and Princes, from political caution or jealousies, objecting to their subjects going into other kingdoms for ordination.

[2] In this I allude chiefly to Rome, and its attacks on the orders of all the Reformed Churches as invalid.—It is to be lamented that some too in the Church of England should, of late years, have impugned the validity of the orders of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, because Presbyterian. Besides being contrary to the spirit of the Church of England, as judged of by its Articles, and by the doctrine and practice of its venerable founders, is it not *suicidal?* For who among this class of ministers in the English Church could, *on their own principles rigidly carried out*, (however positively some have asserted it,) prove his own ordination to be valid?—The consecration of each Bishop, in order to validity, requires, we saw, three Bishops; his previous admission to Priest's and Deacon's Orders, at least one more. Thus we may say the validity of but *one* Episcopal ordination involves that of four more; that of these four, it might be, of 16, and of these 16, if the number of Bishops in the community allowed scope enough, and the ordaining Bishops in each line, traced backward, were distinct and unintermingled, that of 64. Allowing twenty years to each Bishop's episcopate on an average, we should be carried back in a century *five* steps; and therefore so as to involve the validity, *still on the same suppositions*, of 256.—Of course the number is in practice greatly and constantly lessened

* See too on this point Goode's Doctrine of the Church of England on Non-Episcopal ordinations, published subsequently to the 4th Ed. of my Horæ Apoc.

behold, in the wonderful figuration before us, *God's own divinely pronounced sentence* in the matter. Supposing that the sense I have attached to the passage before us is the right one, (and, I think, considering the context in which it occurs, it will be hard indeed to disprove it,) we have, in the fact of *St. John's* being made *representative of the faithful ministers of the Reformation,* at this particular stage in the Apocalyptic drama, a direct intimation of their being all *in the line of Apostolic succession;* and in the *Angel's* words, "Thou must prophesy again," of their being

by the circumstance of the ordaining Bishops being in many ordinations the same. Still enough remains true of the case supposed to show that the validity of the consecrations of the *whole* preceding Episcopal body, however large, united in the same country or rather communion, would within a century or two be involved, in order to assure the validity of that *one* Bishop's consecration now. And since, before the Reformation, *all Western Europe* was thus connected together, and *foreigners* continually filled the *English* Sees,* it follows that we need the validity of the ordinations of *all the Bishops of Western Europe* in the 13th and earlier centuries, in order (on the principles of such persons as I speak of) to establish our own. Thus we come necessarily not only to the consideration of the many possible *contingencies* of failure, of which Chillingworth speaks so strongly, but to the direct question, among others, of the validity of *Chorepiscopal* ordinations; which, as explained in a former Note, seem to have been by no means properly Episcopal, and were yet frequent, and practised for ages. The stream of episcopal succession, by which each English minister's ordination is traced back to its Apostolic origin, must almost necessarily include some out of the wide-spread numbers of chorepiscopally-ordained presbyters; (e. g. those by Agobard of Lyons;) bishops *destitute of the necessary prerequisite,* according to our objectors, *of true previous priestly orders.* I say the necessary prerequisite; for ordinations *per saltum* were uncanonical and illegal. (Martene ii. 8.)

See on this subject a very interesting and illustrative extract given by Seckendorf, Book iii. pp. 499, 500, from a Sermon by George Prince of Anhalt; who takes up the *offensive* as well as *defensive* argument against the Romanists, on the subject of true ministerial ordination, somewhat as I have. Many priests, says he, of the Romish Church have not been ordained by true bishops, charged with a certain fixt diocese, but by mere suffragans, wearing only the masque of bishops; "à larvatis et nomine saltem tenus Episcopis, quos *titulares* et *suffraganeos* vocant."—Besides which in the Romish Church the *doctrine of intention,* solemnly laid down in the Council of Trent, after that of Florence, throws all into uncertainty. "Si quis dixerit in ministris, dum sacramenta conficiunt et conferunt, non requiri intentionem saltem faciendi quod facit ecclesia, anathema sit." Council of Trent, Sess. vii. Can. xi. See the whole argument drawn out more fully in my Letter to Rev. W. Gresley in the Appendix to my Warburton Lectures.

Let me add Hooker's well-known passage on the subject. "There may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination made without a Bishop.... Where the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath, nor can have possibly, a Bishop to ordain,—in case of such necessity the ordinary institution of God *hath* given *oftentimes,* and *may* give place. And therefore we are not simply, and without exception, to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles, by continual succession of Bishops, in every effectual Ordination." Eccl. Pol. vii. 14, ad fin.—To the same effect writes Bishop Stillingfleet in his Eirenicum, ch. viii. 385.

* See England's grievances, exhibited in the Council of Lyons, A.D. 1245; "That in the benefices of England one Italian succeedeth another;" &c. Hard. vii. 400.

all *commissioned* by HIM who commissioned the apostles; that is, the COVENANT-ANGEL, the LORD JESUS.

There is yet *one other* point that I must notice, ere concluding, I mean the *change* in the *ritual* of *Priest's ordination*, now introduced by the Reformers. The imaginary function of sacrificing being renounced as blasphemous, and that of preaching the Gospel (in conjunction with the right administration of the sacraments) considered as the grand function of the Christian ministry, a corresponding change was made universally in the *verbal* formula; and, instead of the words, "Receive thou authority to *sacrifice* for the living and the dead," authority was given, and a solemn charge added, to *preach the Gospel.*[1]—Moreover in some of the reformed churches,[2] and more especially in the Anglican, there was a change in the *symbol*, as well as the *words*. Not merely was the delivery to the candidate of the *chalice* and the *paten* abolished, (in which abolition all agreed,) but, instead thereof, in accordance very much with that old form of Diaconal ordination already spoken of, there was substituted, in the churches I allude to, the delivery into his hands of what I conceive to have been the Βιβλιαρίδιον of the Apocalyptic figuration, the *Little Bible*, the *New Testament;* or perhaps of the whole *Bible*,[3] now through the art of printing (and the fact was practically most important) made a *small* book. We find it directed in the English Formulary that the candidate for *Deacon's* Orders shall, on his ordination, have the *New Testament* given into his hands by the ordaining Bishop,

[1] The contrast is thus drawn by Luther in his Table Talk, ii. 22. "In the Popedom they invest priests, not for the office of preaching and teaching God's word, but only to celebrate mass. . . For, when a Bishop ordaineth one, he saith, Take to thee power to celebrate mass, and to offer for the living and the dead! But we ordain priests, according to the command of Christ and St. Paul, to preach the pure gospel and God's word."

In the Swedish Church it was decreed that none should be ordained who did not approve themselves both *able* and *willing* to preach the gospel. Milner 813.

[2] The symbol is used in some of the Lutheran Churches, (I am told,) in others not.

[3] The circumstance of the *New Testament*, or the *Bible*, being thus used in the Ordinations of the Churches of the Reformation, is another example of the Apocalyptic habit of borrowing figures from habits established at the time prefigured.

It is observable that many manuscripts read *βιβλιον*, in some of the verses where the word referred to occurs, instead of *βιβλιαρίδιον*. Generally however there is a decided preponderance of evidence in favour of the latter reading, as appears from the critical editions. See Note [1] p. 148.

and the candidate for *Priest's* Orders the *Bible:* the accompanying words of commission being in the one case, "Take thou authority to *read the Gospel* in the Church of God, and to *preach the same,* if licensed by the Bishop:" in the other, "Take thou authority to *preach the word;*" with an additional authorization for administering the Sacraments. Yet again, in the consecration of *Bishops,* it was judged fit that the same significant symbol should not be omitted. The Archbishop delivers the *Bible* in this case into the hand of him who has been consecrated;[1] with the injunction, "Take heed to the doctrine and exhortation! Think on the things contained in this Book!"—Thus, in each of the three cases, considering that the ordaining or consecrating Bishop acts in the ceremony as *Christ's deputy,* we have a kind of perpetuation in our English ritual of the Apocalyptic figurative form of the commissioning of the ministers of the Reformation. Nor indeed in England only. For it past thence too into her colonies of the far sea, (specially that mighty one in North America,) which, from the very time of his planting his right foot on the sea, his left on the land, the Lord began to give her, as if in preparation for his re-vindication to Himself of the usurped dominions of Antichrist. Surely the fact is remarkable.—Nor, I think, will it be either uninteresting or profitless even now to the ministers ordained in our Church, on each such solemn occasion to remember this prototype of their ordination, pre-enacted in the visions of Patmos. Besides the strength and comfort thence derivable (especially in seasons of tasting the bitterness of the ministerial work) from the view that it suggests of the COVENANT-ANGEL as having Himself commissioned them,[2] it will

[1] There appears from the *ancient* rituals to have been *anciently* a form in the rite of *Episcopal* ordination, somewhat similar in some churches; viz. that of two bishops holding over the head of the bishop elect, to be consecrated, the book of the Gospels. So the Canon 2 of the 4th Council of Carthage, held (as before noted p. 164) A.D. 398. Hard. i. 979. The circumstance of the Bishop being then distinctively the *Preacher,* will sufficiently account for this distinction.

[2] "When those that are in the office of teaching have not joy or comfort from thence, namely that they have not regard to Him that called and sent them, then is it with such an irksome work. Truly I would not take the wealth of the whole world, that I should now begin the work against the Pope, which thus far I have wrought, by reason of the exceeding heavy care and anguish wherewith I have been burthened. But when I look on Him that called me thereunto, I would not for the world's wealth but that I had begun it." Luther's Table Talk, ii. 353.

also serve to remind them of his intention that they should make the GOSPEL thenceforth the grand subject both of their personal study and their public preaching: and further that, in the latter, they should witness for Him against all superstition, sin, and error ;—very specially, wherever and whenever Romish errors may again raise the head, against those of *the apostate antichristian Church* of ROME.

§ 2.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES, AND THEIR SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME.

"AND there was given unto me a reed like unto a rod: [*the Angel*] saying;[1] Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and those that worship therein: and the court which is without the temple cast out, and measure it not; for it has been given to the Gentiles." Apoc. xi. 1, 2.

The division made between this and the preceding chapter of the Apocalypse seems to me peculiarly unfortunate. For the connexion between what concludes the one, and what begins the other, appears to be as close as it well could be: seeing that the Angel who before addressed St. John still continues here to address him ;[2] and the new

[1] Και εδοθη μοι καλαμος ὁμοιος ῥαβδῳ, λεγων. Such is the reading found in the earliest existing Greek Codex that contains the verse; viz. the Codex Alexandrinus, numbered A in Tregelles' list. Of the two other most ancient Greek Codices of the Apocalypse, called by him B and C, the latter unfortunately does not contain the passage, there being a lacuna in it from Apoc. x. 10 to xi. 3; but B reads nearly as our translators, και ἱστηκει ὁ αγγελος. (Wordsworth.) Of later Codices too there is one good one, written on vellum in the year 1087, (Codex Harleianus 5537,) which contains the reading of the received text, Και ὁ αγγελος ειστηκει λεγων.—Of translations the Latin Vulgate does not recognise this addition; its rendering being, "Et dictum est mihi:" but it appears in the Armenian Translation, of the date A.D. 410, and in the Syriac, dating in the 6th century.—Thus the addition is by no means without support. Since however the balance of authority is against it, I therefore conclude to read the text without it.

[2] With the reading και εδοθη μ. κ. ὁ. ῥ. λεγων, the question of grammatical construction immediately occurs. And, unless we make the καλαμος, or reed that was given the evangelist, to be the spokesman, an idea which seems to me to be as preposterous as it does to Vitringa and M. Stuart,* though, to my amazement, adopted

* *Vitringa.* "Cui rei το λεγων respondebit? An *calamo;* ut sensus sit cala-

injunction that he gives, "Rise and measure the temple," is but, as we shall see, a sequel to his previous injunction,

of late by Dr. Wordsworth,* the λεγων must be taken I presume as a nominative absolute: (a grammatical peculiarity not very uncommon:) and, as the angel was the speaker before, so he must naturally be considered the speaker now. I have accordingly here inserted the words *the angel*, though only in *Italics*.

As questions of some importance are supposed to be affected by the explanation given, and the nominative supplied, I think it well to add the views of some of the best critical expositors on the passage.

1. *Vitringa* (p. 594) infers the nominative to the λεγων from the accompanying act of the giving of the measuring reed to St. John: as if it had been written, Και εδωκε μοι καλ. ὁμ ῥ. λεγων· and the giver of the reed he supposes to be the angel of the preceding context, "magnus ille et inlustris Angelus." He refers for illustration to Ezek. xl. 3, 4, speaking of an angel that had a measuring reed in hand.

2. *Eichhorn* says that, though we reject Και ὁ αγγελος ειστηκει from the text, we must supply it in the interpretation. "Quæ verba, si genuina non sunt dicenda, interponenda tamen in interpretando sunt." ii. 53.

3. *Heinrichs*, like Eichhorn, says; "Ante λεγων supplendum erit ejusmodi quid, quale invenitur in textu recepto:" and, just previously; "Cap. xi. continuâ serie pergit, prioribusque jungitur; quia idem angelus loquitur qui cœlitus descenderat, c. x."

4. *M. Stuart*. "Λεγων,—but who is the speaker? The Vulgate [*vulgar?*] text has supplied the agent by inserting Και ὁ αγγελος ειστηκει. But this clause is justly rejected, as wanting sufficient support from MSS.† It is moreover evidently against the tenor of the sequel; for v. 3 (μαρτυσιν μου) shows that God, or Christ, must have been the speaker in this case . . . . Evidently the speaker in this verse is the person who gave John the measuring rod. But, as the passive voice εδοθη is here used, the agent in this case is not designated. This must be supplied therefore from the context: and ver. 3 enables us to supply the proper nominative."

How strange that Professor Stuart should not have recognised the Angel of the Covenant in the rainbow-crowned angel of Apoc. x.! Had he done so, he would have seen that instead of v. 3 of ch. xi. showing that it was a different speaker from the one in ch. x., (see his p. 312,) it shows him to have been the same person.—So with Vitringa, Eichhorn, Heinrichs, (the two latter of whom are expositors of M. Stuart's own German school of Apocalyptic interpretation,) we may safely conclude that Apoc. xi. is a mere continuation of Apoc. x.; (the omission of the και ὁ αγγελος ειστηκει making no difference on this head;) and the speaker in either case one and the same. A point this the more to be observed, as some persons have very strangely supposed that the omission of the και ὁ αγγελος ειστηκει from the text involves the necessary disruption of the narratives in chapters x. and xi.

While fully agreeing however with these interpreters as to the angel of Apoc. x. being the nominative to λεγων, and the speaker, I prefer to infer this nominative, not from the εδοθη, but from the immediately preceding sentence and narrative: the clause "And there was given me a reed like to a rod," being in a manner parenthetic; and the λεγων with αγγελος rendered as a nominative absolute. For it seems to me doubtful whether the angel was the giver of the reed, as will be observed afterwards. —On the use of the *nominative absolute* in Greek, see Matthiæ's Grammar, (Blomf. Ed. 1832,) p. 976. One example from Sophocles may suffice: λογοι δ' εν αλληλοισιν ερρόθουν κακοι, φυλαξ ελεγχων φυλακα.—On the interruption of parentheses compare Matt. ix. 6; ἱνα δε ειδητε ὁτι εξουσιαν εχει ὁ υἱος του ανθρωπου επι της γης αφειναι αμαρτιας, (τοτε λεγει τῳ παραλυτικῳ,) εγερθεις αρον του την κλινην. And again Luke xix. 24—26.

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mum qui Prophetæ datus est mandatum illi injunxisse? Certè id ineptum et absurdum fuerit sentire."—*M. Stuart*, ii. 216. "The interpretation which makes καλαμος *itself the speaker*, is not worth notice, except as a fact which exhibits the possibility of any and every extravagance in interpretation."

* Comment. on Apoc. p. 241. "The reed speaks; it is inspired. The Spirit is in it. It is the word of God."

† Prof. S. was not aware when he wrote of the reading of Codex B.

"Thou must prophesy again." Yet this arbitrary division, this artificial break, has exercised, I am persuaded, no little influence on many modern commentators; and, in concurrence with the misapprehension respecting *the little book*, as if it were a part of the seven-sealed Apocalyptic Book, and that respecting the *prophesying*, as if it meant the enunciation of that supposed new Part of the Apocalyptic *predictions*, has led them into the error of construing the whole vision of the xth chapter, as if it were an interruption to the previous continuity of prefiguration of things future, and a mere parenthesis of introduction to quite a new subject, beginning in chap. xi.[1]—I mention this because, where a mistake of importance has been frequent and general, it can scarce fail of being instructive to an inquirer to mark its various causes and its origin.

"And the Angel said, Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar (or altar-court)[2] and them that worship therein."—In my introductory chapter on the *Apocalyptic scenery*[3] it was observed that the *Temple* (the same that continued ever present before St. John, with its triple divisions, as the standing foreground of the scenery) was, agreeably with the Apostle's own application of the figure, to be regarded as symbolic of the *Christian Church Universal: the Holy of Holies* and its blessed company representing that part of it, and their beatified state and worship, that might have been already gathered into *Paradise;*—

[1] See the observations at pp. 45—48 suprà.—In a Paper in the Investigator, signed T. C. C. Vol. iii. p. 145, the continuity of these two chapters, the xth and xith, is strongly insisted on. This is the earliest notice of it that I remember to have seen: and, as it happened, was inserted nearly about the same time as a Paper of my own on the Witnesses, (beginning p. 185 of the same Volume of the Investigator,) towards the conclusion of which, p. 195, the same view was expressed incidentally.

[2] The preposition *in*, "them that worship *in* it," if applied to the nearest noun, *θυσιαστηριον*, may suggest the propriety of translating the word *θυσιαστηριον altar-court*. So it is used by Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, c. 5, and on that to the Trallians, c. 7; where "without the altar," means "without the altar-court." See Vol. i. pp. 15, 16. Compare Apoc. xiv. 18, xvi. 7.

[2] I observe that Mede ad loc. takes the same view. "*Θυσιαστηριον* non altare tantum holocausti, quod ibi situm, sed spatium etiam circumjectum, id est totum altaris et sacrificii locum designat; ut ex verbis ei proximè cohærentibus colligitur, *και προσκυνουντας εν αυτῳ*, id est *εν τω θυσιαστηριῳ*." And so too Vitringa ibid.

[3] See Vol. i. pp. 97—100.

the *remainder of the temple*, and those worshipping therein, the Church on *earth* and its worship. It was further observed respecting this its remainder, including the Holy Place and the altar-court, that the *Holy Place*, being that which was concealed with its candlestick and incense-altar from general view in the *Jewish* Temple, and that wherewith in the *Apocalyptic* Temple the great High Priest (the same that walks in the midst of the golden candlesticks) alone appeared conversant, might be regarded as figuring the Church in respect of its *secret spiritual worship and character*, unseen by men, but marked by Jesus: on the other hand the *altar-court* and they that worshipped in it, (for the *worshippers' court* is viewed Apocalyptically as an appendage and part of the *altar-court*,)[1] as figuring the Church in respect of its *visible and public worship*.—Already some illustrations of this the symbolic signification of the *altar-court* have occurred to our notice. Thus, under the fifth Seal, the figuration of souls beneath the altar, slain for the testimony of Jesus, was found to correspond in history with a state of the Church in which, from the virulence of persecution, no public act of Christian devotion and worship was visible in the Roman world, but that of the saints offering themselves in martyrdom, for the name, and as it were on the altar, of Christ.[2] Again, in the temple-scene as depicted before the first sounding of the Trumpets, and the then presentation of incense by the saints to their Angel-Priest beside the great altar, in contradistinction to others who, having forsaken the altar, presented it not,—we traced allusion to a state of the professing Church in Christendom, in which but few comparatively remained true to Christ's pure faith and worship; the majority

[1] Frequently the *altar-court* of the *priests*, and the *court of the worshippers*, or of *Israel*, are spoken of as distinct and separate; but here the inclusion of the latter in the former is implied in the words of the text, "Measure the altar, or altar-court, *and them that worship in it*." Nor is this inconsistent with the Jewish view of the matter. Vitringa, p. 595, quotes Grotius, showing that the *altar-court* and *court of Israel* were not so separated as to be deemed by the Jews two, but one.

The symbolization of worshippers, as well as worship, by the Jewish Temple, is natural and frequent. So by St. Paul, in passages referred to in my Introductory Chapter, Vol. i. p. 101. So by the early Fathers. So again by subsequent ecclesiastical writers, and indeed in the acts of Councils and Papal Bulls continually. In the Apocalypse, however, we see the *worshippers* are specified, as well as the *local scene* of worship; thus making the intent of the symbol more distinct.

[2] See Vol. i. pp. 207—210.

having substituted for the atoning and justifying virtue of his sacrifice other methods of justification, and for his mediatorship and intercession other mediators.[1]—And now that the symbolic temple is again introduced into notice, with the new feature superadded of its *outer court*, or *court of the Gentiles*,[2] the explanation continues obvious on the same principle. The *altar-court*, with *them that worshipped in it*, is still used as the symbol of that part of *the Church visible*,[3] which (like Israel when faithful to the Mosaic law) adhered to the true and divinely-instituted worship which the altar indicated. On the other hand the *outer*, or *Gentile court*, is the symbolic scene of the adscititious members from out of heathenism: those who, having called themselves Christians, and been thus formally enrolled into the body of the New Testament Israel, and admitted to free communion with the altar-court, had yet ere long (like the heathenized Jews of old under Ahaz or Manasseh)[4] forsaken the Christian altar-worship; and who were now at length solemnly denounced by the Angel, and the order for their exclusion given accordingly to St. John, as having manifestly, though not professedly, apostatized to heathenism.[5]

Thus much on the *temple-scene*, and the emblematic meaning of those two different parts of it, the *altar-court* and *court of the Gentiles*. To which let me add, (in order

[1] Ib. p. 328, &c.

[2] From Solomon's prayer on the dedication of the Temple, 1 Kings viii. 41, that the *Gentiles* might worship God there, we may infer that a *Court for the Gentiles* was then built. And thus when two Courts are mentioned afterwards, as in 2 Kings xxi. 5, xxiii. 12, &c., we may consider the same two intended as here. Compare too Jer. xxxvi. 10, where the higher court is mentioned.

[3] The reader will observe that I suppose *Christ's Church visible*, and its worship, to be thus designated; not the Church of his *true spiritual believers*, distinctively. This must be always borne in mind.

[4] So too in the times of the second temple desecration under Antiochus Epiphanes; on which see Fairbairn on Prophecy, p. 339.

[5] Compare 1 Cor. v. 12, where τους εξω, "them that are *without*," is said of the *heathen*: also Mark iv. 11, where our Lord, using the figure, says, "to them that are *without* in parables."

Tichonius, in his Homily 8 ad loc., explains the symbol very similarly. "Ipsi atrium sunt qui *videntur in ecclesiâ* esse, et *foris* sunt; sive *hæretici*, sive *malè viventes catholici*."

Andreas, less correctly in my opinion, while explaining the inner altar-court and temple as the Church, makes the *outer court* to figure avowed *Jews* and *heathens*. Ημεις δε νομιζομεν ναον Θεου ζωντος την εκκλησιαν προσαγορευεσθαι, εν ἡ θυσιας λογικας τῳ Θεῳ προσφερωμεν· αυλην δε εξωτεραν την των απιστων εθνων και Ιουδαιων συναγωγην, ὡς αναξιαν ὑπ' αγγελου μετρηθηναι δια την ασεβειαν αυτων. Εγνων δε Θεος τους οντας αυτου.

to a connexion of the *present* with the *past*,) that it would be scarce possible, as I conceive, for St. John not to have viewed the heathenized professors of the outer court here condemnatorily alluded to, as of the same line of apostasy with that of the unfaithful ones described in sundry earlier and not-to-be-forgotten prefigurative notices:—the line namely of those who, having in the first instance, albeit under the name and profession of Christ's Israel, been hinted at as satisfying themselves with another life-giving, and another sealing, than that by the divine life-giving Angel from the East, and, at the time of the first Trumpet-sounding, as withholding their incense from the Angel-priest, and forsaking the great altar of sacrifice,—had afterwards, just before the blast of the sixth Trumpet, been allusively figured as rejecting each offered opportunity of reconciliation with Christ, at the four horns of the golden altar,—and again, after the slaying of their third part under that same Trumpet, as still adhering to their previously long-cherished heathen-like idolatries, demon-worship, and other cognate sins,[1] all subsequently denounced, let me add, by the revealing angel, as the damning sins of the seven-hilled Babylon:[2]—the same, in fine, against whose usurping Head there had been just recently depicted in symbol the intervention and wrathful cry of the Covenant-Angel; and from whose seven-hilled metropolis, in hostile answer, there had sounded forth the seven anti-christian thunders.

This premised, the meaning of the predictive clause before us,—"Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar-court, and those that worship in it; but the court that is without the temple cast out, and measure it not, for it has been given to the Gentiles,"—will, I think, readily approve itself to the reader. It must surely signify that they whom St. John at this particular epoch represented,—that is, Luther and his brother reforming ministers, would, as the sequel to their resumption of prophesying, or gospel-preaching, 1st be directed as from heaven to *some new defi-*

[1] Apoc. vii. 2, 3, viii. 3, ix. 13, 20, &c. See Vol. i. pp. 286, 330—337, 484—486; ii. p. 8, &c.

[2] Apoc. xviii. 9, 23, 24.

nition and *constitution*, i. e. in other words, to some *re-formation of the earthly Church*;[1] for the *measuring*, coupled with the *casting out*, implied a certain re-constitution, as well as definition, of what was measured;[2]—2. that they would *define*, as those who alone could rightly be considered to belong to Christ's Church, such as in public profession and worship recognised that cardinal point of the Christian faith which the Jewish altar and altar ritual-worship symbolized, viz. *justification by the alone efficacy of Christ's propitiatory sacrifice*, and *through Christ's alone mediatorship*:—3. that they would *exclude* therewith, or *excommunicate*, the Romish Church and worshippers, (for such, alike with Jews and Christians of St. John's time, and in the Christian Church too ever afterwards, was the ecclesiastical force of the verb εκβαλλω,[3]) as apostate and

[1] That is, in Roman Christendom.

To the justice of this designation of the apostatized Christian Church and its worship as *heathen*, as Gibbon, we saw, testified in reference to the earlier times of the apostasy, (see Vol. i. pp. 331, 332) so, too, Robertson in reference to its continuance down to the later times of which we are now speaking. "To the pure and simple worship of the primitive Christians there succeeded a species of splendid idolatry, nearly resembling those Pagan originals whence it had been copied." Hist. of Scotland, Book ii. "The contrariety of such observances," he adds, "to the spirit of Christianity was almost the first thing in the Romish system which awakened the indignation of the Reformers, who applied to these the denunciations in the Old Testament against idolatry."

[2] This this was sometimes implied in *the measuring*, even where there was not the accompaniment of the *casting out*, will appear from Jerem. xxxi. 38, 39; "The *measuring line* shall yet go forth . . upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath:" a passage preceded by the words, "The city shall be built to the Lord, from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner." So also Ezek. xl. 3, 5, &c.; "Behold a man . . with a *line of flax* in his hand, and a *measuring reed*:" on which follows the account of the rebuilding of the temple and city, in vision. The same in Zech. ii. 1, &c. "I looked, and behold a man with a *measuring line* in his hand. Then said I, Whither goest thou? And he said unto me, To measure Jerusalem; to see what is the breadth and what is the length thereof. . . And an angel said, Jerusalem shall be inhabited as towns without walls, &c."—In 2 Sam. viii. 2, we have an example of measurement, to mark out what was to be *cast out*, as well as what to be *preserved*: "He measured them with a line;—with two lines, &c., to *destroy*, and with one to *preserve alive*." So too Lam. ii. 8.

In the present case, however, the *casting out* is a prominent point in the prefiguration. The which fact implied necessarily a certain reparation and reconstitution of the cleansed temple; just as in the case of the Jewish reformations under Hezekiah and Josiah, of which more presently.

[3] "The court without the temple *cast out!*" εκβαλε εξω. It is to be observed that this court, though without the ναος, was yet within the ἱερον, and so might be cast out. The phrase is used of *Jewish* ecclesiastical excommunication, John ix. 22, 34, xii. 42, xvi. 2; in Matt. xxi. 12, of Christ's casting the money-changers, &c., out of the temple:—also of *Christian* ecclesiastical excommunication, 3 John 10; where it is said of Diotrephes, εκ της εκκλησιας εκβαλλει, "He casteth certain out of the church." Compare too Gal. iv. 30.

The phrase, as well as symbolic form, designative of excommunication continued afterwards. So in the Greek Councils; Σεηρον, τον Μανιχαιον, ε ξ ω β α λ ε, said of

heathen;—4. that, notwithstanding its excommunication, this system of heathenish rather than Christian worship would continue to appear for a time attached as an appendage to the Church visible; God's predetermined time of endurance of it (of which more hereafter) not having yet expired.

But how was all this that seemed symbolized to be accomplished? For to do it on a scale of magnitude and notoriety before the world, such as to answer to the Apocalyptic symbolization,—I say on this scale to cast out from what might thenceforth alone be rightly viewed as Christ's visible Church, that, and those, that had for ages professed and been considered to constitute it, (saying, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we,")[1] and on this scale too to exhibit openly and publicly before the world a reformed and purified Christian church and worship,—how was all this to be accomplished, in what was still, in respect of all its governing powers and authorities, Papal Christendom? The prophetic answer to this question is given us in what is said of *the instrument put into St. John's hands*, for the purpose of the new measuring of the mystic temple on the Apocalyptic scene; "And there was given unto me *a reed like unto a rod;* the Angel saying, Rise, and measure the temple, &c."—A point this which will call for our very careful consideration.

And here, 1st, let me observe, with regard to *the giver* of the measuring reed to the apostle, that this can scarcely have been *the Angel* in communication with him. For, in order to have presented the reed to John, he must first have held it himself in hand. But, though a very detailed description is given us in Apoc. x. of the Angel's appearance, including a reference to his hand, among other things,

the excommunication of certain heretics in the 5th century. (Hard. ii. 1333.) In Martene ii. p. 322, again, among sundry solemn forms of excommunication, used in the Romish Church, I find the expression occurs, "et *à liminibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ sequestramus;*" or, as another formula has it, "*à liminibus sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ segregamus*, et *à cœtu Christianorum ejicimus.*" And the following is described as the *action* expressive of the same, in the Concilium Lemovicense, held A.D. 1031: viz. that, when any one was to be excommunicated, the Bishop should go publicly to the door of the church, and shut him out; "ostium pro eo claudat." Hard. vi. 1. 884.—So again in the Council of Nismes, A.D. 1284; where it is directed that the secular officers be called on to expel each *excommunicated person* out of the churches: and elsewhere. Ib. vii. 907, 932.

[1] Jer. vii. 4.

and to an opened book which he held in it,[1] yet not a hint is given of his having held anything else, such as *a measuring reed.*[2] I therefore incline to regard it as presented from some other quarter; a detached hand, it may be, communicating it to St. John, so as in one and another of Ezekiel's and Daniel's visions: [3]—at the same time that the indefiniteness of the verbal form of expression, ἐδοθη, ("it was given me,") causes a marked indefiniteness of indication as to the giver: perhaps to show that it was given in God's Providence; just as in the case of *the crown* given to the rider of the white horse, and *great sword* to the rider of the black;[4] as well as in other similar examples of giving in the Apocalyptic visions.—2ndly, as regards *the thing given,* since the primary point specified, viz. that it was a *calamus,* or *measuring reed,* is clear,[5] it is only *the likeness* of this measuring reed *to a* ῥαβδος that requires investigation. Now the likeness to a thing, in any prophetic symbol, indicates of course its having somewhat of the character of

[1] Apoc. x. 5, 8, 10.

[2] Yet Prof. M. Stuart, without any authorization in the sacred text, makes the angel the previous holder of it, and giver to St. John. Comment. ii. 216.

[3] Ezek. ii. 9; Dan. x. 10; also Dan. v. 5.

[4] Apoc. vi. 2, 4. The word in either case is ἐδοθη.

[5] καλαμος. The *reed* is mentioned as an instrument used for measurement, as well as the measuring *line,* in the passage from Ezekiel, quoted p. 187, Note [2]. And the context determines it, I conceive, to have that literal meaning here.—They who have seen the fields of reeds near Rome, of a height and character quite different from those common in England, will better understand the Apocalyptic symbol. The reed in fact is still used to measure with in Italy.*

* A second literal meaning is somewhat curiously attached to the word καλαμος by the early Commentator *Primasius,* viz. that of a *pen:* (being the same as its use in 3 John 13:) "Evangelium quippe *arundinis* officio scribitur." (B. P. M. x. 313.) And it is also curious that the view is not unsuitable to the history we are considering: seeing that it was by the Reformer's *pen* that the ritual and laws of the Evangelic Church were drawn up; as also the Articles and Confessions of Faith, whereby the Orthodox Church was defined, and the Romish cast out.—I am reminded by it of the relation in Junckner's Vita Lutheri, p. 28, and repeated fully in Merle d'Aubigné's History, Vol. i. p. 258, of the Elector Frederic's dream on the night before that memorable *All Saints' Day,* A.D. 1517, on which Luther posted up his Theses against Indulgences: a dream in which a monk appeared to him to write something on the walls of the great church of Wittenberg, with a *pen* so long that it reached to *Rome;* and which made the Pope of Rome himself, who vainly tried to break it, tremble.

The following Epitaph on Luther by the celebrated Beza, is to the same point: (Middleton's Biograph. Evan. i. 229:)

Roma orbem domuit;—Romam sibi Papa subegit:
Viribus illa suis, fraudibus ille suis.
Quanto isto major Lutherus, major et illâ,
Istum illamque *uno* qui domuit *calamo.*
I nunc! Alciden memorato Græcia mendax;
Lutheri ad *calamum* ferrea clava nihil.

that which it is resembled to. So in the case of the *scorpion-like* tails of the Apocalyptic locusts, the *lion-like* heads of the horses from the Euphrates, and *serpent-like* heads at the end of the horse-tails: so, again, in respect of the *golden* head of the quadripartite statue in Daniel, and its legs of *iron;* and, yet once more, (to take the case of a nearer parallel,) in that of the angel's *golden* measuring reed, wherewith to measure the New Jerusalem.—But then in which of the two chief scriptural senses of ῥαβδος are we to suppose the measuring reed given to St. John to have resembled it? In that of a *walking-staff*, or that of *a rod* as *the ensign of official authority?*[1] Surely on this point there need be no hesitation. For what force, or sense, could there be in the reed's resemblance to *a man's walking-staff?*[2] There can be no reasonable doubt, I conceive, as to the ῥαβδος-like

[1] ῥαβδος, the original for the word *rod*, is used ten times elsewhere, I believe, in the New Testament. In four of these it means a *walking-staff:* viz. in those passages of the three Evangelists which narrate Christ's charge to his apostles not to take scrip or *staff;* and perhaps also in Heb. xi. 21, where Jacob is said to have "worshipped, leaning on the top of his *staff*." In four of the other five it is used for a *rod*, or *sceptre, of magistracy* and *power*. So in the Apocalypse itself, ii. 27, "He shall rule them with an *iron rod*, or *sceptre;*" the opposite to the *golden* sceptre of mercy: also Apoc. xii. 5, xix. 15; and Heb. i. 8. In 1 Cor. iv. 21, it has a somewhat cognate sense; "Shall I come to you with a *rod?*"—In Acts xvi. 35, 38, ῥαβδουχος means a *rod-bearer*, in the sense of a *magistrate's* rod-bearer; the ῥαβδος being the *rod*, or ensign of magistracy, with the στρατηγοι, or ruling magistrates at Philippi.*

In the Old Testament, passing over the notices of Moses and Aaron's shepherd-rods used in performing the miracles in Egypt, we read in Numb. xvii. 2, 3, that each prince or chief of a tribe was commanded to bring a *rod*, ῥαβδος, (Heb. מַטֶּה), as an ensign of headship of his tribe. This, I believe, was the earliest direct appropriation of the thing as an ensign of official rule and authority. It was on this occasion that Aaron's name was inscribed by Moses on the rod of Levi; the same that afterwards budded. In Esther iv. 11, v. 2, the word is used of the Persian king's golden rod or sceptre; πλην ὡ εαν εκτεινῃ την χρυσην ῥαβδον "sceptrum aureum," says Schleusner: Heb. שַׁרְבִּיט. (a later form for the usual שַׁרְבִּט.) Compare too Isa. xiv. 5; "The Lord hath broken the *staff* of the wicked, and *sceptre* of the rulers:" where the two Hebrew words are interchanged. And the same in Ezek. xix. 11; "The vine had *rods* for the *sceptres* of rulers."

[2] Yet, strange to say, it is thus that Heinrichs and M. Stuart explain it. "Ὁμοιος ῥαβδῳ innuere videtur *magnitudinem* arundinis, quæ *baculum* seu *scipionem* referebat." So Heinrichs. And Stuart; "like to it in regard to size, and therefore convenient for handling"!!

* The chief ruling civil magistrates in the Greek towns, under the Roman empire, were called στρατηγοι, as well as αρχοντες, (the former being the proper equivalent to the Latin *prætores,*) at the colony of Philippi, and elsewhere. This title, as that of a *civil magistrate*, is illustrated by medals. See Eckhel iv. 195—198. A medal of Sardis is there referred to among others by him, in which the self-same words αρχων and στατηγος, which are alike used in Acts xvi. to designate the chief magistrates of Philippi, are also conjoined together:

Επι Στρ. Ηρακλειδου Αρχ.

fashion of the reed in the vision: viz. that, whether by reason of its carving and ornamental form, or otherwise, it bore resemblance to *a rod* of *princely*, or *high magisterial authority;* in token, of course, of the giving of that authority to St. John.[1] And certainly the extraordinary nature of the thing now commanded to be done, viz. the re-formation of the church, might seem to require the extraordinary intervention of some adequately high princely authority.[2]—In order to a clearer conclusion, and with Scriptural light, on the subject, it will be well to look to two very similar transac-

[1] It is almost needless to add that the *rod*, or *sceptre*, continued in Christendom, even down to the times of the Reformation, to be a known badge, as before, of royalty. Says Chrysostom on Ps. cx.; Ἡ ῥαβδος βασιλειας συμβολον εστι. And so too Cyril Alex. cited by Suicer in verb. In reference to a later age, Martene de Rit. ii. 220, speaking of its presentation in the inauguration of the emperor, calls it *virga*, as well as *sceptrum*. And his description of it as "virga ad mensuram unius cubiti vel amplius," with an ivory handle, may suggest the manner in which a similarly ornamented form might, in the Apocalyptic symbol, exhibit to the eye the measuring reed's likeness to a princely rod of office.

As ecclesiastical power advanced, a ῥαβδος of a certain kind, the *baculus* or *virga pastoralis*, was given to Bishops and Abbots, (after the example perhaps of Aaron,) in sign of rule, on their consecration. When first this occurred I know not. In the Council of Carthage held A.D. 398, the same that I have already referred to at p. 164, as giving the ceremonials then observed at the ordination of both higher and lower clerical orders, no mention is made of the presentation of a ῥαβδος to the bishop elect. In Socrates, H. E. vi. 4, Serapion's charge to John Chrysostom when Archbishop of C. P., about A.D. 400, to drive out his whole Clergy μια ῥαβδῳ, the expression is, I suppose, simply figurative. And so perhaps that to which allusion was made in the Council of Constantinople, held A.D. 536; Την παρα του Θεου δοθεισαν ὑμιν εξουσιαν επ' αυτοις κινησαντες, καθαρισατε την του Θεου εκκλησιαν των λυκων· επαφεντες αυτοις, ου την ποιμαντικην, αλλα την παιδευτικην ὑμων ῥαβδον. Hard. ii. 1209. About that same time, however, the biographer of Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles, speaks of a *baculus pastoralis* being carried before him when he went out in his episcopal visitations. And in a Note on the 2nd Council of Soissons, held A.D. 853, Sirmondus states that the staff was then given to a bishop at consecration. Martene ii. 28. The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York in the 9th century, seems the earliest Pontifical in which the presentation of the *baculus* is mentioned. It was given with the words, "Accipe baculum pastoralis officii; et sis in corrigendis vitiis sæviens, in irâ judicium sine irâ tenens; cum iratus fueris misericordiæ reminiscens." And much the same in later ordinals. So Martene ii. 32, 41, 73. Accordingly, p. 318, on the degradation of a Bishop, this *baculus*, or *virga pastoralis*, is described as broken over his head.

But that the Apocalyptic symbol signified *princely*, rather than *episcopal* or *priestly* authority, appears hence:—1st, because St. John, being the representative on the scene of the true apostolic succession, and as such already addrest, and charged with spiritual duties, and consequently with spiritual authority, in Apoc. x., had no need of any new symbol to mark the conference of the latter: 2ndly, because it was implied in what was said of the seven thunders that the chief ecclesiastical power existing at the time prefigured would be directly antagonistic to those whom John represented: 3rdly, because the *episcopal baculus*, being crooked at the end, (see Ducange in verb.) was evidently unfit for use in measuring: besides that the parallel cases of Hezekiah's and Josiah's part in the reformations of the ancient Jewish Church (as detailed in the text above) seem clearly to be the historic originals on which the Apocalyptic figuration is grounded.

[2] In the common case of regulating a particular church, or of casting out and excommunicating heretics, the exercise of the usual ecclesiastical ῥαβδος of *regi-*

tions in the history of the ancient Israelitish Church, recorded in the Bible: and indeed they are so similar to that which was here symbolized, that the symbol of the latter can scarcely, in my opinion, but have been borrowed from the former. I allude to the reformations under Hezekiah and Josiah.[1] In those cases the heathen abominations, which had been introduced by Ahaz and Manasseh into the temple and altar-court, were solemnly cast out:[2] and, together with the purification of the temple, there was a reparation also of what had been injured in it, and re-constitution and re-celebration of its ancient altar-worship. And by whom, and how, the accomplishment of this great work? Of course the priesthood had to act in it. But there was also an acting authoritatively in it by the *earthly reigning princes*, (themselves the anointed of God for his service, as much as the high priest,) whether Hezekiah or Josiah. Otherwise even the high priest's authority would have been insufficient for the thing, without a revolution; much less a common priest's authority, in case of the high priest siding heart and soul with the intruded heathenism. It was by the *king's* mandate and authority that the Jewish priests, in either case, carried out the work of purification and reformation in the Jewish temple. They bore in their hands, as it were, the badge of princely authority, as their earthly authorization in the business. Their highest call indeed was from above: but the royal authorization, under God's directing Providence, gave the means.—Agreeably with these precedents I conceive the giving him the *reed like to a rod* to denote the *royal authorization* of those whom St.

men might perhaps have sufficed. But the thing figured as what was to be done by St. John in the Apocalyptic vision was of far wider range, and altogether extraordinary; involving fundamental changes in constitutional as well as Church law.

[1] See generally for the history 2 Kings xvi. 14, xxi. 4—7, xxiii. 4—6; 2 Chron. xxix. 16, &c., xxxiii. 4—7, xxxiv. 3—10.

[2] In the Jewish altar-court God's altar of sacrifice seems still to have remained, during the apostasies of Ahaz and Manasseh; but heathen altars and abominations to have been also intruded into it. Such, I conceive, may perhaps have been the appearance of the Apocalyptic altar-court in vision, before the casting out of the heathen outer-court. And this intrusion might be supposed to have begun from soon after the time figured in the incense-vision of Apoc. viii. 3; the consummation of the idolatrous intrusion by the men of Roman Christendom being expressly intimated in Apoc. ix. 20.—Or, possibly, the heathen abominations may have appeared confined to the outer-court: in which case however the communication between that outer and the inner court must have been so open, that they had appeared, previous to John's excommunication of the outer court, to be alike parts of the same temple.

John here impersonated, viz. Luther and his brother reformers, in the work of the Scriptural re-formation of the Church enjoined on them from heaven. And was the symbolization fulfilled in fact? Strange indeed must have been the change in the state of things if it were so. Yet so, we know, in very truth it was.

Proceed we then next to trace this its fulfilment in history.—It has been already noted that down to the time of Luther's leaving his Patmos in March 1522, to resume, despite of the Papal and Imperial interdicts, his ministerial functions of preaching, the *established* religion in Saxony, as well as everywhere else, was still the *Romish Papal* religion.[1] So much was this the case, that when the reforming ministers at Wittenberg, conjointly with certain commissioners of inquiry appointed by the Elector Frederic, began to take steps for the abolition of some of the more prominent superstitions of the Papacy, the Elector declared that they had exceeded their orders, and might embroil him with the Romish prelates and the Emperor. Nor indeed did Luther as yet wish much more from the civil power, than the freedom of evangelic preaching.[2] His idea was that through this simple preaching of the gospel, uninforced by any further act of the civil power, the Papacy, which was to be broken *without hand*, would fall into ruins. Hence, with reference to the state of things at the end of 1522, the following is the historian's observation: "Thus in Divine Providence the foundations of the Reformation had been laid in Germany by the preaching and exposition of God's word; *with no more aid from the civil power*, than that of a connivance firm indeed and unalterable, but ever bearing the marks of hesitation and indecision." [3] The *measuring reed* with semblance to the ῥαβδος, or *rod of official authority*, had not yet been given to the Reformers; to empower them for the regular constitution of a reformed Church.

Now mark what follows. "But the difficulties of providing for the *instruction* and *edification* of the Lutheran churches began now to be more and more apparent. It was

[1] See p. 171, Note [1], suprà. [2] Milner, 775—778, 781. [3] Ib. 789.

not possible that public worship, and the administration of the sacraments, could be conducted decently and in order, without some plan of ecclesiastical discipline. . . The great personal authority of Luther seemed to be the only cement of union among those who loved the gospel. . . Hence what feuds and divisions might arise! . . And there was no opportunity of forming a general synod of pastors and elders, who might regulate the external state of religion." [1] It is of the state of things in the year 1523 that Milner is here speaking.—In the Providence of God many of the old canons of Wittenberg having died about this time, the revenues of their canonries fell in: and so the execution of one part of Luther's plan was facilitated; I mean that of forming out of them a common treasury, as he called it, (or sustentation fund,) for the support of ministers, as well as of schools and hospitals. Still the authority was not given; the plan remained unexecuted. At length, after another year or little more, the Elector Frederic, thoroughly convinced that the Reformation was accordant with God's mind and will, determined on taking bolder steps, and giving his authority for the ecclesiastical organization of the Reformed Churches. But he was now sinking under age and infirmities, and died before it was done.—"No sooner however," says Milner, "did the Elector John (Frederic's brother) find himself in possession of the sovereign authority, than," assuming to himself that supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, which according to the Reformers, alike in Germany, Switzerland, and afterwards England and Scotland, was the natural right of every lawful sovereign,[2] "he exercised it with resolution and activity by forming *new ecclesiastical constitutions*, modelled on the principles of the great Reformer."[3] So, through his instrumentality, the Apocalyptic prefiguration had begun to be fulfilled, "There was given me a measuring reed *like unto a rod:*" and the reforming Fathers *rose up*[4] in their

[1] Ib. 790.

[2] Haweis, in his Continuation of Milner, p. 991, observes: "Luther had given the civil magistrate the supreme power in ecclesiastical regulations, and Zwinglius therein concurred with him." As regards the reformers in England and Scotland, see p. 196, Note [3].

[3] Milner 894; Mosheim xvi. Part ii. 1. 4. See too Seckendorf, Lib. i., Sect. 53, &c.

[4] εγειραι, *Rise* or *wake up!* The expression implies vigorous and decisive action

strength to make the measurement.—The account follows in history of the execution of this most important commission assigned them, of *measuring*, or *ecclesiastically defining* and *constituting*, the *Evangelic Church*,[1] the mystic temple: —of the authorization and introduction throughout the Saxon churches of new formularies of public worship, drawn on evangelic principles by Luther and Melancthon, —of the removal from churches, and church-worship, of Romish images and superstitions—of the appropriation of the ecclesiastical revenues of the Electorate to the support of the *reformed* parochial clergy and schools,—and of the ordination, independently altogether of the Romish hierarchy, (that same to which I alluded at the close of the former Section,) of a fresh supply of ministers of the Gospel. All this was effected in the autumn of 1525.[2] And, somewhat later, viz. in the years 1527, 1528, a general visitation of the Electorate, by Luther and other of the reforming Fathers, was made on the Prince's order; to see to the execution of the new system, and complete what might

after inertness, and success after depression. So Numb. xxiii. 24; Is. li. 9, &c.—A very parallel example to that before us occurs in Nehemiah ii. 17, 18. "Ye see the distress we are in; how Jerusalem lieth waste: . . come, and let us build the wall of Jerusalem, that we be no more a reproach! Then I told them of the hand of my God, which was good upon me; as also the king's words that he had spoken unto me. And they said, Let us *rise up* and *build*. So they strengthened their hands for this good work."—Milner, p. 894, observes on the occasion; "John was convinced that to temporize much longer with a corrupt and unprincipled hierarchy might prove fatal to the good cause. An appeal had been made to the tribunal of reason; and reason had decided already in a manner which had astonished all Europe. This astonishment was therefore to be *roused to action*."

[1] "This," says Mosheim, (viz. *Evangelical*,) "was the title assumed by that Church, (the Lutheran,) in consequence of the original design of its founders; which was to restore to its native lustre the gospel of Christ, that had so long been covered with the darkness of superstition: in other words, to place in its proper and true light that important doctrine, which represents salvation as attainable by the merits of Christ alone." (xvi. 2. 1. 1.)—It was indeed in the spirit of the *Little Book*, or *New Testament of the Gospel of Christ*, that every step was taken in the Reformation.

The Church was afterwards called *Lutheran*. But this was quite contrary to Luther's own wish. In his Warning against Sedition and Tumult he exhorts all men not so much as to mention his name, or call themselves *Lutherans*, but *Christians*. "The doctrine," he says, "is not mine, nor was I crucified for any one. Paul and Peter forbade the people to call themselves after their names. Why should I, who am so soon to be food for worms, desire the children of Christ to be called by mine? . . No! Let us be called *Christians*, because we possess the doctrine of Christianity." He adds; "The *Papists* have very properly another name, because they are not content with Christ's name, and Christ's doctrine. They *choose* to be called *Papists*." Milner 787.

[2] Junckner, p. 64, notices the first Lutheran *ordination* as made in this year. The date of this important step is not given either by Milner or Mosheim.

be wanting to the *ecclesiastical establishment* throughout Saxony of a *separate evangelic Church.*[1]

In all of which regulations the example of Saxony was followed *pari passu* by the other reforming States already noticed, in Germany, Denmark, Sweden,[2] and afterwards England and Scotland:[3] the measuring reed like a rod being given by the civil authorities for this purpose to the reforming ministers; without which the probability is that the reformed Churches would have soon fallen into misrule and anarchy.[4] And what we are here called on by the Apocalyptic prefiguration further and specially to notice is this;—that the principle acted on in them all was precisely the same as that laid down by the Angel in vision for the symbolic measurement of the Apocalyptic temple: viz. to make salvation through Christ's meritorious death and mediatorship, (that which the *altar* of the old Jewish temple typified,) the prominent characteristic of the worship of the

[1] Milner, p. 937.

[2] Ibid. pp. 808—814.—The same too may be said of *Switzerland.* See Mosheim, xvi. 2. 2. 3, &c.

[3] So the Article xxxvii. of our Anglican Church; where however the doctrine is carefully exprest and guarded. "The King's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other his dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain; and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

"When we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government, . . we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or the sacraments: . . but that only prerogative which we see to have been given to all godly princes in Holy Scripture by God himself; that is that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal. The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England."

In 1560, in the Scottish Confession drawn up mainly by Knox, ratified by Parliament, and adopted by the General Assembly, we read; "To kings, rulers, and magistrates chiefly and most principally appertains the conservation and purgation of religion; so that not only are they appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of the true religion, and for suppression of all idolatry and superstition whatsoever." *

Says Dr. Arnold:—"Our fathers at the Reformation were unconsciously led by God's Providence to the declaration of the great principle of the *King's supremacy:* i. e. an assertion of the supremacy of *the Church*, or *Christian society*, over the Clergy; and a denial of that which I hold to be one of the most mischievous falsehoods ever broached, viz. that the government of the Christian Church is vested by divine right in the Clergy, . . or close corporation of bishops and presbyters. Life ii. 189.

[4] So Schlegel, Philosophy of History ii. 214; "It was by . . the influence Luther thereby acquired, [viz. by asserting the king's authority,] as well as by *the sanction of the civil power*, that the Reformation was promoted and consolidated. Without this, Protestantism would have sunk into the lawless anarchy which marked the proceedings of the Hussites."

* This is cited in a sermon just recently published (Edinb. 1860) of Dr. Hanna, the well-known Free Church minister, the biographer and son-in-law of Dr. Chalmers; who adds that on this point Knox would now (by Free Churchmen) be condemned as *Erastian.* H. A. 5th Ed.

newly reformed Church; and to exclude those who (having forsaken the altar) had made to themselves another method of salvation, and given themselves up to heathen superstitions and idolatries; in other words, the worshipping professors in the apostate pseudo-church of Rome.—Charged by the Papists as *schismatics*, the principle was solemnly avowed by the Reformers, and justified before the world. At the first Diet of Augsburg, held A. D. 1525, just while this reformation of the Church was in progress, an Apology was delivered in by the Elector, written by Melancthon; and in which the following points were insisted on:[1]—1st, that every minister of God's word is bound by Christ's express precept to preach[2] the leading doctrine of the gospel, *justification by faith in Christ crucified*,[3] and not by the merit of human performances; whereas men had by the Romish doctrines been drawn from the cross of Christ,[4] to trust in their own works, and in superstitious vanities:—2ndly, that it became the Princes, (those over whom the Pope and the Bishops had exercised hitherto a usurped authority, but to whom the authority in these matters rightfully belonged,[5]) simply to consider whether the *new doctrines*, as they were called, were or were not *true;* and, if true, to protect and promote them:[6]—3rdly, that the Roman Pope, Cardinals, and Clergy did not constitute the *Church of Christ*,[7] though there existed among them some that were real members of that Church, and opposed the reigning errors: the true Church consisting of the faithful, and none else, who had the word of God, and by it were sanctified and cleansed; while, on the other hand, what St. Paul had predicted of *Antichrist's* coming, and *sitting in the temple of God*,[8] had had its fulfilment in

[1] See Milner, p. 916, whose words I chiefly use in what follows.
[2] "The Angel said, Thou must *prophesy* again."
[3] That which the *altar*-worship signified
[4] Drawn away from the *altar-Court* to the *Court without* the Temple.
[5] The ῥαβδος, or *rod of civil authority*.
[6] "A reed was given me *like a rod*, saying, Rise and measure, &c."
[7] The mystic temple, the sanctuarium Dei.
Luther, says Mosheim, when separated from Rome still regarded himself as *in the Catholic Church*, xvi. 1. 2. 14.—In his famous answer to Pope Leo's Bull in 1520 he had said, "*Such* a universal Church (as the Romish) Augustine would have called a Synagogue of Satan." Foxe v. 674.
[8] Mark here the correspondence of St. Paul's symbolic figure and St. John's, by inspiration of the same Holy Spirit.

the Papacy. Which being so, and God having forbidden under the heaviest penalty every species of idolatry and false worship, of which class were the sacrifice of the mass, masses for the dead, invocations of saints, and such like,—things notoriously taught in the Church of Rome,—that they, the Reformers, were not guilty of schism, either because they had convicted Antichrist of his errors, or made alterations in their church-worship and regulations, whereby the Romish superstitions were cast out.—Such was the Manifesto of the Reformers, if I may so call it, in the *first* Diet of Augsburg. In the *second* and more important Diet, held there in 1530, after the completion of the reformation of the Church in the countries already particularized, the same principles were asserted in the celebrated *Confessions of Faith* then presented to the Diet and the Emperor, and which may be regarded as standards of the Churches;—the *Lutheran* Confession of Augsburg,—the *Tetrapolitan*,—and the *Swiss*.[1] Differing as these Confessions might do in matters unessential and *comparatively* unimportant, whether of doctrine or discipline,[2] (and the same may be said of the *English* Confession, or Articles of Faith, drawn up a few years after,)[3] yet on the three points inculcated in the Apocalyptic vision upon him that represented them, the Reformers were altogether agreed:—viz. in charging the *preaching of the gospel* on their ministers, and declaring their fulfilment of that function essential to the right constitution of a Christian Church;—in setting forth *justification by faith in a crucified, risen, and mediating*

[1] The Lutheran was drawn up by *Melanethon;* the Tetrapolitan, adopted by Strasburg and three other cities, by *Bucer;* the Swiss by *Zuingle*, who was slain in battle for the faith ere the close of the year 1530. The last was brief; and expanded afterwards into what is called the *Helvetic Confession* of 1566, drawn up chiefly by Bullinger.

The Helvetic Confession states thus the difference of the ministry of the Church reformed, and that of the excommunicated Church of Rome; a subject prominent in this and the preceding Chapter. "Diversissima inter se sunt sacerdotium et ministerium. Illud commune est Christianis omnibus: . . hoc non item. Nec à medio sustulimus ecclesiæ ministerium, quando *repudiavimus ex ecclesiâ Christi sacerdotium Papisticum*." Chap. xviii. p. 69, in the Sylloge Confessionum. (Oxon.)

Would that the *title*, as well as *office*, of *priest*, had been abandoned by our English Reformers to the heathens and the Romanists; and the New Testament term *presbyter* (as an abbreviation of which term our Church alone uses the word *priest* in its offices) been adopted instead!

[2] Of course I mean only *comparatively*.

[3] Including the *Homilies*, as being united to the Articles by the authorization of them in Art. xxxv.

Saviour, as the only true method of salvation;—and in *separating themselves from the Romish Church, as a body excommunicate from Christ's true visible Church, and apostate.*[1]

Wonderful and blessed consummation! *Wonderful*, considering both the long establishment of Papal Rome's empire, and the universality of adherence to it, even till then, of all the powers of Western Christendom: *blessed*, considering both the true gospel principles on which it was brought about, and the continued proclamation of those principles that was secured by it.—Has it not been said by some that the religion of Protestantism is a mere *negation?* How different the Apocalyptic prefiguration of it, just expounded! A figuration of it as markedly *including*, as *excluding:* and only so excluding what was essentially *anti-christian*, as was a necessary prerequisite in order to the inclusion of whatever was Scriptural, Christian, and true!

Such was the *ecclesiastical constitution and establishment* of the Reformed Evangelic Churches; and with it concludes the *second* grand *epoch* of what, in exact accordance with the Apocalyptic emblem before us, has been called the *re-formation*, or *new constitution*, of the Church.[2]—It only remains, ere concluding this chapter, to remind the

[1] See generally the Sylloge Confessionum, published at Oxford.

[2] Mosheim too (Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. P. ii. ch. 1) marks this as the second great epoch of the Reformation. For he speaks of *three æras* as chiefly notable in it; the *first* that of Luther and the other Reformers' excommunication by Pope Leo, A.D. 1520; the *second*, that of the Reformed Church *appearing regularly formed*, on the presentation of its Confession at the Diet of Augsburg, A.D. 1530; the *third*, when the Protestant body was recognised as legitimate in the Empire, and independent of the Roman Pontiff, by the treaty of Passau, A.D. 1552.

And let me here observe that in the Apocalypse *three æras* are also prominently noted of it, which do not vary materially from those of Mosheim. The chief difference is this:—that in Mosheim the *concluding result* is mentioned alone in each case, as constituting the epoch; in the Apocalypse the *prior principles* that led to such results are grouped with it. Thus its *first* æra embraces Luther's previous discovery of Christ; as well as his rejection of the Papal Antichrist, after Rome's damnatory Bull, or seven Thunders: its *second*, the renewal of gospel-preaching by the excommunicated Evangelic Ministers, as well as regular constitution of the Reformed Churches, completed by the Confession given in at Augsburg: its *third*, (prefigured in the ascension of the Witnesses,) the political elevation of the Protestants, begun in the Confederacy of Smalcald, completed in the Treaty of Passau.—I think no one versed in the History can fail of being struck with the admirable distinctness and completeness of this Apocalyptic arrangement. To myself its superiority to Mosheim's appears most manifest.

reader of what had passed at that memorable epoch, shortly preceding, of the Papal Antichrist's triumph at Rome and in the Lateran, which has been described at length in a preceding chapter:[1] and to suggest for his observation how already, on each point in which the USURPER then triumphed before Christendom, he had been signally met, and counteracted before Christendom, by HIM whose place he had usurped in the Church. The *Bible* was now everywhere *translated* and *printed;* respecting which (as well as respecting all other that might be deemed dangerous books) he had commanded that, except with Papal sanction, it should not be printed.[2] The *gospel was preached* by hundreds, *free from the glosses of the Fathers;* against the which preaching he had issued his solemn interdict. And, as regarded *Antichrist*, not only was he everywhere written and preached about, but himself the *Pope* denounced as Antichrist: and the *day of judgment* too held forth to men's view, as a day certain, and fixed, and quickly coming, which would terminate the Papal reign and power. Finally, as he had then solemnly *excommunicated* from the Church all that might dare to withhold allegiance from the Papacy and Rome, so was he now, together with his retainers and the whole Papal religious system, excommunicated by the Reformers, and cast out from the true professing Church of Christ.[3]—The wretched LEO, the hero, or rather God, of that epoch of Rome's triumph, lived not to see the great ecclesiastical separation that we have been describing accomplished. For he died sadly and prematurely, just after Luther's return from his Patmos.[4] But he lived long enough to hear his excommunicatory Bull against Luther met with

[1] See pp. 86—89 suprà, and the chapter of which those pages form the conclusion.

[2] The sufficiency of this Decree of the Lateran Council, as applicable to the printing of Bibles, was noted in the Council of Trent. See Fra Paolo's History, p. 151. English Edition, 1676.

[3] We may contrast too the "*Rise up*," in this prefiguration of the Reformer's excommunication of Rome, with the "*Rise up* Peter and Paul, and all the assembly of the Saints, &c.," with which Leo's famous Bull of Excommunication had commenced against Luther and the other Reformers. See Foxe, v. 659, 660. Also the terms of the Apocalyptic with those of the Papal Excommunication. "Veniant super illos omnes maledictiones quibus Deus illos maledixit qui dixerunt Domino Deo, Recede à nobis, scientiam viarum tuarum nolumus; et qui dixerunt, *Hæreditate possideamus sanctuarium Dei.*" Martene ii. 321.

[4] He died December 1, 1521. The event was very sudden, and reported by some to have been by poison.

stern defiance by that champion of Christ's truth and gospel; —"As they curse and excommunicate me for the holy verity of God, so do I curse and excommunicate them: let Christ judge between us, whose excommunication, his or mine, shall stand approved before Him;" [1]—and to see the failure of every means set in action to stop the progress of the Reformation. It remained for his successors in the Papal See to behold the completion of this great Revolution, first (as just described) *ecclesiastically*;—then (as will be described in a subsequent chapter) *politically*:—the whole being a pledge of that total and more signal overthrow which still awaits the usurping Popedom: then when He that shall come will come; and by the brightness of His coming, at once, totally, and for ever, annihilate the kingdom and power of the Man of Sin.

CHAPTER VII.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW, FROM THE REFORMATION, OF CHRIST'S TWO WITNESSES:—CONSIDERED IN RESPECT OF THEIR CHARACTER, AND OF THE EARLIER HALF OF THEIR HISTORY.

". . . . For it [the outer court] hath been given [2] to the Gentiles. And the holy city shall they tread under foot [3] forty and two months. And I will give [commission] unto my two Witnesses; and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth. These are the two olive trees, and the two candle-

[1] Such is the conclusion of his answer. So again; "If ye reform not, I and all that worship Christ do account your seat, possest and opprest by Satan himself, to be the damned seat of Antichrist; which we . . will not be subject to, nor concorporate with, but do detest and abhor the same." "Rome has cut herself off from the Universal Church." See Luther's whole answer to the Pope in Foxe, Vol. v. pp. 673, 674.

[2] εδοθη. Our authorized Translation renders it "for it is given." Says Matthiæ, Gramm. ii. 842; "The *aorist* is sometimes put where, accurately speaking, the *perfect* should be put." So, I conceive, εσταυρωθη and εγενοντο, Apoc. xi. 8, 15; &c.

[3] πατησουσι: perhaps simply *tread*. So Dr. Wordsworth. It is however the same word that is used in Luke xxi. 24 of Jerusalem's being trodden down hostilely by the Gentiles: and so too Luke x. 19, Apoc. xiv. 20, xix. 15.

sticks, (or lamps,)[1] that stand before the Lord[2] of the earth. And, if any man willeth to hurt them,[3] fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if any man willeth to hurt them, he must in this manner be killed. These have the authority[4] to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy; and they have authority over the waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with every plague, as often as they will."[5] Apoc. xi. 2—7.

INTRODUCTION.

We here commence an account, given by the Covenant-Angel to St. John, of certain *Witnesses*, as they are called, who throughout the great apostasy so long reigning, and from which the Reformed Churches had just separated, would have kept up a testimony for Him. The view is evidently in main part retrospective: for how could excommunication of heathen worshippers of the outer court be needful, or pronounced, unless those worshippers, who were for forty-two months to tread the holy city, had already *previously* existed, and previously intruded into the temple, as if its rightful occupants?[6]—As for the subject of the

[1] λυχνιαι. [2] κυριου is Griesbach's and Tregelles' reading.
[3] θελει αυτους αδικησαι. [4] την εξουσιαν. So A and C.
[5] No difference of any consequence between the received and the critical texts.
[6] The murders charged against the men of Roman Christendom in Apoc. ix. 21, and which meant evidently murders for *religion*, indicated the existence at the time there figured,—a time previous to that which is the subject of figuration here,—of faithful ones for Christ trodden down and persecuted, even unto death, by the Gentiles dominant.

The observant reader will mark, and perhaps feel puzzled by, the various tenses made use of by the Angel in his narrative. There is εδοθη in the *past* tense, "*It hath been given;*" the *present* tense, "These *have* power;" the *future*, "I *will* give power, and they *shall* prophesy 1260 days," &c. Which last must be measured, as appears both from what has been just said, and for other reasons, from a point of time *past* with reference to *the then figured prophetic epoch*, though *future* with reference to *the time of St. John's seeing the vision*. Just so in Isaiah liii. and other prophecies, where the seer is rapt by the Spirit into some distant future, a similar double standard-date of reference occurs. "He *shall* grow up as a tender plant;" "He *is* despised and rejected;" "He *hath borne* our griefs," &c. So again, as another example, Exod. xv. 13; "Thou hast led forth thy people; thou *hast* guided them to thy holy habitation: . . Thou *shalt* bring them in, &c.:" also Deut. xxxii. 10, 15, &c.: on the 10th verse of which Scott observes; "In the original the future and the past are so interchanged that the reader is sometimes led back to the times of the patriarchs, and views the deliverances of Israel and transactions that followed as future: at others he is suddenly carried forward to distant ages, and witnesses the predictions as already accomplished." Compare too the tenses in Apoc. xvii. 10, 12, 16, xviii. 2, 4, 21, &c.

Witnesses, it will long detain us, as being alike large, important, and interesting. Before entering however directly on it, I cannot but call attention to *the time and order* in which, in the prefigurations of Patmos, it was brought before the Evangelist: as itself in fact constituting a prediction; and one of which, as of all that preceded it in the vision, the history of the Reformation exhibits another and really remarkable fulfilment.

For the statement was made, as we see, to St. John, next after his receiving the reed like unto a rod, for the measurement and re-formation of the mystic temple. And what find we, on looking into the sequel of the history of the Reformation? We find that it was precisely at the period next following on the actual re-formation of the Church, so presignified, (the same of which I was just speaking in my last chapter,) that the attention of the Reformers was directed retrospectively into preceding ages, to investigate the very same subject.—Of course, under their then circumstances and feelings, this was not to be wondered at. Urged as the so-called *novelty* of their religion began to be against them, it was scarce possible but that they should anxiously and earnestly look back, to trace the origin of that antichristian apostasy which they had escaped from; and to look for those who, like themselves, had previously witnessed for Christ against it. But the learning necessary for such an investigation had been hitherto in great measure wanting. Now however that want was removed. As Mosheim observes,[1] it was agreed that the stability of the reformed Church depended much on the learning of her ministers;—their ecclesiastical learning, among other branches: and thus the Princes, as well as Doctors of the Reformation, encouraged it by every means, in the Academies and Universities of their kingdoms. Hence important works began now to appear, elucidatory of the subject spoken of; more especially that of the Magdeburgh Centuriators. Of which latter work the principal author, Flacius Illyricus, may be justly called, says Mosheim, "the parent of ecclesiastical history; reflecting, as it did, a light really wonderful on the facts of the history of

[1] Cent. xvi. ii. i. 8, 9.

the Christian Church, hitherto covered with darkness, and corrupted by innumerable fables:" and of which work the first specimen, and precursor, was published under the title of CATALOGUS TESTIUM, or *Catalogue of Witnesses*.[1]—And as in Germany, so in England. Not to dwell on *Bale's* work, which came out yet earlier,[2] the venerable historiographer *Foxe*, the contemporary of Flacius Illyricus, busied himself at the very same time in the same researches. So that almost in the self-same year as Flacius's *Catalogus Testium* there appeared also *Foxe's Martyrology:* in other words, (rendering the Greek of the Title into English,) "*The History of Christ's Martyrs and Witnesses.*"[3]—Really I cannot but again express my admiration at the chronological accuracy, as well as comprehensiveness and beauty, of this extraordinary prophecy. We have here the sixth or seventh act in the Apocalyptic symbolism of the Reformation: and, like all before, it is still found to answer, in respect of commencing date, as well as of matter, to the facts of history.

And now to the subject of the *Witnesses*.—I would observe, with reference to the *fact* here announced of Christ's having kept up a witness for Himself during the long dark times of the apostasy preceding, that it is that of which, even independently of this direct statement, we might have felt assured. The faithful word of promise guaranteed it. In the account of the Father's covenant with Messiah and his people, we read in Isaiah;[4] "This is my covenant with them, saith Jehovah: my Spirit that is upon thee, and my

[1] The associates of Flacius Illyricus in the work were Nicholaus Gallus, Johannes Wigandus, Matthias Judex, all ministers of Magdeburg, whence the name of the Work. It was published A.D. 1556. See Mosh. ibid.

[2] Bale's *Image of both Churches*, spoken of in my preceding chapter, and which included retrospectively a brief catalogue of witnesses, was published before Henry the 8th's death, (see its conclusion,) about A.D. 1545.

[3] The date of the first publication was 1556. See Townshend's Preface, pp. 103, 116, 142, 288. In 1571 it was ordered in a convocation of the Anglican Church that a copy of Foxe's Martyrology should be placed in all the churches of England. Ib. 282.

Foxe began his preparations as early as 1555; published a first edition of the Work in 1556; a second in 1559; a completer edition, in English, and so for the general public, in 1563.

[4] Isaiah lix. 21.

words that I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, from henceforth even for ever."[1] To the same effect was the promise given by our Lord Jesus Himself, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it;" i. e. against his *true* Church: and again, just before his ascension, and in connexion with the charge given to his apostles and their successors in the Christian ministry, of going and discipling all nations, his declaration, "Lo I am with you always, even to the end of the world."[2]—Could it be then that the *forty-two months*, or forty-two times thirty days, i. e. 1260 *prophetic days* or *years*, of the apostasy, should have prolonged their dreary course without a witness having been kept up for Christ? It was *in the nature of the case* impossible. It would have been the falsification of God's direct promises; as well as the abandonment, I may say, of his own glory.—Thus we see that, independently of any fresh prediction of it, the fact was one of which the beloved disciple might have felt well assured. In the Apocalyptic visions however, as nothing of importance was to be omitted, so a fresh and

[1] In Mr. Newman's 8th Lecture on Romanism, the subject of which is the *Indefectibility of the Church Catholic*, I find this promise applied not to *Christ*, but to *the Church*;—the Church, *according to Mr. N.'s definition of it*. At p. 229, after remarking, "We make *the Church* the keeper and interpreter of Scripture, and Scripture itself conveys to the Church the charter for her office to be so," he quotes in proof this verse from Isaiah; "As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; my Spirit that is upon *thee*, &c." And again, p. 394; "God's Spirit which is upon *her*, [sc. the *Church*,] and his words which He has put in *her* mouth, shall not depart out of *her* mouth, nor out of the mouth of *her* seed's seed, from henceforth and for ever." Which explanation is also given by the Roman Catholic Doctor Wiseman, in his 4th Lecture on the "Principal Doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church." Says he; "The Church of God, identified with the Jewish Church then existing, is addrest." Vol. i. p. 100. (Ed. 1847.)

It is to be observed that *Zion* is mentioned in the verse preceding; "The Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob:" which *Zion*, in the assumed sense of "*the Church*," is made use of, to bring out this interpretation of the verse. But the Hebrew rejects this explanation: *Zion*, in verse 20, being in the Hebrew *feminine;* but the pronoun *thee*, in verse 21, *masculine* עָלֶיךָ; and so too *thy* mouth, בְּפִיךָ.* Who then is meant in the pronoun *thee?* Whose the *mouth*, and the *seed* referred to? Not surely Isaiah's, as Kimchi; not Israel's, as others; but the Redeemer's, who is mentioned, as well as Zion, in verse 20.

Compare generally, Hag. ii. 5; "According to the word which I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, *so* my Spirit remaineth among you. Fear ye not!"

On *his seed*, according to our understanding of the passage in Isaiah, it may be well to compare Ps. lxxxix. 36, and Is. liii. 10.

[2] Matt. xxviii. 20.

* A strange mistake, let me observe in passing, for those who assume to be critics and teachers in the infallible Church!

full communication was now made to him on the subject. After mention of the forty-two months, during which the heathenized Christians of the apostasy (the same that had just been cast out at his command, in the measuring of the temple) would, as the Angel said, tread down the Holy City, or the faithful in Christendom,[1] he proceeds to inform St. John that through a period precisely equivalent to those forty-two months there should be all along witnesses to testify for Him:—"I will give [commission] to my two witnesses; and they shall prophesy 1260 days, clothed in sackcloth."

Now, with regard to this great prediction about the Witnesses, it seems to me that it may be treated with advantage under three principal *divisions*.—1st, there is the *commission, character*, and *previous earlier history* of the Witnesses, as retrospectively described by the Angel, and as fulfilled; 2ndly, the *particular* and *later* history, as described and fulfilled, of their *slaughter* and *resurrection;* 3rdly, the notice of the *ascent* of the Witnesses, and certain important *political* events contemporaneous with it. Which last division I purpose to treat of separately from the second, and by itself, for this reason, viz. because it seems broken off from what precedes by a notable change in *the person narrating:* what precedes being related retrospectively by the Angel, then the narration at length resumed by St. John.[2] Thus the events described previous to the break must be regarded as *already past* at the epoch correspondent with the Angel's giving the narration; that is, at the epoch next following that of the ecclesiastical constitution of the Reformed Churches and the Diet of Augsburg: on the other hand, those described after the break as chronologically *subsequent* to that epoch, and as marking the yet further development and progress of the Reformation.

[1] Compare Eph. ii. 12; "Ye were then aliens from the commonwealth (πολιτειας) of Israel:" which πολιτεια was included territorially in the then great Roman heathen πολις. So the *holy city* of the Apocalypse was territorially in its Roman *great city*.

[2] The change is marked by St. John's resuming the narration (after the Angel's interlocution) in his own person, in verse 12; Ηκουσα, "*I heard* a great voice from heaven," &c. That this is probably the true reading will be shown, on I believe strong evidence, when we come to the discussion of that passage.

This premised, I proceed to the *first* and largest of these divisions; being that which is to be the subject of the present Chapter, and which answers to the Apocalyptic extract heading it. And, with a view to distinctness, I shall in the first place, and in this Chapter's first Section, consider the general description of the Witnesses given in the *propheey;* then in the six subsequent Sections its realization in *history*.

§ 1.—THE WITNESSES AS DESCRIBED IN PROPHECY.

In the Angel's description of the two Witnesses the following seven several points are observable.

1st, The term designating them implies *personality*. For in the only ten other places where the word μαρτυς, *witness*, is used in the New Testament, there can be no question that *persons* are intended by it; and so too in almost all of the fifty or sixty passages where it occurs in the Old Testament, as derived from the Hebrew word properly corresponding.[1]—The same inference results from what is said of the Witnesses *prophesying:* for the verb *prophesy*, which occurs above a hundred times in the Bible, is never used but once, I believe, except of *persons*.[2] And the same too from that most important parallel prophecy in Apoc. xii. 17, which, for many reasons, the reader should never lose sight of: where, after mention of the hiding of the woman, the Church, in the wilderness, from the dragon's fury, it is said that "the dragon went to make war with *the remnant of her seed* that observe the commandments of God, and keep up the testimony, or witnessing, for Jesus;" (εχοντων την μαρτυριαν του Ιησου Χριστου·) his device for this purpose being to evoke the Beast from the sea.—I make this observation because not a few modern expositors, following certain others more ancient, have supposed the two Witnesses to mean things inanimate,—the Old and

[1] The only exceptions I have observed are in Ps. lxxx. 37, where the *moon* seems called "a faithful witness in heaven;" and Gen. xxxi. 48, 52, where we read, "*This pillar* is a witness:" in which latter passage however the Hebrew noun is in the feminine form.

[2] The single exception that has met my eye is in Matt. xi. 13; "The prophets and *the law* prophesied till John."

New Testaments.[1] There cannot be a reasonable doubt, I conceive, that *living confessors* were intended.

2. The appellative "*my* Witnesses," points out to us the grand subject of their witnessing, viz. the *Lord Jesus;* his glory, his grace, his salvation. A point this the rather to be observed respecting them, because of their having been represented by some Expositors as witnesses *distinctively* and *alone* against the *Papacy;* thus furnishing a handle to objectors:[2] whereas, being simply described as Witnesses *for* JESUS, they need not be supposed to have assumed prominently the aggressive character of direct remonstrants against the Apostasy, whether in the *East* or in the *West*, except in proportion as that system should have authoritatively incorporated, and enforced, its growing superstitions and impieties, in open and necessary hostility to the doctrine of Jesus. A similar characterization of them occurs in the parallel prediction just alluded to, Apoc. xii. 17; where the same individuals (as I conceive) are designated, as those who "observe the commandments of God," and also "keep up *the witnessing for Jesus*."—Which two characteristics, let me remark in passing, always have been, and always will be, found united. They that sincerely testify for Christ will be the persons most observant of God's commandments: they that testify other than Christ's doctrine will be disposed rather to observe the commandments of *men*.[3]

3. They are described as "the two *olive-trees*, and the two *candlesticks*, or *lamp-sconces*, that stand before the Lord of the whole earth."

[1] So Galloway, Frere, Irving, &c., of the *moderns;* of the *ancients*, Tichonius. Vitringa is not quite clear on this point. His main view of the *Witnesses* regards them as *living confessors;* while the *candlesticks* he explains as *churches*, the two *olive-trees* as the *Holy Spirit*, the two *chief boughs* as the prophets and apostles, and the two *tubes* of the candlestick in Zechariah, through which the oil from the two olives flowed into it, as the *Holy Scripture* and *preaching*. Vitringa, pp. 622—626.

[2] E. g. Dr. S. R. Maitland. See his Remarks, p. 95, and Facts and Doc. p. 80, &c. Also, more recently, notwithstanding this caveat in my Book, Dr. Charles Maitland, in his Work on the Apostolic Interpretation of Prophecy; p. 443.

[3] E. g. In the Douay Church Catechism, still, I believe, of authority among Irish Romanists, two sets of Commandments are taught, as alike binding; 1st, those of *God*, 2nd, those of *the Church;* the latter, hearing mass, fasting, confessing, paying tithes, &c. Phelan's Digest of Evidence on Ireland, i. 209.—Again, the elimination of the 2nd Commandment from the Decalogue, at least as a distinct commandment, and slurring over and perversion of its charges, by the Catechism of the Council of Trent, is notorious; also its division of the 10th into two, in order to make up the number ten.

Of these emblems the *candlesticks*, or *lamp-sconces*, are explained by Christ Himself to symbolize *Christian Churches*:[1] i. e. communities uniting together in a true Christian profession and worship; the individual members contained in which would shine, by their consistent doctrine and life, as lights in the world.[2]—We must remember that these churches might be small, as well as large. We read in 1 Cor. xvi. 19 of the Church in the house of Aquila and Priscilla; and in Col. iv. 15, of the Church in the house of Nymphas. In the present case, as I shall have to observe under my next head, the whole description indicates paucity of number, and depression.

As to the emblem of *olive-trees*, since it was the olive-tree that supplied nourishment to the temple-lamps,—it being commanded that pure *oil-olive* should alone be burnt in them,[3]—it would seem that those must be symbolized thereby who supplied the needful spiritual nourishment to the Christian churches; in other words, all faithful *ministers* and *gospel-preachers*, ministering to them. And to this effect indeed is the explanation given of the emblem in Zechariah.[4] "I said, What be these two *olive-trees*, upon the right side of the candlestick, and on the left? And I answered again . . What be these two *olive-branches*, which through the two golden pipes empty the oil out of themselves? . . Then said He, These are the two anointed ones, (or, rather, two sons of oil,)[5] that stand by the

[1] Apoc. i. 20.—Compare 1 Kings xi. 36; "that David my servant may have a light (or lamp) always before me in Jerusalem."

[2] Phil. ii. 15, ὡς λυχνοι· the Church being the λυχνια. The distinction has not been always noted. Compare Numb. viii. 2, 3; Matt. v. 15.

[3] Exod. xxvii. 20.

[4] Zech. iv. 11, &c.—In Zechariah's vision it may be that two olive-trees, *growing in the Court of the Temple*, appeared to stretch out branches through the Temple-walls, and so to drop the oil of their olives into the bowl of the candlestick. For from David's figure of himself, "I am like a green olive-tree in the house of my God," (Psalm lii. 8,) it seems not improbable that one or two olive-trees may have been actually growing there.—Or it may be that the reference of the prophetic imagery was to the *olive-tree door-posts* of the temple, of which we read 1 Kings vi. 33; and which may have appeared in Zechariah's vision in their natural form and vitality, and so stretching thence to the golden candlestick.

[5] So the marginal version. If this be taken,—and from the nature of the emblem it seems to me preferable,—we must construe it, I think, *actively*, as designating *communicators of oil*. So James and John are called *sons of thunder*, Mark iii. 17, with reference to the power of the word *issuing from them*; Barnabas the *son of consolation*, Acts iv. 36, in the sense of a *consoler*; musicians, the *sons of noise*, (Heb.) Jer. xlviii. 45; and a fruitful hill of olives, a horn of *the son of oil*, (Heb.) Isa. v. 1; i. e. as producing it.

Lord of the whole earth."[1] Now under the Jewish dispensation, they who as individuals, in the special sense of the words, *stood before the Lord*, and who also were *anointed* for the purpose, were the *Priests* and the *Prophets*;[2] those that under an ordinary, or else an extraordinary commission, (for the prophets, let it be marked, were not always of the *sacerdotal* tribe and order,[3]) taught and ministered publicly, whether in the word, or in the congregation. Under the Christian dispensation the counterpart to the *former* of these are regularly ordained Christian ministers; to the *latter*, evangelists entrusted with a more extraordinary commission.

From the *union* of the two symbols, of *lamps* and *olive-trees*, we are to understand that both the *ministers* or *gospel-preachers*, and the *churches* or *communities* taught by them, were alike included in the Apocalyptic Witnesses.

4. We must observe the *number* noted, "my *two* Witnesses."—We may take for granted that here, as perpetually elsewhere in the Apocalypse,[4] the *representative* system is followed: and thus that the *two* witnesses, instead of being

[1] "Teachers must be filled with oil; and the Church through all her members appropriate the oil, so as to exhibit in their walk a lovely brightness." Bengel cited by Hengstenberg in Apoc. i. 399.

[2] Of the *Priests and Levites* we read thus in Deut. x. 8; "The Lord separated the tribe of Levi to . . *stand before the Lord*, to minister unto Him, and to bless in his name:" and again Deut. xviii. 7; &c.—Of the *Prophets* it is made frequently a characteristic, as in the cases of *Elijah* and *Elisha*; "As the Lord liveth *before whom I stand*;" 1 Kings xvii. 1, xviii. 15, 2 Kings iii. 14, v. 16. Also of *Jeremiah*, when fulfilling his prophetic office; Jer. xv. 19.—In the same sense I conceive that the *two anointed ones* of Zechariah's vision meant the two Prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, who ministered oil to the lamps of the Jewish Church, when burning dim and nearly extinct; not, as most Commentators interpret, *Zerubbabel* and *Joshua*. A civil Governor or Prince is nowhere said in Scripture, I believe, to stand before God.—Compare 1 Kings x. 8, 2 Kings v. 25.

I need hardly adduce examples to show that the phrase is used also of *churches* or *congregations collectively*, when met to worship before God: e. g. Acts x. 33.

[3] Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and sundry other prophets, were of the sacerdotal tribe and order: but Elijah's tribe is not told us; and both David and Daniel were of the tribe of Judah, Amos a herdman of Tekoa, &c.—Again even *women* were sometimes commissioned prophetesses. So Deborah for example, and Huldah: the latter consulted by King Josiah, at the time when the temple and its priesthood were in full establishment. See 2 Kings xxii. 14.

[4] Enough, I hope, has already appeared in this commentary to satisfy the reader of the *representative system* being pursued in the Apocalyptic symbols; as, for instance, in the *horses* and their *riders* of the four first seals, &c.—See too p. 115, Note [1] suprà. "The two Witnesses are ideal persons, who appear in a multitude of real witnesses." Hengst. i. 398.

two individuals, as some of the early Fathers fancied,[1] stand for a *body* and *series ;* the same evidently as in Apoc. xii. 17, a verse already referred to.—But why the number *two ; unity* being most usually adopted in cases of representation ? To this question the answer of Mede seems sufficient, that two or three witnesses were required in the Mosaic law to constitute a conclusive testimony ;[2] and therefore that, had but *one* witness been made the representative of a number sufficient for effectively testifying, such as is here evidently intended, the usual propriety of emblem observable in the Apocalypse would have been wanting.—At the same time the circumstance of the *two*, not the *three*, of the Mosaic law, being the number chosen, seems to indicate that the Witnesses would be only just enough for the purpose ;—the smallest number that might suffice to make out the testimony satisfactorily.—Which same fact might seem also implied in the specification of but two *lamp-sconces :* whereas both in Zechariah's vision, just alluded to, and also in the vision at the commencement of the Apocalypse, the number of symbolic lamps exhibited was *seven*. So too in Apoc. xii. 17 it was only *the remnant* of the woman the Church's seed that was represented as holding the testimony of Jesus ; the rest being hidden with her, during the Beast Antichrist's reign, in the wilderness.

Besides this view of the number *two* of the witnesses, many Protestant commentators have supposed that *two*

[1] So Tertullian, Hippolytus, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, &c., supposed that they would be *Enoch* and *Elijah*. "Morituri reservantur," said Tertullian, (De Animâ, c. 50,) "ut Antichristum sanguine suo extinguant." Others expected *Elijah* and *John the Evangelist*. See Calmet on Antichrist, or Brooks's Elements of Prophetic Interpretation, p. 444 ; also my Sketch of the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation in the Appendix to Vol. iv. In this supposition they have been followed by most modern Interpreters of the Maitland School ; the same that also expect a *personal* Antichrist, and believe that by the 1260 days are meant simply *days*, not *years*, in this prophecy.

I have already observed, and beg now again to remind the reader of it, that the whole *year-day* question will be fully discussed when we come to the xiiith Apocalyptic Chapter.

[2] Numb. xxxv. 30, Deut. xvii. 6, xix. 15, John viii. 17, Matt. xviii. 16.—It is observed by St. Augustine, when referring to a case mooted in the 7th Council of Carthage, that both the Ecclesiastical and Civil Law, then in force, (just like the old Jewish law,) forbade the condemning any man on the unsupported evidence of a single witness. Bingham xvi. 3. 10.—I observe a similar explanation of the number two in the symbol in *T. Aquinas*. "Propter sufficientiam testimonii," says he in his De Antichristo, p. 43 ; referring to Matt. xviii. 16.

separate lines of witnesses are intended.[1] And certainly, if such were the case, the *duality* of these *representative* Witnesses (a duality noted of their emblems the *olive-trees* and *candlesticks*, as well as of themselves) would be still more satisfactorily accounted for, and still more according to Apocalyptic analogies. It must however be remembered that this latter supposition is not *necessary;* Mede's explanation being of itself sufficient.

5. Their *condition*, during the time of their witnessing, is indicated by the garb said to be worn by them; "They shall prophesy 1260 days *clothed in sackcloth*." Sackcloth was among the Jews the almost universal sign of *mourning;* as in the cases, for example, of Daniel, Mordecai, and the Ninevites:[2] and it was worn doubtless on this account by the ancient *Jewish* Prophets; their condition being generally one of trial, and often of persecution, amidst the prevailing apostasy and rebellion of their countrymen.[3] I infer the same respecting the condition of the Apocalyptic sackcloth-robed Witnesses. We must suppose that both their righteous souls would be vexed by the prevalent apostasy and irreligion of those around them, the Paganized Christians of the outer court: and also that they would often suffer persecution from those enemies of Christ and Christ's truth; politically supreme as they were to be during the 1260 days of the Witnesses prophesying.

6. The next thing noted of the two Witnesses, is *the avenging power* given them against their enemies. "Whosoever will injure them, fire goeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies:—these have power to shut heaven, that it rain not during the days of their prophecy;—and have power over the waters to turn them to blood,—and to smite the earth with every plague, as often as they will." There is a reference evidently in all this to the supernatural power that attached to certain of the ancient

[1] Especially Mr. Faber. [2] Dan. ix. 3, Esther iv. 1, 2.

[3] See the references in Cruden on the word Sackcloth; especially Isa. xx. 2.—In Zech. xiii. 4 *false prophets* are spoken of as also wearing a rough dress, or of sackcloth; and so too those alluded to by our Lord, in Matt. vii. 15, "which come to you in sheep's clothing." But in these cases the rough dress was worn hypocritically, and to help them in their feigning of the prophetic character.—Compare Heb. xi. 37; "They wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented."

prophets, of *literally* thus acting against their enemies: viz. to *Moses and Aaron,* who turned the Nile-waters into blood, on Pharaoh's insulting and injuring them; and to *Elijah,* who both commanded fire from heaven to slay the enemies that would have taken him, and invoked a drought of three and a half years on apostate Israel.—In the present case the figurative character of the whole prophecy shows that these statements (like others of the same class) are meant *figuratively;* and so too as they might apply to the two Apocalyptic Witnesses, the symbolic representatives of a long succession of many. It could not be that for 1260 years there should be no *natural* rain:—a *spiritual* drought must be intended. Again, their *turning the waters into blood* can only be interpreted of the bloodshed of wars, inflicted in God's providence on the enemies of the Witnesses; and *the fire going out of their mouths* of God's fiery judgments, destroying the apostates *nationally* that might have persecuted them.—So in fact the phrases are interpreted elsewhere in prophecy: for example in Apoc. viii. 8; where the emblem of the *sea becoming blood* (supposing my interpretation correct) was shown to symbolize *bloody maritime war.*[1] But this, let me repeat, as the sequel in God's providence; not as their wish, or intention. On Jeremiah's testimony being rejected, and himself persecuted by the Jews, God's predictive declaration, "I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them,"[2] was fulfilled, we know, by the subsequent burning of their *city,* and their destruction not *individually,* but as a *nation.* Again, as regards the *drought* spoken of, we read in Isaiah a threatening of the same judgment on the Jews, in the sense of the withholding from them of the dews of the Spirit; "I will command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it."[3] And so too in that most striking passage in Amos;[4] "The days come, saith the Lord, that I will send a famine on the land: not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord. And they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the North even to the East: they shall

[1] See my Vol. I. p. 378, &c. on Apoc. viii. 8. Compare also Apoc. xvi. 4.
[2] Jer. v. 14. [3] Isa. v. 6. [4] Amos viii. 11.

run to and fro, to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it."—Such seems the sense in which the figures are to be taken here also. To borrow Lowth's language; "The prophet's words would be like a judicial sentence against them; with execution almost immediately [I would rather say, sooner or later] following."[1] A view not dissimilar from that of some of the oldest patristic expositors.[2]

For, let me further observe, *immediate* fulfilment was not implied, in respect of the *destruction* spoken of as caused by *the fire* issuing from *the Apocalyptic Witnesses mouths*, any more than by the fire issuing from Jeremiah's. How, were it so, could the Beast from the abyss make war against, and conquer, and kill them, as he is said to do? The *individual* Witnesses or Prophets might even die; and yet their words remain like fire to consume the guilty people. So it was said by Zechariah to the Jews, after their return from the captivity of Babylon: "The prophets, do they live for ever? yet my words, which I commanded my servants the prophets, did they not take hold of your fathers?"[3]—Of the judgments noted as to follow on the rejection and persecution of Christ's Witnesses, *one* is declared to be *continuous*, through the whole period of their prophesying, viz. the spiritual drought, or shutting up of

[1] Compare Numb. xvi. 41, "Ye have killed the people of the Lord," said of those destroyed agreeably to the declaration of Moses and Aaron: also Isa. vi. 10; "Make the heart of this people fat," &c.: and Ezek. xliii. 3; "When I came to destroy this city;" where the margin reads, "When I came to prophesy that the city should be destroyed." So again Gen. xli. 13; "As Joseph interpreted to us so it happened: me he restored to his office; and him he hanged." Also Jer. i. 10, &c.

[2] Let me cite, in corroboration, the comments of the ancient patristic expositor *Tichonius*, on *the fire from the witnesses' mouth*, and *the drought*.

On *the fire*. "Id est si quis ecclesiam vel lædit, vel lædere voluerit, precibus oris ejus divino igne, aut in præsenti ad correctionem, aut in futuro sæculo ad damnationem, consumetur." Hom. viii. in Apoc.

And on *the drought*: "Spiritualiter cœlum clauditur, ne imbrem pluat; id est ne occulto, sed tamen justo judicio Dei, super sterilem terram de ecclesiâ benedictio descendat."

Compare *T. Aquinas*. "Ignis exiet de ore illorum, et devorabit, &c. Quia ignis, id est scientia spiritualis, exibit de ore illorum, cui non poterunt resistere adversarii; ut Jer. xxiii. 29, et Eccles. xlviii. 1... Et devorabit; id est devorandos eos ostendet, sc. à dæmonibus, et damnandos in ignem æternum." De Antichristo i. 49, 50.

Says Horne, on the Metonymies in the Scripture, Head. ix. x.; "When an action is said to be done, the meaning frequently is that it is declared, or permitted, or foretold that it shall be done." Among other examples he adduces Jer. xxxviii. 23, "Thou shalt burn this city." So the Hebrew; the meaning, as translated in our version, being, "Thou shalt cause it to burn." Introd. Vol. ii. pp. 653, 654. (2nd Edition.)

[3] Zech. i. 6.

the dews of heaven;—one *occasional*, the smiting the land with plagues as often as they will;—the third we may infer to be *final;* I mean the destruction of their enemies by fiery judgments from God.

7th, and lastly, with regard to the *commencing time* of the two Witnesses *testifying* in sackcloth, it seems coincident (as already hinted) with that of the heathenized Christians treading the Holy City. For not only are the two statements connected together in immediate juxtaposition, —that about the Gentiles preceding, that about the two witnesses following,—and the time 42 months assigned to one equalling the 1260 days assigned to the other, but the connexion almost hinted at as that of cause and effect. Now to fix in history this latter epoch there seems required the concurrence of two things; first the lapse of professing Christendom and its ruling powers into heathen-like idolatry; secondly their oppression of the truth by antichristian laws.—In what was said *afterwards* to St. John of the same 1260 days period, its date of commencement was further defined as following after the Dragon's casting water out of his mouth to drown the woman, the Church; and marked by the Woman's hiding in the wilderness, and the seven-headed wild Beast, that had power given it for the same 42 months, rising from the sea:—the latter Satan's grand instrument, for warring down them that kept God's commands and the testimony of Jesus.[1]—From these data to infer the probable commencing epoch will not, I think, be difficult; on proceeding, as we shall now do, to apply the various figures of which we have been speaking, to the facts of real history.

§ 2.—THE EARLIER WESTERN WITNESSES TRACED IN HISTORY.

And now then the duty devolves on me of tracing a succession of living witnesses for Christ, in character and history corresponding with the above descriptive sketch by the Apocalyptic Angel, throughout the dark fated period of the 1260 years. The Witnesses, we have seen, were

[1] Apoc. xii. 15, 17; xiii. 5, 7.

to comprehend both *preachers* of gospel-truth, and *congregations* or *churches* ministered to by them; like to the two olive-trees and two candlesticks of the symbolization in vision:—their witnessing to be for *Christ*, contradistinctively to, and against, the antichristian errors and superstitions of the apostasy, successively developed; as also for the *rule of God's word*, against the traditions and precepts of men:—their *condition*, finally, to be that of *mourning*, if not *persecution*, as of those that had to prophesy in *sackcloth*.—As to the *commencement* of the 1260 years of their thus prophesying,—it was apparently, as before said, to be the same with that of the *rise* of the *Beast from the sea*, described in Apoc. xiii.; in other words, as will afterwards appear, of that of the Papal Antichrist, and decem-regal Papal empire in Western Europe.[1] Which being so, we can hardly, I think, fix the commencing epoch earlier than the first quarter, or much later than the end, of the 6th century. For it was not till about the former date that the Popes assumed the direct character of Christ's plenipotentiary Vicar on earth, or Antichrist; nor till the latter that the Lombards in Italy, and the Saxon Heptarchy, just previously formed in Britain, in recognition of that his office, as if of heavenly appointment, placed themselves in subjection to the Papal ecclesiastical government.[2]—About which time too that other characteristic of the 42 months, or 1260 days, noted in this xith chapter of the Apocalypse,—I mean that of *Gentiles of the outer court treading down the Holy City*, in other words of heathenized and idolatrous pseudo-Christians occupying and bearing rule in Christendom,—had begun also very palpably to have *its* fulfilment. Already in former parts of my work I have traced the earlier progress of the apostasy.[3] In the 6th century this had become dominant. "The use and even worship of images," says Gibbon, "was firmly established before the end of the 6th century:" and again; "The Christians of the 7th century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of Paganism: the throne of the Almighty was darkened

[1] See my Part iv. Chap. iv. infrà. [2] See ibid.
[3] See especially my Part ii. Chap. i. and Chap. iii. at pp. 330, 404, &c. in my first Volume.

by a cloud of martyrs, saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration."[1] And so too Mosheim: "At this time, (i. e. in the 7th century,) true religion, weighed down by a heap of insane superstitions, was unable to raise its head. The earlier Christians were wont to worship God and his Son only. But in this age they who were called Christians worshipped the wooden cross, the images of saints, and bones of men, they knew not whom."[2]—At Rome the *Pantheon*, previously a Temple to all the *Pagan Gods*, was in the year 607, on Phocas' grant of it to the Pope, consecrated to the *Virgin Mary and all the Martyrs*.[3] It was a sign of the times, very characteristic, of this substitution of a new form of heathen worship, albeit under the Christian name, for the old.—Let me add that, while the Justinian Code reigned in the East, the earlier Theodosian Code (on which in fact that of Justinian was very much founded) came more and more to be received in the Western barbaric kingdoms,[4] especially on matters of ecclesiastical jurisprudence: by the laws of which Code ecclesiastical questions were referable to the Bishops' Courts; the Pope's universal supremacy, at least in the West, recognised;[5] and *heresy*, or deviation from the established doctrine and worship, made punishable with the severest penalties.[6]

Setting out from this epoch in quest of witnesses for Christ, the then marked distinction between the Eastern and Western divisions of Roman Christendom renders it necessary to observe that same distinction in our inquiries; and to look for such as might answer to the character of witnesses, in the Eastern and Western empires separately.

[1] ix. 116, 261; especially, he says, in the East.

[2] vii. 2. 3. 1.—The veneration of *saints*, and their *relics*, was in the 6th and 7th centuries chiefly characteristic of the corrupted worship in *Western* Christendom; that of *images*, of the worship in *Eastern* Christendom. See Dupin's sketch of the rise and establishment of image-worship, appended to his Notice of the 2nd Council of Nice.

[3] Burton's Rome, i. 166. On receiving the grant, says Dr. Burton, "the Pope Boniface IV removed to the Pantheon the remains of saints and martyrs from different cemeteries enough to fill 28 waggons, whence it received the additional title of *Ad Martyres:*"—additional, that is, to the title of the *Church of the Holy Virgin*. In 830 it was formally dedicated by Gregory IV to *All the Saints*.

[4] See Guizot's Civilization of France, Lect. xi.

[5] See the citations from the Theodosian Code in my Part iv. ch. v. § 1, and ch. vi.

[6] See Petrus Siculus' allusion to this law, in his account of Sergius' perversion, (or conversion,) given in my next Section.

In the *East*, even at the commencement of the period on which we have to enter, the grosser visible superstitions of the apostasy were already fully developed, and authoritatively enforced. There therefore we might expect to find, and I believe shall find, the witnessing against such gross and open superstition more early made than elsewhere; upon a scale larger than of mere individuals, and in public protest. Meantime broken notices occur from time to time in the *Western* ecclesiastical history, that bear upon our present inquiry; notices not to be overlooked, although so imperfect and broken. In the 6th 7th and 8th centuries, while the Popes, the destined grand adversaries of Christ's witnesses in later time, were gradually advancing to the ecclesiastical subjection of the whole West *de facto*, as it had been already subjected to them by the Theodosian Code *de jure*, and, wherever their authority prevailed, were using it to the inculcation of the same gross and open superstitions as in the East,[1]—these notices furnish probable evidence that the evangelic *Augustinian* doctrine, with its less direct protest against error and superstition, was ever kept up in Western Christendom; and the *Vigilantian*, with its more direct protest, not as yet altogether forgotten. Afterwards, as the 8th century closed in, the testimony became most clear and decisive.

In my historic elucidation of the subject,—an elucidation forced on me both by its own great importance, by the difficulties of evidence attending it, and by the strongly exprest and elaborated opinions of certain authors of repute,[2] adversely to that view which I regard as true,—I purpose considering first the *earlier Western* Witnesses, the *West* being our chief and more permanent scene of interest; then the *Eastern*; then *the two lines* at a later period, *after their primary commingling in Western Christendom*, down to the xiith Century; then the *Waldenses* of the xiith Century,

[1] This will be illustrated as we proceed.

[2] More especially of Bossuet among earlier controversialists, and Dr. S. R. Maitland and Mr. Dowling of the moderns;—Dr. Maitland in his Book on the Waldenses and Albigenses, Mr. Dowling in his on the Paulikians followed by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, in his controversial Papers on this subject against my Horæ. Also Prof. Gieseler, on the Paulikians, in an Essay in the Berlin Stud. und Krit.

I shall of course profit by the labours of my predecessors in the same field,—Bishop Newton, Faber, Gilly, &c.

all in separate successive Sections:—a yet additional Section being appended in either case, in order to the vindication of their Christian character, and of their right to the title we give them of Christ's Witnesses.

And *first*, and in the *present* Section, our subject is the broken *earlier* notices that are discernible in history of a WESTERN WITNESSING *for Christ's truth*, from about the end of the 6th to the opening of the 11th century.

Before entering here however on our more proper chronological field of inquiry, let us look back for a moment to the two remarkable individuals, just alluded to, providentially raised up by God, as we saw long since, just before the disruption of the old Roman Empire under the Gothic tempest-blasts, and who were destined to exercise, one at least, if not both, a most powerful influence on the subsequent witnessing for Christ in Western Christendom;—I mean AUGUSTINE and VIGILANTIUS.—The *former*, eminent as a Christian teacher in every point of view, was eminent most of all for his strenuous, holy, and for a time successful advocacy of the grand gospel-principle, that it is to *God's free grace in Christ Jesus*, preventing, forgiving, converting, sustaining, that man is indebted, *from first to last, simply and alone*, for salvation; and this only in the way of *a living personal union of each individual soul with Christ*, by faith, as the one common principle of his Church of *the election of grace*:—a doctrine this which, in God's wise ordering, his own previous history and experience (like that of Luther afterwards) singularly qualified him to appreciate;[1] and which was essentially opposed to the whole system of *will-worship, penance*, and *works of merit*, whether of *congruity* or *condignity*,[2] set forth in a spirit more and

[1] See my Part i. Chap. vii. § 4, or Milner's account of Augustine. The subject well suited Milner's pious mind; and he has done it justice.

[2] "The Pelagians," says Milner, speaking of Vitalis, and the semi-Pelagians of the fifth century, "having lost their first ground, . . maintained that grace was given *according to that merit of men* which they showed in attending to the word and prayer." Cent. v. ch. 3, ad fin.

Compare with this the doctrine of *merit of congruity* before justification in baptism, as well as of *condignity* afterwards, asserted in the discussions of the *Council of Trent* on Justification. "Sic quidem præfantur," says Calvin, of its celebrated Canon on Justification, "ut initio nihil spirent nisi Christum. Sed quum ad rem ventum est, multum

more Pelagian, albeit under ecclesiastical forms, and with a professed condemnation of Pelagianism, by the great Apostasy.[1]—The *latter* was eminent, as I have also in a former chapter observed,[2] in the character of an uncompromising protester, far-sighted quite beyond his age, against the then already commencing abuses and errors of relic and saint-worship, monasticism, celibacy, pilgrimages, and other such superstitious doctrines and practices.—After the failure of God's tremendous Gothic scourge to induce repentance and reformation in Roman Christendom, and its subsequent fuller adoption, ever more and more, of all the above-mentioned anti-christian errors and superstitions, it needed that the protesting voice of both these men of God should soon be combined in the Witnesses for Jesus. For Augustine's weak point had been,—in part from a want of discernment as to the deadly tendency of some of the instealing superstitions, in part from love of peace, and deference to what was called the Church,—though protesting indeed, yet not to protest with sufficient discernment or decision against them.[3] And, when they were authoritatively enjoined and enforced in the system, it was then needed on the part of *the Lord's Witnesses*, that they should not merely meditate and feed on gospel-truth like Augustine's *in private*, so as did multitudes doubtless in their convents or their families, who were Christ's secret ones,[4]

abest quin illi relinquant quod suum est. Imo nihil tandem aliud continet eorum definitio quàm tritum illud scholarum dogma, *partim gratiâ Dei, partim operibus suis*, justificari homines; ut aliquanto se magis verecundos ostendant quàm fuerit *Pelagius*." Calvin Antidot. p. 259. Cited by Cramp, p. 104. See too his notice on the same subject, p. 73.

[1] "La doctrine Pelagienne, repoussée de l'Eglise par Augustin, quand elle s'était avancée en face, se representa bientôt de côté, comme *semi-Pelagianisme*. . . Il fit attacher un grand prix à des œuvres extérieures, à des observances légales, à des actes de pénitence," &c. Merle d'Aubigné, Book i. c. 2.—It is always a gratification to me to refer to this admirable work: and here the rather because that my own view of the *Pelagian* spirit of the apostasy, as one of its most important features, was drawn up quite independently.

[2] See my Vol. i. p. 345.

[3] See my Vol. i. pp. 342, 343, with the Notes.

[4] See on Apoc. xii. 14.—It is remarked by Gieseler i. 216; "The influence of Augustine's writings on his own and after ages is incalculable." And so too Milner, v. 3, p. 322, observing; "The effects of this effusion of the Spirit were . . operative . . many centuries afterwards, in the production of much real godliness in the minds of many individuals, particularly of monastic persons; to whom for ages Augustine's writings were, . . next to the word of God, the greatest means of grace." So too in the passage quoted Vol. i. p. 318, Note [2].—Milner's observation is applicable alike to *Christ's witnesses*, and *Christ's secret ones* of the *Church in the wilderness*, figured in Apoc. xii.

—nor merely *protest for the truth*, so as did Augustine himself,—but that they should also protest *against* contrary prevailing *superstitions and errors*, even unto suffering, if need might be, and death:—in short, that they should unite in a measure, as was before said, the spirit and the doctrine of *Augustine* and *Vigilantius*.[1]

Let me add that the *localities* of *Southern France* and *North Italy*, (which, as being the central ground of Western Christendom, and in the middle age especially notable in the history of Christian witnessing, I wish to keep prominently in view in the present Section,) were even in those early times notable for association with these the true principles and doctrines of Christ's Witnesses. From Jerome's invective against him it appears that *Vigilantius*' chief sphere of protestation against the prevalent superstitions, and where both priests and bishops of the district joined him,[2] was that of the Gallic churches of *Languedoc*:[3] and it seems very possible that his influence and doctrine may have extended eastward even to *Dauphiny* and the *Cottian Alps*, and beyond;[4]—the Cottian Alps so famous afterwards as the seat of the Waldenses.—Further, we know that *Augustinian* principles took early and deep root in the south of Gaul: and that Augustinian bishops, councils, and monasteries united to keep up there the remembrance of Augustine's

[1] Vigilantius is still in the Romish list of heretics.—Mosh. v. 2. 3. 14.

[2] "Proh nefas! Episcopos sui sceleris dicitur habere consortes: si tamen episcopi nominandi sunt, qui non ordinant diaconos nisi prius uxores duxerint." Given in Gilly's Vigilantius, p. 391.

[3] "Incurset Galliarum ecclesias, portetque nequaquam vexillum crucis, sed insigne Diaboli." Ib. 394. Dr. Gilly (384) infers the diocese in which Vigilantius was living when he began his protestations to have been that of Toulouse.

As the range of his preaching may have reached as far south as the town of his birth, near the Pyrenees, called *Lugdunum Convenarum*, (afterwards *Convenæ*, now *Cominges*,) Mr. Faber suggests that *Vigilantius* may from this *Lugdunum* have been called a *Leonist*, and so traditionally *Leo*; the name assigned to an early founder of their sect by certain later Waldenses. (Vall. and Albig. p. 279.) But this surely is quite fanciful. Can Mr. F. adduce any evidence of Vigilantius ever having borne an appellation derived from this town of Convenæ? Any of an inhabitant of Convenæ being called *Leonista*? Any of *Leonista* being turned into *Leo*?

[4] "Inter Hadriæ fluctus, Cottiique regis Alpes, in nos declamando clamavit."—This was said of Vigilantius' speaking against Jerome's Origenism, and other errors, as the former viewed them, on his return from Jerome at Jerusalem; and before his more systematic protest against the superstitions of the day. (Gilly, 379, 385.) Still some seeds of protest against the generally prevailing errors may then and there have been not improbably sown by him: and in a few years later his more decided protest against superstition may have probably been spread from the Pyrenees into Dauphiny, up to the western side of the Cottian Alps.

doctrine. In illustration of which last-mentioned fact, I may observe that when certain preachers in 431 had begun to teach anti-Augustinian doctrines in those parts, the Bishops *Prosper* and *Hilary* procured from Pope Celestin a Letter monitory on the subject, and in authoritative enforcement of the views of Augustine.[1]

And so we enter on the 6th century: and, as it opens, find *Cæsarius* illustrating his Bishopric of *Arles* in *Dauphiny* by strenuous and successful opposition to Faustus' insidious semi-Pelagianism;[2] himself writing a book, and stirring Rome against it.[3] Yet again in the Council of *Orange* in the same province, held A.D. 529 under his presidency, we find him uniting with twelve other neighbouring bishops, still probably of *Dauphiny* and *Provence*, in laying down as the one object of the Council, most strongly, clearly, yet guardedly, and all on the ground of inspired Scripture,[4] Augustine's evangelic doctrines above stated, including that of personal spiritual union with Christ, as, like the vine to the branches, the soul's one source of life;[5] and urging them on both priests and laics, as the *healing* doctrine for

[1] Fleury xxvi. 11. [2] Faustus' book is given in the B. P. M. Vol. viii. p. 525.

[3] Pope Hormisdas' condemnation of Faustus, thus procured, is given in Harduin ii. 1038. Compare my remarks on the Pope's approbation of Augustine's doctrine, given Vol. i. pp. 315, 316.

[4] For in the above-mentioned Council of Orange, the condemnatory judgment past in the canons on the various Pelagian errors is uniformly grounded on *Scripture;*—Scripture cited at large in each case, as the true rule of faith. "Si quis, ... adversatur Scripturæ dicenti," or, "contradicit apostolo," &c.:—all agreeably, indeed, it was added, to the fathers; but without any citation from *them*. Hard. ii. 1097—1102.

In the Council of *Vaison*, held the same year, A.D. 529, under Cæsarius' presidency, it was laid down that, in the education of young men by country priests for the pastoral office, they should be taught "to learn the Psalms, read the Scriptures, and acquaint themselves with the word of God." ib. 1105.—It is further related of Cæsarius that he urged the people not to be content with hearing the Scriptures in the church, but to read them also at home. Milner vi. 2.—Of his Homilies I have said something in a preceding Chapter. Those extant, and which are practical, but rather ascetic in character, seem to me to bear frequent marks of interpolation and altering. So Dupin v. 151: "Il y en peut avoir quelques unes qui ne sont pas de lui; et il y en a certainement où l'on a ajouté des endroits."—Guizot, in his Civilization de France, Lect. 16, gives interesting specimens of some of these homiletic addresses of Cæsarius.

[5] The twenty-five Canons of the Council are *all* on this subject of grace. Let me give that about Christ the vine, as a specimen. "Ita sunt in vite palmites ut viti nihil conferant, sed inde accipiant unde vivant: sic quippe vitis est in palmitibus, ut vitale alimentum subministret eis, non sumat ab eis. Ac per hoc et manentem in se habere Christum, et manere in Christo, discipulis prodest utrumque, non Christo. Nam, præciso palmite, potest de vivâ radice alius pullulare. Qui autem præcisus est, sine radice non potest vivere." Hard. ii. 1100.

Compare Ado's statement respecting Augustine's views, or rather perhaps that of

man's soul.[1]—His life corresponded with the Christian excellence, so exprest, of his doctrine. It was given to the unwearied self-denying fulfilment of his pastoral duties. But he was not exempt from trial and persecution. He was once calumniated to King Alaric, and by him expelled a while from his bishoprick; once charged by the populace of Arles, during its siege by the Burgundians, as a traitor, and cast into prison; once sent under guard, on some criminal charge, to King Theodoric at Ravenna; though soon in every case his innocence was acknowledged.[2] He spoke of the world, like Augustine, as a wilderness; and, in his passage through it, looked ever to be refreshed from, as he thirsted after, the fountain of the water of life:[3]

Nor let me omit to note the similar witness held forth contemporarily by *Fulgentius*, and many other African bishops and ministers, on occasion of the ferocious Arian persecutions of the Vandal Hunneric. For it was not merely for the divinity of the Lord Jesus that they witnessed and suffered, but for the Augustinian doctrines of grace. On that grand point of divine truth, *the entireness of the work of divine grace in man's salvation*, they wrote a synodic letter from their exile in Sardinia, to some of their brethren on the African continent, in part with joy, in part sorrow: joy because those they wrote to held fast the true view of God's grace in Christ; sorrow because others, as they heard, exalted against it the freedom and power of man's own will. And, guarding against the *ecclesiastical* semi-Pelagianism which was instealing, as well as against direct Pelagianism, they urge that as Esau was *circumcised*, yet perished, because he loved darkness rather than light, so would every such *baptized* person perish *within* the Church,

Avitus, the contemporary bishop of Vienne, of whom he had been speaking; "Ita liberum arbitrium Augustinus docet, ut illuminatio, virtus, et salus illi *à Christo*, et *per Christum*, et *cum Christo* sit." Chronicon, ad ann. 492. B. P. M. xvi. 798.

[1] "Non solùm religiosis, sed etiam laicis, *medicamentum* esse et desideramus et cupimus."—In attestation of the *laic's* interest in the doctrine, Cæsarius had the subscriptions of *noblemen* (viri illustres), as well as of bishops, appended to the Canons. A proceeding as rare, as it was significant of the bishop's earnestness who directed it. See Hard. ib. 1102.

[2] A.D. 506, 507, 513. See Guizot ibid. Fleury, Bk. xxxi. 2, 6, 17. Arles at that time was in the Visigothic kingdom. The Franks aided the Burgundians in its siege. To its young King Amalaric (successor to Alaric) Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, was grandfather and guardian.

[3] "Si quid habet homo veritatis atque justitiæ, ab illo fonte est quem debemus sitire in hâc eremo." This is the 22nd canon of the Orange Council.

just as others *without* it: the highest ecclesiastic being no more included on that account in God's vessels of mercy, than the lowest of the seculars. They conclude with urging the study of Augustine, and asserting his doctrine that God gives to his elect both grace and perseverance: so that it might be all in the way of grace for grace that they should receive the gift of eternal life.[1]—And others later in the century, on whom I need not here dwell, maintained the same doctrine.[2]

But let me not omit to observe that these men applied not the doctrines of gospel-grace, either to themselves or others, with the clearness or consistency that we might. Alike Fulgentius and Cæsarius erred on the side of asceticism. They saw not whither it was leading. Nor, again, had they a perception of the part Rome was about to take in the apostasy. Thus, though in either case their doctrines constituted a notable public testimony for the essential doctrines of Christ, yet it was as that of *Jansenist* confessors,[3] if I may anticipatively use the phrase, rather than of *Protestant*.

I now pass to that period at which our inquiries were most properly to begin,—*the opening of the seventh century*:—then when Paganized Christians, as before said, trod in authority the mystic temple; and when the lights of the sacred candlestick, gradually reduced from their sevenfold completeness,[4] had dwindled into the smallest number that God's purposes, and the perpetuation of his gospel-truth, might permit.—And here, at the outset, just when *Gregory the Great*, Bishop of Rome, had become eminent,—that most effective preparer for the Pope's assumption of headship of the apostasy,—we find SERENUS, Bishop of Marseilles, in a district adjoining that which had

[1] See this very interesting Letter in Hardouin, Concil. ii. 1055. The date about A.D. 521. See too Milner's account of Fulgentius; Cent. vi. 1.

[2] E. g. *Primasius*.

[3] Cæsarius and his favourite monastery of Arles, the latter ruled over by his sister Cæsaria as Abbess, sympathized in spirit, if I mistake not, with that of the Port Royal des Champs, its Arnaud, and its Abbess the Mere Angelique; though across eleven centuries intervening. See Fleury ibid.

[4] Mr. Scott observes, on Exod. xxv. 32, that the seven candlesticks might any one be taken off or fixed on the chandelier of the Temple. The observation illustrates also Apoc. ii. 5; "I will move thy candlestick out of its place."

been visited and taught long before by Vigilantius, witnessing, in somewhat of the same spirit as that great reformer, against a sin and error, which, by designating the then pseudo-Christians as *heathens*, the Apocalyptic prophecy seems to hold up for our particular notice, as throughout the 1260 years one very prominent characteristic of the consummated apostasy;—I mean the sin of *image-worship*. Against this Serenus protested, not in word alone, but deed. He ordered the *destruction* of the images of saints, that had now commonly been set up as objects of worship in the churches of his diocese. The popular opposition, and appeal to Rome made against him, shows the strength of the idolatrous feeling then and there prevalent. And alike this, and Pope Gregory's reasonings and remonstrances, must needs have made his course onerous and painful. Still Serenus persisted in his purpose, like one that would destroy Baal out of the land; and this, as I infer from the subsequent Church history of Southern France, with effect that did not soon pass away.

And thus the error of *image-worship* begins now to force itself on the attention of an inquirer, whether his subject be the advance of the antichristian Apostasy, or the acting out of a witnessing for Christ in the midst of it; and will necessarily continue to do so, as he progresses through the ecclesiastical history of Roman Christendom, Eastern and Western, up to the epoch of the two great Councils of Nice and Frankfort, summoned to treat of it towards the close of the 8th century.—Wherefore, it may here be thought, this earnest suggestion and promotion of image-worship by him, the Spirit of evil, who was from the first the real though unseen author and promoter of the Apostasy? And why was not the worship of visible *relics*, as well as of invisible *saints*, long since established among the people, acquiesced in by him as sufficient for his purpose? May it have been, with regard to the *people*, that images, by presenting distinct human forms, ever obvious to the eye of the worshipper, would serve better than relics to impress his mind with the idea of the local presence of the impersonated saint, prevent its wandering after him into thoughts of the heavenly and the spiritual, and induce an

association of him altogether with earthly feelings and attachments :—with regard to the *priesthood*, that images offered greater facilities for playing off jugglcries on credulous devotees, such as were played off by Pagan priests before :[1] —while, at the same time, being applicable to Christ Himself, as well as to departed saints, it thus presented ready occasion, through pictures of the Virgin Mother and Child, of inducing meaner thoughts of the divine Saviour, and impressing views of Him as but subsidiary to her, his Mother, in the Hierarchy of Heaven ?—However this might be, it was in *Eastern* Christendom that during the 7th century this form of idolatry became first, on the scale of the whole nation, a popular passion : and there consequently, as already hinted, and will soon appear,[2] a witnessing for Christ was first raised up on a great scale against it.—But meanwhile in the *West* too, though its Bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries answered not to Eastern zeal for image-worship, yet the Popes of Rome, at their head, gave it from first to last their warm sympathy. As Gregory I, we saw, remonstrated against Serenus' removal of images from his churches, (though declaring indeed against their *worship*,) and both image and saint-worship were otherwise promoted by him,[3] and it was doubtless with his special approbation that Augustine, his chosen missionary to Britain, introduced his mission there with an imaged crucifix,[4]—so, a century and more later, Popes Gregory II and III anathematized and raised Italy in rebellion against the Greek Emperor Leo,[5] on occasion and account of his interdicting image-worship : and, finally, Pope Adrian took prominent part with the Greek Empress, his contemporary, in convening and influencing the great Council of Nice, A.D. 787, to establish it. Which being the case, some witnessing in

[1] See p. 15 suprà. [2] See my next Section.

[3] "Quôd imaginem illius quem colis tibi dirigendam rogasti, valdè nobis placuit : . . ideoque direximus tibi imaginem Dei Salvatoris, et S. Mariæ Dei genitricis, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et unam crucem." So Gregory, speaking from a Council at Rome, A.D. 600. Wadd. E. H. ii. 402, from Semler. See too the extract from his Sacramentary in my Vol. i. p. 406, Note [1].

[4] "They came bearing a silver cross for a banner, and the *image* of our Lord and Saviour painted on a board." Bede, i. ch. 25.

[5] See Mosheim viii. 2. 3. 11.—It appears (see Fleury xlii. 16) that Gregory III, after a while, summoned a Roman Council, A.D. 732 ; thereby to add the authority of a Council to that of the Pope personally, in favour of image-worship, and against the iconoclastic emperor Leo.

the West, as the thing advanced, might be expected against it. Nor, though doubtless scanty, (a scantiness in part accounted for by the literary obscurity of the period,[1]) is evidence of this totally wanting. As *Serenus* in Southern France, so the old *Anglo-Saxon Church* soon after protested with prolonged though ineffective voice against it in Britain.[2] And, after an interval, long indeed, but narrowed by the consideration that Serenus' example and opinions must almost necessarily, in the nature of things, have had disciples and converts to perpetuate it,[3]—there seems to have been an acting on the mind of *Western* Christendom, propagated from the mind of Witnesses for the truth in *Eastern* Christendom. Passing an obscure notice of certain heretics driven from parts beyond the seas, whom in 650 the Bishops in the neighbourhood of Orleans found hard to convict of heresy, yet at length convicted, we are not told why, and expelled,[4]—a case of which subsequent not

[1] Thus Masson, speaking of the earlier part of the 8th century, and the loss of the writings of eminent men of that æra, B. P. M. xiv. 237, designates it as "obscura temporum nebulis." ib.

In regard of the localities which here claim special regard of *Provence*, *Dauphiny*, and *Piedmont*, this may be partially accounted for by the unsettledness of their political state. Through the 7th century *Viennese Gaul* appears to have been under the doubtful government, or misgovernment—of the Dukes of Burgundy and Aquitaine, and the Frank Mayors of the Palace. Besides which, through the first half of the 8th century, it was wasted under repeated invasions of the Saracens: who about the year 740 besieged and took Aix and other cities in Provence; (see my Vol. i. p. 460;) nor were finally driven out for some ten or fifteen years afterwards.

[2] "An old Welsh Chronicle preserved at Cambridge says; 'After that, by means of Austin, the Saxons became Christians in such sort as Austin had taught them, the Britons would not either eat or drink with or salute them; because they corrupted with *superstition*, *images*, and *idolatry*, the true religion of Christ.'" Cited in Hearn's Man of Sin, p. 21. "The British Churches lamented and execrated the 2nd Council of Nice." So Bishop Newton, from Hoveden and other chroniclers of the times.

[3] For example, it is said that the influence of the ministrations of *Baxter* were perceptible *locally* in Kidderminster 100 years after his death.—So too in the case of *Mr. Venn* at Huddersfield. See the Introduction to his lately published Memoir.—How much longer and more evident the perpetuation of ministerial influence, when consideration is taken of it unrestrictedly as to locality, and as extended by writings as well as ministrations! Nourished with the oil received from it, the candlestick would continue to shine for no little time after any particular olive-branch ceased its dropping.

[4] "Per idem ferè tempus (A.D. 650) quidam hæreticus, pulsus à partibus transmarinis, in Gallias venit; moxque se conferens ad civitatem quæ olim Hedua nunc autem Augustodunum vocatur, cœpit tàm cautè quàm fraudulenter sua nefanda dogmata prodere. Quod cùm in palatio ad aures Eligii Noviomensis Episcopi pervenisset, cœpit vigilanter cùm Audoeno et cæteris catholicis viris tractare quemadmodum hanc pestem palam omnibus manifestatam detegerent; nec destitit Episcopos commonere et optimates, quousque jussu Principis sacerdotale concilium apud urbem Aurelianensem congregaretur. Ubi, eo quem diximus hæretico in medium deducto, conabantur eum docti quique diversis modis interpellare; sed nullo poterant genere concludere: tantá

dissimilar records make us wish to know more,[1] let me note another Council, gathered somewhat above a century later at Chantilly, near Paris, expressly to discuss the question of image-worship: it being caused, according to Romanist Conciliasts, by the fact of an embassy from the then reigning Greek *iconoclast* Emperor having there, and then, sown the seeds of the iconoclastic impiety, in direct opposition to the Popes.[2] And this was but preparatory to the great

quippe dicendi arte objectis quæstionibus occurrebat, ut ubi maximè putaretur constrictus teneri, ibi, ceu anguis lubricus quibusdam foraminibus dilapsus, eorum se fronti opponeret. Cùmque nullo modo à quoquam posset concludi aut superari, extitit quidam à nostris piâ Dei providentiâ doctissimus Episcopus, nomine Salvius, qui ita ei in omnibus obviavit, ut ingens eâ caussâ nostris fieret gaudium et spectaculum: omnes enim ejus versutias et artes, quas ille nunc occulere, nunc etiam dissimulare conabatur, frequenti disputatione pala mfunditus detexit: sicque adversus eum omnium Episcoporum sententia prolata, et per singulas civitates super ejus nomine decretis constitutis, cùm eâ quæ par erat ignominiâ, et dedecore, à finibus Galliæ eliminatus est." D'Achery, ii. 88.—"Hæc Audoenus," says Baronius; "sed quinam hæreticus iste, vel cujus hæresis fuerit, ignoratur."

Baronius' account is taken from the Life of St. Eligius by Audoenus (the St. Ouen of Rouen) as given in D'Achery, only with a few slight verbal alterations. Except for the "pulsus à partibus transmarinis," I might have been inclined to conclude that there was meant a teacher of the monothelitic heresy of the *Ekthesis* of the Greek emperor on Christ's oneness of will; (on which see Gieseler i. 369;) a heresy just a little before mentioned by the Biographer, in connexion with Pope Martin. But, if so, and in accord with the Greek emperor, wherefore his being driven from "the transmarine parts"?—It seems that there were also various other teachers of heresy about the same time near Paris, says Eligius' Biographer, endeavouring to propagate their tenets: whom St. Eligius detected, confuted, imprisoned, or expelled. "For he was a strenuous hater," it is added, "of all heretics and schismatics." And certainly among such he would have reckoned any like Vigilantius, that denounced the reigning superstition. For he is reported to have been a great relic-collector, miracle-believer, and saint-worshipper.

I must confess to a want of full sympathy with the eulogizers of this St. Giles. His model-sermon, or rather congeries of sermons, as set forth by his Biographer, appears to me essentially unevangelical. But on his death-bed Christ seems to have been all to him; alike saints, relics, and merit of works of charity or penance being then forgotten. See ib. chs. 34, 35.

[1] See the sketch of anti-heretical Councils in my Section 4 infrà.—A *Manichæan* doctrine is thus ascribed by Eligius' Biographer, ib. p. 88, to this Monothelitic heresy:—"Asserentes *neque illum* (Jesum Christum) *ex Mariâ veram assumpsisse carnem.*" An early example of what grew afterwards into a settled habit of similar false accusation, on the part of the so-called Catholics, against such as held opinions differing from those received, although having nothing whatever in common with the Manichæan heresy.—We shall see much more of this as we proceed.

[2] I borrow from Mr. Townshend's Preface to Foxe, p. 292—294. The following are parts of his citations from Bail and Ademar.

1. "Concilium Gentiliacense de cultu Sanctarum Imaginum, ac de Sanctissimâ Trinitate, celebratum in Galliâ anno 766, tempore Pauli Papæ.

Legatio illa, quam pro confederatione Pipini regis impetrandâ Constantinus Imperator miserat in Franciam, hæc impietatis zizania" (sc. opposition to image-worship) "seminaverat: pro quibus extirpandis hisce sarculis opus erat. Nemo quidem scriptorum illud expressè affirmat; sed tamen, quia Francorum Annales evidenter commemorant per nobilissimam legationem aliquanto tempore actum fuisse de fœdere ineundo, haud dubiè hæc impietatis semina ibidem sparsa fuerunt." Bail. Summa Concil. Tom. ii. pp. 290, 291. (Ed. 1701.)

Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794, under Charlemagne, and protest of 300 Bishops of Western Christendom, as well as its Emperor, in opposition to the Popes of Rome, against image-worship:[1] one followed up in 825 by a Council at Paris, convened also against image-worship; and which accompanied its decrees with an express rebuke of the Pope.[2]

These were certainly remarkable protests of Western Christendom against that particular heathenish form of anti-Christian superstition.[3] "By its conduct in this (*iconoclastic*) controversy the Gallican Church," says Gieseler,[4] and the German Church too, we may say, "proved at once its independence of Rome, and its theological superiority." —Nor was this all. For, though wanting in the point of protest against certain other superstitions prevailing, such

Bail here takes a thing for granted for which proof is altogether wanting; viz. that the Council was both summoned against, and pronounced against, the iconoclasm. What followed at Frankfort suggests quite a different presumption.

2. "Ortâ questione de Sancta Trinitate, et de Sanctorum Imaginibus, inter Orientalem et Occidentalem ecclesiam, Rex Pipinus, conventu in Gentiliaco villâ congregato, Synodum de ipsâ quæstione habuit; eoque peracto ad bellum prædictum conficiendum post Natalem Domini in Aquitaniam proficiscitur; et per Narbonem iter agens Tolosam aggressus cepit; Albiensem et Gavuldensem pagos in deditione accepit: et Viennam reversus," &c.—Adelmar, Annales Francorum, p. 387. (Ed. 1613.)

Mr. Townshend suggests that the *Gavuldenses*, here mentioned in conjunction with the *Albigenses*, may probably have been the people afterwards famous under the name *Waldenses;* and that possibly this first attack upon them may have been in consequence of their taking the anti-image and anti-papal side of the question. But this seems very fanciful. In my § 6, subsequently, the question of the origin of the name Waldenses will be fully entered on, and I trust satisfactorily answered.

On the progress of Eastern and Western Christendom to image-worship, and the influence of the Roman Popes ever helping it forward, the reader will do well to peruse the interesting historical sketch on the subject given in the Church of England Homily on the Peril of Idolatry, p. 217, &c.

[1] Canon 2. "Allata est in medium quæstio de novâ Græcorum synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopoli fecerunt: in quâ scriptum habebatur ut qui imaginibus sanctorum, ita ut Deificæ Trinitati, servitium aut adorationem non impenderent, anathema judicarentur. Qui suprà sanctissimi Patres nostri, omnimodis adorationem et servitutem renuentes, contempserunt atque consentientes condemnaverunt." Hard. iv. 904.

[2] Gieseler ii. 37.

[3] The continuance in some at least of the Gallic Churches of this feeling against the worship of images is witnessed to by Anastasius. Writing to Pope John VIII in the year 830 about the 2nd Nicene Council, he says: "Quæ super venerabilium imaginum adoratione præsens Synodus docet, hæc et apostolica sedes vestra.. antiquitus tenuit, et universalis ecclesia semper venerata est, et hactenus veneratur; quibusdam dumtaxat Gallorum exceptis, quibus utique nondum est harum utilitas revelata. Aiunt namque quod non sit quodlibet opus manuum hominum adorandum." The Annales Fuldenses, A.D. 900, and Annales Metenses, A.D. 904, speak thus contemptuously of the 2nd Nicene Council; "Pseudo-Synodus Græcorum pro adorandis imaginibus habita, et falso septima vocata, ab Episcopis (sc. Gallicis) damnatur." Gieseler ii. 38.

[4] Ib. ii. 35.

as that of reverence to *relics*,[1] yet by its reception of *Alcuin* into the Frankfort Council, and eulogium in its last canon on his erudition in ecclesiastical doctrine,[2] it adopted and identified itself generally with Alcuin's published opinions on religion. What these were appears both from various other of his writings, and also from the Capitularies of Charlemagne, and Carolin Books, (or Book of the doctrines and Church usages approved by the Gallican Bishops, and sanctioned by Charlemagne,) which were probably in great measure drawn up by Alcuin.[3] In the which there was set forth, says Bishop Newton, "doctrine respecting the sufficiency of the Scriptures, the worship of God alone, prayers in the vulgar tongue, the eucharist, justification and repentance, pretended visions and miracles, and various other points, such as a Papist would abhor, and a Protestant would subscribe:" adding too that in these Capitularies, and those of Louis the Pious, there was enjoined the reading of the canonical Scriptures, as the sole rule of faith, without any regard to human traditions or apocryphal writings, and the forbidding of private masses and other similar superstitions. With these sentiments, then, we may consider the Bishops of Western Christendom, including those from Dauphiny and Piedmont,[4] to have in a manner implied their concurrence at the great Council of Frankfort.[5]

[1] It is to be observed too that the Frankfort Council thought that the Greek Constantinopolitan *iconoclastic* Council of A.D. 754 had gone too far in assimilating the Pagan *idols* (ειδωλα) to the Christian *pictures* or *images* (εικονες); as the former were always objects of worship, the latter might be kept as memorials. See Dupin Bibl. Eccl. vol. vi. pp. 146—150. (Ed. 1681.)

[2] Canon 56. "Commonuit [Rex] ut *Alcuinum* ipsa sancta synodus in suo consortio.. recipere dignaretur, eo quòd esset vir in ecclesiasticis doctrinis eruditus. Omnis namque synodus.. consensit, et eum in eorum consortio.. receperunt." Hard. iv. 909.

[3] *Alcuin* was a native of England, and the preceptor and friend of Charlemagne. The following beautiful extract has been quoted from his works as a specimen of his doctrine. "The reading of the Holy Scriptures is the knowledge of everlasting happiness. In the Holy Scripture man may contemplate himself as in a mirror. The reading of the Holy Scripture cleanseth the reader's soul, bringeth into his mind the fear of hell-punishment, and raiseth his heart to the joy above. The man who wishes to be ever with God should often pray to him, and often read the Holy Scriptures. He is happy who readeth them, if he turn the words into works. All the Holy Scriptures are written for our health; that we may through them understand the truth."

[4] In the 8th Canon a dispute between the Bishops of *Vienne* and *Arles*, as to the suffragan sees, was determined. On others respecting the Bishopries of *Embrun*, *Aix*, and *Tarentasia*, a reference was ordered to Rome.

[5] It seems too that *auricular confession* was not as yet practised in the Churches of

No doubt there had been before the Frankfort Council, and still were, not a few imbued with the doctrine of the still cherished Doctor of the West, Augustine. Such, from Agobard's testimony, we may feel pretty well assured, was *Viventiolus*, Bishop of Lyons, in an earlier part of the 8th century.[1] Such a member of that Council, *Paulinus* of *Aquileia*. Respecting him we have the distinct record of his both acting and writing conformably:—he having in 787, previous to the said Council, not only protested, together with other Italian Bishops, against the idolatrous Decree of the Nicene Synod, but strongly and clearly also, in accordance with Augustine his great model, (if we may but depend on certain express statements by him,) set forth *Christ* as the only expiator of sin, *Christ* as the only intercessor and mediator,—in opposition to the growing superstitions, in favour of martyrs' atoning merits and saints' intercession. He protests, as reported in Milner, that the blood of those who have themselves been redeemed cannot blot out the least sin; that the expiation of iniquity is the exclusive privilege of the blood of Christ alone. Again, "Paul," says he, "is not a mediator: he is an ambassador for Christ. An advocate is He, who being also the Redeemer, exhibits to God the Father the human nature, in the unity of the person of God and man. John intercedes not; but declares that this mediator is the propitiation for our sins."[2] Can he who so wrote have rested on saints' merits,[3] or saints' intercession; so as a detached extract,

Languedoc and the Alps. Alcuin notices the fact with regret. (Waddington ii. 183.) He did not enter into the true and evil character of this practice.

[1] Of his doctrine and character Agobard speaks as testified to for excellence and sanctity both by the writings of others and his own: all which, however, says Masson, in the B. P. M. xiv. 237, have perished, or remain unknown.

[2] Milner, viii. 5. His citations are in part from Allix, in part from Alban Butler. I regret not to have access myself to Paulinus' works, in order to verification.—I give another extract: "The Son of God, our Almighty Lord, because He redeemed us with the price of His blood, is justly called the true Redeemer... He himself was not redeemed. He had never been captive. We have been redeemed because we were captives, sold under sin, bound by the hand-writing that was against us; which He took away, nailing it to his cross, blotting it out by his blood, triumphing over it openly in himself; having finished a work which the blood of no other redeemer could do."—He speaks moreover of the *eucharist* as spiritual life or death to the eater, according as he has or has not *faith;* and he builds his faith alone on the Holy Scriptures.—So agreeable was his doctrine to *Augustine's*, that he was in the dark ages confounded with him. Ibid.

[3] So again in a passage cited by the Magdeburg Centuriators, Cent. viii. ch. x. p. 759. "Cum naturam nostram quam in se assumptam in dexterâ Patris collocatam

that has been elsewhere cited as his, would make him?[1] No doubt an obscurity of view, and a measure of superstitious feeling, seems on this point to have attached even to Charlemagne, and many of his Bishops at Frankfort.[2] And in so far their witnessing for Christian truth was imperfect, and a clearer witness needed. But such direct personal inconsistency as the Magdeburg inculpatory citation from Paulinus would argue, making him look with reliance to departed apostles' and other departed saints' intercession and mediation, instead of Christ's, whereas in our other citations he says they are not to be so looked to, seems scarcely credible.[3]—It appears too that he admitted no other authority than that of holy Scripture.[4]—Nor is a yet more decided witnessing for Christian truth now wanting to us. We shall find it, I doubt not, in the testimonies next occurring of *Agobard*, Archbishop of Lyons, from A.D. 810 to 841, on the one side of the Alps; and of *Claude of Turin*, contemporarily, on the other.

Of the *former*, AGOBARD, the protestation against *image-worship*, drawn out most fully and clearly in an express Treatise on the subject, has been often noticed.[5] But this was but a small part of his Protestant doctrine. Says Gieseler; "He was a determined enemy to all superstition."[6] More particularly on *the invocation of Saints*, the

ostendendo Patri incessabiliter manifestat, propitium eum nobis advocatus noster quasi interpellando efficit atque benignum."

[1] The Magdeburg Centuriators note it as a "nævus" in him, that, "sanctorum intercessionum immiscendo orationi, Christi mediatoris officium labefactat." The only passage that they adduce is the following: "Christus conservet Carolum regem, per intercessiones B. Mariæ, et B. Petri primi pastoris ecclesiæ, omniumque sanctorum."

[2] See Gieseler ii. 57. He cites from the Karlomanni Capit. i. ann. 742, c. 2; The army was to be accompanied by priests, "qui propter divinum ministerium, missarum scilicet solemnia adimplenda, et sanctorum patrocinia portanda, ad hoc electi sunt." This however was of an earlier date than Charlemagne. He refers, with regard to *him*, to his Capit. viii. ann. 803, but does not cite it. And he adds that even Alcuin failed on this point: saying in his Homily on St. Willebrord's Festal; "Te continuis, O Pater, prosequimur laudibus; tu nobis assiduis auxiliare precibus. Credimus te in præsentiâ Domini Dei tui omnia posse impetrare quæ poscis; dum tanta potuisti in præsentiâ nostrâ per ejus gratiam efficere miracula."

[3] Except indeed on the hypothesis of the one having been written earlier in life, the other later.

[4] See Magdeb. Cent. ib. col. 758.

[5] After quoting the charge in Deut. iv. 15 against idolatry, "Lest ye see the sun and moon, and adore them," &c., he adds; "In quibus verbis *summopere* notandum est quia, si opera manuum Dei non sunt adoranda et colenda, nec in honore Dei, quanto magis opera manuum hominum non sunt adoranda et colenda, nec in honore eorum quorum similitudines esse dicuntur." B. P. Max. xiv. 286.—Quoted by Leger i. 135, and by Gilly in his Life of Neff, p. 100. (4th Ed.)

[6] Gieseler, ii. 40, cites various passages from Agobard, in illustration. "Ambi-

nature of his views appears in the heading of the 3rd chapter of the same Treatise, "There is no other mediator to be sought for but He that is the God-man;"[1] and which has been branded as heretical in the Roman Index Expurgatorius.[2] His doctrine on this head was in fact Augustine's; whom he cites most copiously, here and elsewhere, as his great human authority.[3] Of another Treatise, "On the truth of the Christian faith," Masson's account is, (and I can myself speak, after perusal, to its justice,) "It has CHRIST for its subject."[4] In one passage in it he combats the idea of merit in human works with as much zeal and force, says Leger,[5] as Calvin himself: and on freewill uses language very like that of our xth Article.[6] In short, every-

tiosè honorare sanctorum memorias, ob captandam gloriam popularem, reprehensibile est." "Adoretur, colatur, veneretur à fidelibus Deus: illi soli sacrificetur. . . . Angeli, vel homines sancti, amentur, honorentur, caritate non servitute. . . Non ponamus spem nostram in homine sed in Deo; ne forte redundet in nos illud propheticum, 'Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine.' Agit hoc versutus. . humani generis inimicus, ut, sub prætextu honoris Sanctorum, rursus idola introducat, . . ut avertat nos ab spiritalibus, ad carnalia vero demergat." "Flectamus genu in nomine solius Jesu, quod est super omne nomen: ne, si alteri hunc honorem tribuimus, alieni judicemur à Deo."—Giesceler observes, in conclusion, on the remarkable and even verbal agreement between Agobard of Lyons and Claude of Turin.

[1] "Quòd inter Deum et homines nullus sit alius Mediator quærendus, nisi ille qui Deus et homo est." B. P. M. ib. 286.

[2] Bp. Newton, in his Chapter on the Witnesses, after quoting the above Title of Agobard's Chapter on Christ's being the only Mediator, adds, "So that it is no wonder that this Book is condemned in the Index Expurgatorius of Rome."

I must not omit to observe that there is in the B. P. M. xiv. 328, at the end of Agobard's Opuscula, an Ode in memorial of the removal of Cyprian's bones by Charlemagne from Africa to Lyons, in which the following inconsistent invocation of Cyprian occurs:—

> Hanc [sc. linguam] et pro populo et patrono nostro,
> Semper quæsumus, audiat rogantem: . .
> O Doctor sacer, O beate Martyr,
> Serva pontificem pius Agobardum;
> Qui nomen, meritum, tuumque festum,
> Dictis extulit, et honore compsit.

But, if genuine, it seems to me to have been written soon after the commencement of his Bishopric at Lyons. For it speaks of Charlemagne's finding the relics, and Leidrad's asking that they might be deposited at Lyons, as if of a recent event. Now Charlemagne only lived, and Leidrad only continued Bishop at Lyons, till the year 814; when Agobard succeeded Leidrad. The "De Imaginibus," and "De Veritate Fidei," must be supposed to give his maturer sentiments.

[3] "Cujus" (i. e. of the Treatises against Images) "hæc præcipua sunt capita à *Divo Augustino*, cæterisque Patribus, &c." So Masson ibid. 241., Where mark, in passing, the title *Divus* given by Masson to Augustine, as a *canonized Saint*.

[4] "Hæc Concio est lepidissima, varia, et divinis figuris circumlucida. Habet pro materiâ Christum." B. P. M. xiv. 242.

[5] i. p. 136.

[6] "Suam voluntatem homines faciunt, non Dei, quando id agunt quod Deo displicet. Quando autem ita faciunt quod volunt ut divinæ serviant voluntati, quamvis volentes agant quid agunt, illius tamen voluntas est à quo et præparatur, et jubetur, quid volunt." B. P. M. 310.

where, as before said, we trace the disciple of Augustine.—To his integrity and general excellence of life there is sufficient testimony.[1] It appears however that he was not without persecution in his course. He quotes himself those words of Scripture: "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution." And he dwells on the various kinds of persecution, by the Devil and by men, by act and by word; in a manner which shows plainly that he spoke of what he had experienced.[2]

Pass we now beyond the Alps to CLAUDE, Bishop of TURIN. Here indeed was a man on whom it becomes the inquirer after a Western line of Witnesses to pause. He had been called, by way of eminence, the "Protestant of the ninth century."[3] I would rather associate him with another soon to be spoken of;[4] and while calling Claude the *Protestant of the West,* designate his contemporary, the Paulikian *Sergius,* as the *Protestant of the East.* —For above 20 years Claude laboured unweariedly in his diocese, and was called to his rest about A.D. 840. Against him, just as against others of similar character, the cry of heresy was raised, both during life, and yet more after death. In particular he was charged with *Arianism.* So among others

[1] We must except the political fault of his old age in taking the step of siding with Lotharius against king Louis Debonnaire, his father.

[2] First, there is the *Devil* to plot against them: "for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, &c." Then there are *men-perseeutors.* As Christ says; "Beware of men: for they shall deliver you up to the councils; and scourge you in the synagogues; and ye shall be brought before kings and rulers for a testimony unto them." And there are *other perseeutors,* "qui persequuntur inimicitiis, odiis, detractionibus, accusationibus, damnis, rixis, et diversis asperitatibus; contrà quos non armis pugnandum est, sed patientiâ et tolerantiâ." And then too, he adds, in observable language, there are such enemies of the faith to contend with as St. Paul prophesied of, saying, "In the last days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of dæmons:" against whom we must fight, not with bodily weapons, but spiritual; viz. "Scripturarum auctoritate, ratiociniis fidei et veritatis." ib. 309.

In a previously cited passage (p. 232 Note,[6]) persons following after saint-worship with a view to *popular applause* are mentioned. Doubtless these were among Agobard's enemies: and helped to make Agobard's case, like that of his friend Claude of Turin, one illustrative of the sackcloth-bearing condition of true witnesses for Christ.

Agobard, let me observe ere I conclude, was a *Chorepiscopus.* So Hugo Flaviniacensis, in his Chronicle, cited by Baluzius in his Preface to Agobard's Works, B. P. M. xiv. 236; "In loco Leidradi Agobardus substituitur, ejusdem ecclesiæ *Chorepiscopus.*" He adds; "Quod quidam defendere volentes, dixerunt eum a tribus Episcopis in sede Lugdunensi, jubente Leidrado, fuisse ordinatum." But, says Ado (ibid.), the Canons forbid two Bishops, i. e. two full Bishops, in one city.—The probability therefore is rather that he was ordained, as Chorepiscopi usually were, only by one Bishop, (see suprà p. 174, Note [2],) and used by Leidrad as his coadjutor. So Dupin vii. 141.

[3] Waddington E. H. ii. 52.

[4] See my next Section.

by Jonas, the contemporary Bishop of Orleans, and, in later times, by Bossuet. It was said by Jonas that he had not only taught and preached as an Arian, "but even in death left the same error written in his wicked books." But his books remain, and evince the falsehood of the charge. Nor this alone; but also that he was a true, fearless, enlightened, and spiritual witness for Christ's truth and honour, and against the superstition and wickedness of the age. —Hear his own account of the origin of all the enmity and charges against him.

"You declare yourself to have been troubled," writes he to the Abbot Theutmir, "because a rumour respecting me has past out of Italy through all the Gauls, to the very borders of Spain: as if I had been preaching up some new sect contrary to the Catholic faith:—a matter which is utterly false. It is no marvel however that Satan's members should say these things of me, since he proclaimed our very Head himself to be a seducer and a dæmoniac. I who hold the unity, and who preach the truth, am teaching *no new sect.* [Let the reader mark well this emphatic and repeated assertion.] On the contrary, sects and schisms, and superstitions and heresies, I have always, so far as in me lies, crushed and opposed; and through God's help will never cease to crush and oppose. But certainly this trouble has come upon me only because when, sorely against my will, I undertook at the command of Louis the Pious the burden of a Bishopric, and when, contrary to the order of truth, I found all the churches at Turin stuffed full of vile and accursed images, [the idolatrous system, it seems, had already rooted itself in *Italy* much deeper than beyond the Alps in *Gaul,*] I alone began to destroy what all were sottishly worshipping. Therefore it was that all opened their mouths to revile me. And forsooth, had not the Lord helped me, they would have swallowed me up quick."[1]

It has been observed that various works of Claude still remain to us;[2] and that they exhibit his character,—just

[1] B. P. M. xiv. 197.—I have borrowed Mr. Faber's translation; Vall. and Albig. 315.

[2] The following have been specified:—Commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy; Commentaries on St. Matthew, and all the Epistles; also certain Letters. Of these the Commentary on the Galatians, and certain of his Letters, have, I

as the above extract would lead us to expect,—in the light of a faithful disciple and witness for Christ. It appears from them, and from the Treatises written against him, that his protestation was not against one error and superstition only of the times, but all:—against worship of saints, relics, and the wooden cross, as well as of images;[1] against pilgrimages,[2] and all the prevailing Judaic, or formal and ceremonial, system of religion;[3] against masses for the dead;[4] against what was afterwards called transubstantiation in the eucharist;[5] against the supremacy of the Pope of Rome;[6] and the authority of tradition in doctrines of religion.[7]—The written word was made by him the one standard of truth. He declared the essence of heresy to consist in a departure from that interpretation of it which the sense of the Holy Spirit demands; and affirmed that heretics of this character might be found within, as well as without, the pale of the visible Church.[8] He saw that many Gentile profest proselytes, who had intruded themselves within the mystic temple, were in doc-

believe, been alone published; the former in different editions of the Bibliotheca Patrum. In my own edition, the *B. P. Maxima*, it is given in the xivth Volume, p. 139; and is followed by the anti-Claudian Treatises of Jonas and Dungal. The manuscripts of the others are in the Libraries of different monasteries. See Labbe's report, prefixed to Claude's Treatise in the B. P. M.; also Leger, Faber, and Tosti's recently published history of the monastery of Monte Cassino.

[1] See Dungal's report of Claude's errors; also that of Jonas in his *De cultu Imaginum:* the latter in the B. P. M. p. 169, the former pp. 197 et seq.

[2] See Dungal, ib. 198.

[3] "Usque hodiè qui *Judaico sensu* Scripturas intelligunt persequuntur ecclesiam Christi, et depopulantur illam: non studio legis Dei, sed traditionibus hominum." Claude on Gal. i. 14. B. P. M. 144.

[4] See Allix's notice of Claude.

[5] Faber, p. 314, quotes the following extract, given by Allix, from Claude's manuscript Treatise on St. Matthew: "Quia panis corpus confirmat, vinum vero sanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Christi *mysticè*, illud refertur ad sanguinem." This was I believe originally Bede's expression, occurring in his comment on Luke xxii; but, being adopted by Claude, it also shows his sentiments.

[6] See Claude's Comment on Gal. ii. 8, &c.: "Petrum solum [apostolorum] nominat et sibi comparat [Paulus], quia primatum ipse accepit ad fundandum ecclesiam: se quoque pari modo electum, ut primatum habeat in fundandis Gentium ecclesiis."

Again, with reference to Paschal Bishop of Rome; "Certè non ille dicendus est Apostolicus qui in cathedrâ sedens Apostoli, sed qui Apostolicum implet officium." Else he would be like the Scribes and Pharisees in Moses' seat. B. P. M. 147, 199.

[7] So in the quotation in Note [3] above.

[8] "*Hæresis* Græcè ab *electione* dicitur; quòd scilicet eam sibi unus quisque eligat disciplinam quam putat esse meliorem. Quicumque igitur aliter Scripturam intelligit quàm sensus Spiritûs sancti flagrat [flagitat?] quo conscripta est, *licet de ecclesiâ non recesserit*, tamen *hæreticus* appellari potest." On Gal. v. 19. B. P. M. 162.—Compare *Bernard Zane's* definition of *heresy* in the 5th Lateran Council; 1st Session. See p. 83, Note [3] suprà.

trine and life Gentiles still: and protested against them, (the resemblance was often noted by his enemies,) in the spirit and power of *Vigilantius*.[1]—But his resemblance was even yet more striking to the evangelic bishop *Augustine*. Him, of all human teachers, he most loved and followed:[2] and, like him, he delighted to set forth *Christ, and divine grace through him*, as the all in all in man's salvation. Instead of the *Arian* views respecting Christ's person imputed to him, he expressly reprobates them; and speaks of Christ as very God, consubstantial with the Father.[3] He represents Him too as the one Head of the Church:[4] and with the utmost fulness, unreserve, and precision, asserts the great doctrine of man's forgiveness and justification, in all ages, through faith alone in Christ's merits; and not by any works of the law, ceremonial or moral.[5]—At

[1] So Dungal: "Taliter Eunomius et Vigilantius hæretici, eorumque sectatores, solent Catholicos blasphemare, vocantes eos idololatras." And he cites against Claude Paulinus' practice of the use of images, and Jerome's invectives against Vigilantius. B. P. M. 201, 202, &c. At p. 204 Dungal says that the reason of Claude's hostility to Jerome was because Jerome had written against "suum vicinum, suæque auctorem insaniæ, Vigilantium hæreticum." Similarly writes Jonas (ib. 169): "Verisimile videtur, hujus novitii sanctæ ecclesiæ hostis animam ex duorum animabus priscorum compactam . . Vigilantii scilicet et Eustathii."

In the first passage cited mark the "*eorum sectatores*." It seems to imply a continuous succession, in Jonas' opinion, of such Protestants as Vigilantius and Eunomius. In the second mark the *vicinum*. I suppose the allusion is to Vigilantius' first speaking against Jerome having been when he was between the Adriatic and Cottian Alps. See p. 221.

[2] In his Preface to the Commentary on St. Matthew, he speaks of Augustine as "amantissimus Domini, sanctissimus Augustinus, calamus Trinitatis, lingua Spiritûs Sancti," &c. And he uses the self-same words nearly about him, in his unpublished Manuscript Comment on the Epistle to the Romans, in the Library of the Monte Cassino. (Tosti i. 291.)—In effect, judging by what he says himself in the Prefaces to his Comment on the Galatians, and to that on the Romans, we may suppose very much of his commentaries to have been digested from Augustine.

[3] So on Gal. iv. 5: "Nos beneficio et dignatione misericordiæ ejus filii Dei sumus: ille *naturâ* est Filius; qui *hoc est quod Pater*." Quoted by Faber, p. 314. To which let me add from his comment on Gal. i. 1; ("An apostle not by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father;") "Ut scias quia *Deus est Christus*, à quo ille est factus Apostolus, diligentèr adverte quod ante nominaverit Filium quàm Patrem, *contra calumnias Arrianorum*." Besides that in the Prefaces, just referred to by me in the preceding Note, we have the laudatory appellative given by him to Augustine, of "*calamus Trinitatis*."—Yet Bossuet, with his usual indifference to truth in questions affecting heretics, scruples not to repeat the charge, and to call him an *Arian*. Hist. des Var. xi. 1.

[4] So in the Epistle to Theutmir above quoted.

[5] I borrow here Mr. Faber's words; (p. 312;) my impression being just the same as his. He quotes the following extracts in proof. "Lex ostendebat esse peccatum, quod illi, per consuetudinem cæcati, possent putare justitiam: ut, hoc modo humiliati, cognoscerent non in suâ manu esse salutem suam, sed in manu Mediatoris." "Coguntur fateri non legis operibus justificari hominem, sed fide." "Non in propriâ justitiâ vel doctrinâ, sed in fide crucis, per quam mihi omnia peccata dimissa sunt." "Perdit ergo gratiam Christi, et evangelium quod tenuerat amittit, qui in

the same time the duty of practical self-denying godliness is enjoined by him. "Christ Jesus did not command us," he says, "to worship the cross, but to bear it;—to bear it, by renouncing the world and ourselves."[1] Nor, I believe, has his own exemplification of the rule, and personal holiness of life, ever been questioned.

Such were the truths for the assertion and defence of which Claude became a reproach among his neighbours: insomuch, he writes in one place, "that they who see us do not only scoff, but point at us:"[2] and, in another before quoted, "so that, if the Lord had not helped me, they would have swallowed me up quick." The Papal power had not yet established its supremacy in Turin: indeed it had not yet proceeded to deeds of blood, in support of its ever-gathering system of superstition; nor had the secular power as yet surrendered itself as an instrument to murder at its bidding. *That* marked the culminating point of the Papal Antichrist. And thus Claude suffered not unto blood. Yet the enmity of the bulk of both priests and people was, as we see, in so far whetted and active against him, as necessarily to have made his prophesying a *prophesying in sackcloth*. And, at his death, his corpse, it is exultingly asserted by a late bishop of Pignerol, was first thrown into one of the sinks of the episcopal palace; then taken out, and the process of degradation acted out on it, as if he had been alive; then burnt; and the ashes scattered to the winds, amidst the acclamations of the multitude.[3]

The great effect of Claude's ministry and protestations is testified to by his enemy Dungal. In a passage well deserving perusal, and which is given below,[4] he says, that the people of the country embraced in Claude's diocese

aliquâ observatione legis se justificari putat." So too in the comment on the Epistle to the Romans, speaking of the "justificatio fidei quæ est in Christo Jesu," he thus explains his views about it; "ut non quia justi erant homines crederent, sed credendo justificati deinceps juste vivere inciperent." Tosti i. 292. [1] B. P. M. 198.

[2] Vet. Analect. p. 91; ap. Charvaz, 496; also Faber, 318.

[3] Charvaz, from Ambrose Cassin, p. 322.

[4] "The people in this region are separated from each other, and divided into two parts, concerning the observances of the Church; that is to say, concerning the *images* and *holy pictures* of our Lord's passion. With murmurs and contentions the Catholics say that a picture is good and useful; and that for instruction, it is almost as profitable as Holy Scripture itself. But the heretic, on the contrary, and the part seduced by him, says that it is not so; for that it is a seduction into error, and indeed no other than *idolatry*.

were separated from each other, and divided into two parts, concerning the observances of the Church; that is, the several superstitious observances above particularized. Nor, we may be sure, in regard of them only; but also of those evangelic doctrines of grace, whence Claude's opposition to the prevailing superstitious practices sprang.[1]—As to the *local range* through which we may suppose his influence and doctrine to have extended, it is said that the *French* and *Germans* were infected, as well as the *Italians*.[2] More especially we seem justified in the persuasion that such must have been the case both among the Alpine recesses of *Piedmont:* and also in the valleys of *Dauphiny*, on the other side of the Cottian Alps, considering the near neighbourhood of the latter; even though they were not comprehended at the time, so as some have supposed, in the archdiocese, or rather diocese, of Turin.[3] Nor can we suppose that the effect would soon pass away.[4]

"A similar contention prevails respecting the *cross*. For the Catholics say that it is good and holy; that it is a triumphal banner; and that it is a sign of eternal salvation. But the adverse part, with their master, reply, that it is not so: inasmuch as it only exhibits the opprobrium of the Lord's passion, and the derisive ignominy [irrisio] of his death.

"In like manner concerning the *commemoration of the Saints*, there is a dispute as to the approaching them for the sake of prayer, and as to the *veneration of their relics*. For some affirm that it is a good and religious custom to frequent the churches of the martyrs, where their sacred ashes and holy bodies, with the honour due to their merits, are deposited; and where, through their intervention, both corporal and spiritual sicknesses are by the divine grace and operation healed most copiously and most presently. But others resist; maintaining that the saints after their death, as being ignorant of what is passing on earth, can aid no one by their intercession; and that to their relics not a whit more reverence is due than to any ordinary bones of mere animals, or to any portion of mere common earth." B. P. M. 199.—The translation given is Mr. Faber's; p. 321.

[1] See Milner, pp. 436, 437.

[2] "Etiam in Italos, et Gallos, atque Germanos, venenum quod lethaliter potasti utique lethaliter eructasse reperieris." Jonas de Cultu Imag. B. P. M. xiv. 169.

[3] "Claude, en qualité d'Archeveque de Turin, gouvernait un diocese très étendu; dans lequel étaient comprises non seulement les vallées du Piemont, mais encore le Dauphiné et la Provence." So the Abregé des Eglises Esclavonnes et Vaudoises, quoted by Muston i. 197: also Leger i. 137; and Gilly in his Waldensian Researches, p. 82; who observes, "In some accounts of Claude he is called Bishop of Turin and Embrun."

On the other hand, Charvaz, p. 315, says that it was not till some seven centuries after Claude that Turin was made an archiepiscopal see; and that it had no jurisdiction whatsoever on the Dauphiny side of the Alps.—I observe this however in Jonas. Claude having said that an *ass*, as an animal that had carried Christ, might as well be worshipped as a wooden cross, Jonas tauntingly says that he had better have set up two, one in *Turin* for the *Italians*, and one in some *Gallic* city for the *Gauls;* as if Claude's influence and principles, at least, extended to Gaul as well as Northern Italy. B. P. M. ib. 178.

[4] He in one place speaks of himself as "wielding his pen by day, and by night

A notable illustration of the continued communion in sentiment of the *Dauphinese* with him, occurred not long after his death in the COUNCIL OF VALENCE, held A. D. 855: —which Council was convened, very much with the view of asserting the Augustinian or Claudian *doctrines of grace*, on occasion of the opposition to, and persecution of, the monk *Gotteschalcus*. It seems that, about the year 846, Gottschalc, originally a monk of the Abbey of Fulda, under Rabanus, then of Orbais in the diocese of Soissons, left his monastery avowedly, says Hincmar, with missionary objects:[1] and that after preaching the gospel, agreeably with *Augustine's* views of it, specially on predestination and election, for a while in Dalmatia and Pannonia, and then, on return from Rome, in *Lombardy* and *Piedmont*,[2] he was recalled by ecclesiastical authority first to Mentz, then to Kiersy sur Oise in the north of France, there to give account of his doctrine, and to undergo the persecution of the then two famous archbishops of Mentz and Rheims; I mean *Rabanus Maurus* and *Hincmar*.[3] By both the one and the other he was condemned, on maintaining these doctrines, as a heretic; and by the latter, in whose archdiocese Orbais was, degraded from the priesthood, beaten with rods, and cast into prison:[4] where he lingered, still refusing retractation, till his death in 868;[5] and was then,

watching sword in hand *on the sea-side* against the Saracens and Moors;" (Muston, p. 169;) so that his diocese must have come down to the sea-side.—About A.D. 890 we read of subsequent bishops of Embrun flying thence, on occasion of a similar marauding attack of the Saracens. Ibid. 171. So too Gilly's Neff, p. 98.

[1] "Contrà suam regulam monasterio egressus disjunctissimas terras peragravit, ut virus suæ falsæ doctrinæ evomeret. Narrat Ecclesia Lugdunensis quo pacto in ultimos fines Germaniæ se contulerit, evangelicæ prædicationis gratiâ, et suarum concionum exordium sumpserit ab ineffabili prædestinationis mysterio." Hincmar, quoted by Duval, B. P. M. xv. 663.

[2] "In a valley of Piedmont, at the house of a Count of the place named Eberhard; where, "either with Count Eberhard, or with Noting Bishop of Verona, who was also staying there, Gottschalc had long theological conversations." Guizot, Civil. in France, Lect. 28; ii. 364. (Hazlitt.) Eberhard, says Mosheim, was one of the first noblemen at the Court of the Emperor Lothaire.

[3] See Mosheim ix. 2. 3. 22, &c.: also Milner, Cent. ix. ch. 4; whose account of Gottschalc, taken very much from Fleury and Dupin, has been eulogized by Dean Waddington, ii. 38. See too Gieseler ii. 50—54, to the same effect; Guizot, ubi sup., and also the notice of Gottschalc by Duval, Doctor of the Sorbonne, subjoined to the Liber Eccles. Lugd. (which last is referred to in the Note [1] p. 242,) B. P. M. xv. 663.

[4] The prison of the monastery of Hautvilliers.

[5] In one of his two "Confessions" written in prison, he thus refers to his enemies. "Te precor, Domine Deus, gratis ecclesiam tuam custodias, ne suâ diutius eam falsitate pervertant, hæreseosque suæ pestiferâ de reliquo pravitate subvertant, licet se

when dying, denied the sacrament, and after death denied Christian burial by Hincmar.[1]—It is admitted by most candid writers that the charges against him were unjust, and that his doctrinal sentiments were only those of Augustine.[2] These, however, as being opposed both to natural pride, and to the growing *ecclesiastical semi-Pelagianism*,[3] as well as growing superstitions, of Western Christendom, were now unpalatable. Hincmar did but represent on this point the spirit of the world in that age;[4] and so Gottschalc prophesied in sackcloth. But it gave occasion to the Council of *Valence*,—that same to which I was just alluding, and at which the metropolitan bishops of Dauphiny, i. e. of *Lyons*, *Vienne*, and *Arles*, with others attended,—solemnly to re-assert the Augustinian doctrines on grace and election, as those which had been continuously handed down to them:[5] making reference specially to

suosque secum lugubriter evertant. Ego vero gratis edoctus ab ipsâ veritate, . . hic evidenter expressam de prædestinatione tuâ fidem catholicam fortiter teneo, veraciter patienterque defendo." ap. Gieseler ii. 51.

[1] Guizot and Waddington, ibid.

[2] "He is most zealously defended," says Gieseler (p. 54), "by the Calvinists and Jansenists; most opposed by the Jesuits."

[3] Indeed direct Pelagianism in some of his persecutors and opposers, as John Scotus Erigena. See the extract from Scot's Treatise against Gottschalc given by Gieseler, p. 52. "Nullum peccatum nullamque ejus pœnam aliunde nasci nisi propriâ hominis voluntate, libero male utentis arbitrio," &c. Well does Gieseler observe, "that John Scotus, who attempted to answer them, [Gottschalc's defenders,] only involved Hincmar the more deeply by his own heterodoxy." Guizot makes Gottschalc the representative of the theologians, Hincmar of the politicians, Scotus of the philosophers of the age.

[4] "Hincmar paid his sedulous devotions to the Virgin, (this appears from his Epitaph, written by himself,) and was infected with other superstitions of his day." Waddington ii. 28.

[5] Hard. v. 89. "De præscientiâ Dei, et de prædestinatione, et de questionibus aliis in quibus fratrum animi non parum scandalizati probantur, illud tantùm firmissimè tenendum esse credimus, quod ex maternis ecclesiæ visceribus nos hausisse gaudemus." The "other questions" appear from the Canons to have been those on *grace*. There is a reference in the 4th canon to the attacks on Gottschalcus. In the 2nd, like the Council of Orange, they strongly guard against the abuse of the doctrine of predestination, as if involving reprobation. The whole record of the Council well deserves perusal. Its first six Canons are *doctrinal*, laying down the principles of Augustine in regard to man's salvation: the other seventeen *practical*, inculcating arrangements for the effective provision of a well-prepared clergy, and right administration of ecclesiastical duties.—In the 21st Canon there is an expression about gifts of property to the Church for the "redemptio peccatorum," of which the propriety seems more than questionable: but this is stated as the opinion of others, and is little consistent with the Council's clear evangelical statement on Christ's redemption of sins by his one offering of himself, in Canon iv. Compare too the extract to the same effect given on the next page from the Book of the Lyonnese Church, written soon after, against John Scotus. Possibly in this and similar phrases, that meet us in Cæsarius' Homilies, &c., we may explain the term, if adopted by the Council, somewhat in the sense that is to be given to Dan. iv. 27.

that former Council of *Orange*, held three centuries before under Cæsarius, which I have already noticed,[1] as their example and pattern. And it was followed to the same effect by the Councils of Langres and Touls in 859 and 860.[2] Moreover we have Treatises yet later on the same subject, emanating from the Lyonnese Church; and exhibiting still the same decided adhesion to the doctrines of Augustine.[3]

Thus we advance towards the close of the ninth century; and, in doing so, we advance also into a period of deep obscurity, especially as regards the history of Piedmont.—There is noticed by Bishop Newton a *Council* held at *Trosly* near Soissons, in the year 909; at the conclusion of which a Confession of Faith was made, including none of those superstitions which constitute the essence of Popish doctrine;—"Of the Pope's supremacy, of the sacrifice of the mass, of purgatory, of the worship of creatures, of com-

[1] "Sicut Arausica Synodus." So in Canons 3 and 6.—See suprà, p. 222.

[2] Mosheim ibid.

[3] See the *Ecclesiæ Lugdunensis Liber* against John Scot, the enemy of Gottschalc already mentioned; also the Treatise of *Prudentius*, in the B. P. M. xv. 611, 592, &c. The former at p. 619, refers to Gottschalc, as having been irregularly condemned, and at that time *long* incarcerated:—"infelicissimo monacho jam dudum illic (nescimus quo ordine) damnato, et annis jam plurimis carcerali ergastulo retruso, nomine Gotteschalco." The date of the Treatise may therefore probably have not long preceded Gottschalc's death, A.D. 868.

This *Book of the Lyonnese Church* against Scotus Erigena is of some length, occupying above fifty pages in the Bibliotheca; and thoroughly, and all through, imbued with the evangelic doctrine of Augustine. I cannot think it right to pass on without giving the following extract on man's redemption by Christ, as a specimen.

"Amisso dono gratiæ, vitiato et corrupto et depravato bono naturæ, sic miserabiliter [homo] à tantâ felicitate lapsus est, ut ad illud bonum amandum, et perfruendum, cui inhærere debuerat, nullum possit habere recursum nisi per misericordissimi Reconciliatoris et Mediatoris auxilium, et sanguinis ejus pretium: à quo redimimur de tantâ captivitate, ut recipere possimus pristinam libertatem, et de inimicis efficiamur amici. De quo Mediatore scriptum est, 'Unus enim Deus, et Mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus, qui dedit seipsum redemptionem pro omnibus.' Et iterum; 'Cùm inimici essemus, reconciliati sumus Deo per mortem Filii ejus.' (1 Tim. ii. 5; Rom. v. 10.) Quicumque ergo dicit post illam transgressionis infelicissimam ruinam, quâ, amissâ pristinâ libertate, factus est servus peccati, . . factus est inimicus Dei, . . post hanc, inquam, tam magnam et miserabilem ruinam quicunque dicit eum habuisse vel habere libertatem, ad verum bonum appetendum, amandum, et promerendum, nisi per gratiam veri Mediatoris redimatur, justificetur, reconcilietur, et reformetur, omnino contrà fidem Ecclesiæ sentit, contrà veritatem evangelicam et apostolicam docet, et omnino (quantùm in se est) evacuator est crucis Christi, evacuator mortis Christi." B. P. M. p. 622.

There is in the Treatise a passage, p. 646, where God's penal fire is spoken of. And, instead of any *purgatorial* idea being attached to it, that suffered by the separate spirit *before* the judgment-day is spoken of as one and the same hell with that suffered *after* it, by the united bodies and souls of the damned. (An isolated sentence at p. 645, that speaks of purgatory, seems a palpable interpolation.)—The Treatise is

mentitious sacraments, or confession to the priests."[1] And so far it is a testimony of some interest: though negatively, rather than positively; and moreover in a local district different from that which our review chiefly contemplates. —But Mr. Faber has a reference,[2] locally more in point, and the rather interesting from the general obscurity of Piedmontese history in that century,[3] to a notice in the Letters of *Atto, Bishop of Vercelli* near Turin, A.D. 945, of certain false teachers, known among the common people by the name of *Prophets;* under whose teaching certain persons in his Diocese had been induced to forsake their priests and their Holy Mother the Church. We naturally wish for fuller and clearer information respecting these so-called *Prophets;* and, in the absence of it, cannot form the same clear judgment about them as we might otherwise. But I am struck with one thing that Bishop Atto does tell us: viz. that his people had not the excuse of being seduced by persons that performed wonderful signs and miracles, or persons that were masters of philosophic science; a description which would have suited conjurors and sorcerers, such as in other charges and Councils of the middle age will be found alluded to. But it was teachers who only spoke simple and rude words.[4] May not this have been the foolishness of simple Scripture preaching?—Perhaps something which Atto says elsewhere about questions respecting divine grace as mooted, and causing difficulty to the Clergy, may seem to strengthen this view of the case.[5]

throughout most evangelical in doctrine; and another exemplification (in sequence of Agobard and Claude of Turin) of the incalculable use of Augustine, in God's Providence, to the preservation of a witness for Christ's truth through the dark ages.

[1] See Harduin vi. 1. 544, &c. [2] Ib. p. 330, from d'Achery.

[3] "Muratori says that he could gather little more from the early history of Piedmont than this,—that in the middle ages the principality was constantly passing under different sovereigns, and that the people took advantage of these changes to obtain grants favourable to their rights and privileges." Gilly, Wald. Res. p. 74; from Muratori's Præfat. in Chron. Ast. and in Hist. Monteser.

[4] After citing Christ's and the Apostles' predictions that in the last days false prophets were to come and turn away many from the faith, Atto then states his complaint about certain in his diocese. "Quia non solum prodigia diversaque signa tunc temporis facientibus, seu philosophicis dogmatibus falsa defendentibus, verum etiam non tam facile justum habetur cor, ut etiam quibusdam simplicia atque bruta referentibus tantummodo, verba credere omnino festinetis, eosque (heu miserrimi!) diabolico errore decepti prophetas nominetis, relinquentes sanctam matrem vestram Ecclesiam, seu sacerdotes, per quos ad æternam pervenire debetis salutem." Dacher. Spicil. i. 434. (Ed. 1723.) The last clause is one to be remembered.

[5] In the 60th chapter of his Capitulare the Clergy are advised to avoid the deeper

—Certainly when we reflect on the locality of Vercelli, so near to Turin and the mountains of Piedmont, thoughts of Claude and Gottschalc earlier, and of the Waldenses later, may very naturally suggest themselves to the inquiring mind. Were these prophets, and their disciples, a kind of connecting link between the two?

On the general question, (a question that will come up for fuller discussion in my sixth Section,) whether any distinct colony of dissentients from the Romish Church were as yet settled in what were subsequently the Alpine valleys of the Vaudois, I cannot but decidedly think there were none so fixed before, or for some considerable time after, the æra of Claude of Turin. In Warnfrid's *History of the Lombards* there occurs a curious notice of the Cottian Alps, hitherto unreferred to, I believe, in the Waldensian controversy; which states the formal donation of that district, "the patrimony of the Cottian Alps," by two successive Lombard kings, about the years 710 and 730, to the Roman see.[1] And in it there is no concurrent notice

theological questions that might meet, or be brought before them; "quia ad confitendum gratiam Dei, cujus operi ac dignationi nihil penitus subtrahendum est, satis sufficere credimus quidquid, secundùm prædictas regulas Apostolicæ Sedis, nos Scriptura docuerit: ut prorsus non opinemur catholicum quod apparuit præfixis sententiis esse contrarium." (Dacher. ib. 408.) It seems to me probable from this, that the deeper questions prohibited were those of Augustine concerning *grace:* to which questions both Claude's and afterwards Gottschalc's preaching in Piedmont, and subsequent history and fate, noised far and near, was likely to have attached in those parts an increased and not passing interest.

[1] "Hoc tempore (about 710) Aripertus, Dux Longobardorum, donationem patrimonii Alpium Cottiarum, quæ quondam ad jus pertinuerant Apostolicæ sedis, sed a Langobardis multo tempore fuerant ablatæ, restituit: et hanc donationem aureis exaratam literis Romam direxit." Ch. 28.—Again: "Eo tempore Luitbrandus Rex donationem patrimonii Alpium Cottiarum Romanæ Ecclesiæ confirmavit." Ch. 43. This was after Charles Martel's accession, and before the great battle of Tours; consequently about A.D. 730. B. P. M. xiii. 196, 198.

It was not very long after this that Luitprand and his successor Astulphus took Ravenna, and menaced Rome; on which followed the interventions of Pepin and Charlemagne. And it might seem as if in these revolutions some new arrangement was made respecting the Cottian Alps, and the donation to the Roman see cancelled. For De Marca, in his work on the Primacy of Lyons and other churches, observes that the Province of the Cottian Alps was not allotted to any diocese, though every other region in Italy and Gaul was assigned to some metropolitan see. Gilly, Wald. p. 65.

Since writing the above I observe that Sir I. Newton, in his book on Daniel, p. 80, (Ed. 1831,) asserts this donation of the Alpes Cottiæ to the Pope to be a fiction, just like the famous so-called donation of Constantine; because, says he, the Alpes Cottiæ were a part of the Exarchate, and in the days of Aripert belonged to the Greek Emperor. But he does not state his authority for this assertion; and Ado in his Chronicon (ad ann. 699) makes twice over the same statement. B. P. M. xvi. 802, 803. I observe too that Platina, in his Life of Gregory II, says that that Pope forced Luit-

of the district being wholly or partially inhabited by any colony of religionists, distinct from their neighbours in the plain of Piedmont. So again in Claude's own account of the religious state of things, at the time of his entering on the Episcopate of Turin. For he speaks of the whole multitude as there and then given to idolatry, and of himself as setting to oppose it alone:[1]—a statement scarce consistent with the fact of the existence of any very remarkable and distinct colony of precisely the same sentiments; that had retired from the plain and city in consequence of the prevailing superstition, and were then resident in the not very distant valleys of his diocese. And in my subsequent discussion of the Waldensian origin much later evidence will be given to the same effect.[2]—It seems to me rather that *after Claude's ministry* and *death* the people of the city and neighbourhood that had been enlightened by his teaching, and held his sentiments, under the pressure of increasing persecution, *gradually* scattered over the country districts.

And thus, reverting to the statement by Bishop Atto of Vercelli whence I digressed, I incline myself, like Mr. Faber, to think it not improbable that it is to some of these spiritual descendants of Claude that we may refer what is said by Atto about the false teachers, called *Prophets* by the people, who in his time, about A.D. 945, seduced them to desert their priests and their churches.—Again it is from them that we may also, yet more probably, consider the sect to have sprung which was discovered by the Archbishop of Milan, on a visitation, early in that century, somewhere about A. D. 1028.[3] The central point and refuge of the heresy and heretics was, it is said, the castle of Montfort in the near neighbourhood of Turin; its chief teacher

prand to confirm this donation of Aripert; though previously expressing doubt about its reality.—At any rate, unless it be an interpolation in Paul Warnfrid, his statement tends to show his own ignorance of any peculiar sect existing there at the time of his writing; i. e. about 780 or 790.

[1] See p. 235 suprà.

[2] During the three or four centuries preceding the old Latin language had been decomposing, and the Alpine or Piedmontese dialect forming into its peculiar Patois. Niebuhr makes the corruption of the Latin to have *begun* as early as the 2nd or 3rd Century. "In the desolate or secluded parts of Italy the Latin jargon called *lingua vulgaris*, or *rustica*, was [then] first established." Roman Hist. ii. 269: Ed. Schmitz. This prepared for its greater corruption on the Gothic invasions.

[3] My authorities are Rodolphus Glaber and Landulf in his History of Milan. An abstract of the former is given p. 246 from Muratori; the latter I have given fully, agreeably with the interest of the subject, in the Appendix to this Volume.

there being one Gerard. There seemed something new in the heresy. One report told of Pagan or Jewish rites in their worship. More properly considered it seemed rather of a Manichæan character. The heretics knew not from what part of the world they had come into Italy. They spoke of their High Priest,[1] in contradistinction to the Roman High Priest, as everywhere throughout the world comforting them. When taken and imprisoned at Milan, many rustics came to see them, as if they were good priests; and they taught them craftily religious rudiments from the Holy Scriptures. It was in vain that offers of life were made to them, on condition of recantation. Girardus especially, with happy countenance, seemed eager for suffering. The most continued stedfast; and so were burnt, the Countess inclusive, it would seem, on the piazza of the cathedral.[2]—I say it appears to me not improbable that these heretics may have been spiritual descendants from Claude of Turin. And, if so, the case may be regarded, and will be so again referred to by me hereafter,[3] as a corroboration of the opinions exprest by not a few Roman

[1] This could hardly have been a *human* Pope, says Gieseler most justly, ii. 153, 154.

[2] So Muratori Annal. d'It. MXXVII.—"Circa questi tempi succedette, quanto lasciò scritto Glabro Storico,* benchè con qualche imbroglio di cronologia. Cioè in un castello, appellato Monforte, nella Diocesi d' Asti, pieno di molti nobili, si era introdotta un' eresia, con rinovar i riti de' Pagani e de' Giudei. Per quel che dirò furono costoro piùtosto Manichæi; giacchè questa mala razza s' era di soppiato molto prima introdotta in Italia e in Francia; e pur troppo in tutti i due questi Regni avea sparse di grandi radici coll' andare degli anni. 'Sæpissimè tam Mainfredus, Marchionum prudentissimus, quàm frater ejus Alricus, Astensis urbis præsul, in cujus scilicet Diœcesi locatum habebatur hujusmodi castrum, cæterique Marchiones, ac Præsules circumcircà, creberrimos illis assultus intulerunt.' Ciò che avvenisse di quel Castello, e di quegli Eretici, Glabro lo lasciò nella penna. Ma ne parla ben diffusamente Landolfo seniore,† Storico Milanese del presente secolo, con dire che Eriberto, Arcivescovo in questi tempi di Milano, trovandosi in Torino, udì l'eresia degli abitanti del Castello di Monforte. Fatto prendere un di coloro, appellato Girardo, volle intendere da lui in che consistesse la setta e credenza di quel popolo. Allegramente espose costui i suoi dommi; e chiaro si scorge che era l'eresia de' Manichei. Allora Eriberto spedì le sue milizie à quel Castello; e fece prendere tutti quanti quegli abitatori, e specialmente la Contessa di quel luogo. Fatti li condurre à Milano, cercò tutte le vie di ridurli à ravvedimento: ma, in vece di abjurare i loro errori, si misero à sedurre chiunque andava à visitarli. Perciò fu loro intimata la morte, se non ritornavano alla vera fede di Christo. Alcuni, almeno in apparenza, l'abbracciarono: ostinati gli altri vivi furono bruciati."

I presume these are the same heretics that are alluded to in Schmid's Mysticism of the Middle Age, cited by Muston i. 163: a sect, says he, discovered A.D. 1030 at Turin; of which it is said that they received the Holy Scriptures alone as the rule of doctrine, rejected the formal observances and rites of the Romish Church, and followed a strict rule of life.

[3] In my Section 6 infrà.

* Glab. Hist. l. iv. c. 2.

† Landulf. Hist. Mediolan. l. ii. c. 27. See my copy of this in the Appendix.

Catholic writers,[1] and even Piedmontese Roman Catholics,[2] to the effect that Claude's religious opinions were perpetuated in the remoter country and mountain-districts through the ixth and xth centuries.[3] At the same time the statement that the heretics knew not whence they had come into Italy, suggests the alternative of a different and more foreign original.

And thus, ere we enter on the history of the *Councils of Orleans* and *Arras*, early in the same xith century,—in which Councils heretics and heresies were condemned, that had been imported, it was said, from *Italy*,[4] and which introduced, and were followed by, the (so-called) heresies of *Berenger*,[5] *Arnold* of *Brescia*, *Peter de Bruys*, and his disciple *Henry*, and in fine of the *Waldenses*,—it seems desirable that we should first trace in a separate Section a distinct line of confessors for Scriptural evangelic truth,

[1] So, for instance, Genebrard, in Dr. Gilly, p. 85.

[2] So e. g. the Marquis Costa de Beauregard, in his lately published Memoires on the House of Savoy; T. ii. p. 50.—Let me cite from this author; as one still living, and of some considerable reputation in his own country. "Cet eveque de Turin (Claude), homme eloquent, et des mœurs austeres, eut un grand nombre de partisans. Ceux-ci anathematisés par le Pape, poursuivis par les princes laiques, furent chassés de la plaine, et forcés de se refugier dans les montagnes, où ils se maintinrent deslors, toujours comprimés, et toujours cherchant à s'etendre." Cited by M. Monastier in his Histoire des Vaudois, i. 33. A passage which I may again have to revert to, when entering on the History of the Waldenses. (I have myself verified the citation.)

[3] Mr. Faber, let me here observe, Book iii. c. 6, refers to an Epistle from the monk P. Dâmian to the Duchess of Savoy, who was also Marchioness of the Cottian Alps, of the date 1050, which notices the clergy of the diocese of Turin as determinately marrying. In this however they were not singular. In many different countries the Popes had to fight a hard battle before enforcing the celibate on them.

In his next chapter he gives an extract from a Chronicle of Rodolph of St. Trudon, as evidence that about 1125 there was a sect of anti-transubstantiationists in the Cottian Alps. It seems to me extraordiuary that Mr. Faber should so have interpreted the narrative: seeing that it speaks of these heretics as in a district "ad quam *ulterius* disposuerat peregrinari," and consequently *further south than Rome;* since Rodolph had come from France and the North. Dr. Gilly has fallen into the same palpable error, as it seems to me; (see his Wald. Res. p. 88;) and before them both Peyran, the Waldensian Pastor, from whom probably Mr. Faber borrowed. (See his Waldenses, p. 35: Sims' Edition.)

[4] See § 4 of this Chapter.—It is difficult to determine decisively the case of the *Orleanist* sectaries, and those at *Arras*, whether they had an Eastern or a Western origin; it being only said that the teachers of the heresy came from the borders of Italy. But it is quite competent to the inquirer, as I shall have again to observe, to refer them to a Western origin, if so he prefer.—The heretics at *Cologne* constitute the first *indubitable* example of sectaries of an *Eastern* or *Greek* origin in Western Europe.

[5] Berenger's connexion with *Italy* is noted by Matthew of Westminster on the year 1087: "Berengarius, in hæreticam prolapsus pravitatem, omnes Gallos, *Italos*, et Anglos, suis jam pæne corruperat pravitatibus." Faber 158. And though this has reference to his *influence*, not *origin*, yet it marks *connexion*, which may not improbably have been earlier.

who contemporarily, or nearly so, with the Western line from Serenus to Claude of Turin, had kept up a witnessing for Christ and God's word in the *East:* and who afterwards in the xth and xith centuries, migrating into the West, seem then and there to have intermingled with the Western witnessing body for Christ. I refer, as the reader will anticipate, to the body known under the name of *Paulicians* in ecclesiastical history; or, as I prefer to call them, preserving the hard k of the Greek, *Paulikians*.[1]

§ 3.—THE EASTERN OR PAULIKIAN LINE OF WITNESSES.

As regards this Eastern line of Witnesses perplexities and obscurities arise chiefly from the circumstance of the loss of the writings of those in whom we think to trace it. The PAULIKIANS—those to whom I refer—are known to us only through the reports of bitter enemies, who brand them as *heretics*. And Bossuet, and Maitland, and Dowling,[2] and many others,[3] acquiescing implicitly in the hostile testimonies against them, both admit and re-echo the charge. To myself the exercise of a spirit of caution, and even of suspiciousness, in the matter, seems dictated alike by common sense and common equity; at the same time that I am not unaware of the possibility of carrying that suspiciousness too far. On the whole I may truly say that I have given to the evidence as candid, and also careful consideration, as I am able. And the conclusion I have found myself *forced to* by it is this;—that the charges of *heresy* made against them have no consistent or sufficient

[1] This is quite common now in the case of proper names of Greek derivation. So Dr. Arnold in his Roman History writes *Sikeliots*, instead of Siceliots; Southey and others *Kelts*, instead of Celts. So the Translator of Lücke's Treatise on the Epistles of St. John *Doketists*, instead of Docetists, &c.—In the case of a common word like *sceptical*, of established orthography, I should think it pedantic to write *skeptical* with M. Stuart.

There seems to me a peculiar propriety in thus writing the word Paulikians, because of the similarity thus made evident to the ear of this their Greek name of *Paulikiani*, (pronounced *Pavlikiani*,) and that which was afterwards given them by the Latins of *Publicani*.

[2] The *former* of the two last-named Authors in his Book on the Waldenses, and Reply to the Rev. J. King on that subject, p. 76, endorsing Mr. Dowling's opinion; —the *latter* in his Pamphlet on the Paulikians.

[3] My critic, Mr. Arnold, among them.—In the 4th Edition of the Horæ I profited by the controversial papers on the subject that past between him and myself in the British Magazine of 1847.

evidence to rest on; and that, on the other hand, from the general facts of their history, from the unwilling admissions in their favour of the hostile chroniclers, and even from the nature of the particular charges of heresy made against them, the inference is warranted, that at first the general body of the *Paulikians*, and afterwards, as they multiplied, particular bands out of it, were faithful witnesses for Christ. The facts of the case will now be set fully before the reader: —at least sufficiently so to enable him to judge for himself, whether the conclusion I have formed be warranted by the evidence, or not. I draw from the original sources; viz. the Histories of Paulikianism and the Paulikians by Photius and Petrus Siculus.[1]

In this present Section I purpose sketching *the rise and subsequent history of the* PAULIKIANS up to the time of their westward migrations in the 11th century:—there being reserved for a later Section the full discussion of the existing evidence as to their real character: whether *witnesses for Christ*, answering to the Apocalyptic description of Christ's two witnesses; or *disreputable heretics*, accordantly with the assertion of their enemies.

It was about the middle, then, of the seventh century that the Paulikian sect had its rise. At that time, as I have already elsewhere shown, the most grievous corruptions were not only admitted into, but enforced in, both the doctrine and the worship of the Catholic Church, as it was called, in Greek Christendom. The images of saints suspended on the church walls, and the votive offerings beneath them, the glare of lamps and the fumes of incense, told everywhere to the eye, too clearly to be mistaken, of the almost universal departure from the simplicity and the

[1] The Editions that I use are Gieseler's of Petrus Siculus, Göttingen, 1846; Wolf's of Photius, Hamburgh, 1722.—I need hardly observe that Photius is the Patriarch of Constantinople, so famous for his learning as well as for the part he took in the final disruption of the Greek from the Roman Church in the 9th century.—Petrus Siculus was a contemporary of Photius, who had fled from Sicily, probably on its capture by the Saracens, to Constantinople, and was thence sent by the Greek emperor on a mission to the Paulikians.—The two publications are shown by Dr. Gieseler in the Prolegomena to his Edition of Petrus Siculus (pp. iv., vii.) to have almost synchronized; that of Photius, at least its first 3 books, dating shortly before A.D. 867; that of Petrus, a little after A.D. 868. See p. 251 infrà.

spirit of the gospel.[1] Other mediators (the Virgin Mary more especially) had been substituted for the one and only true Mediator between God and men, the God-man Christ Jesus; other protectors, like the old Pagan tutelary deities, for his Almighty protectorship.[2] To use a second time the words of Coleridge, "The pastors of the Church had gradually changed the life and light of the gospel into the very superstitions they were commissioned to disperse; and thus *paganized Christianity* in order to *christen Paganism*."[3] The very principle of salvation, simply by grace through faith in the dying and ascended Saviour, was so obscured as to be almost lost.[4] And what made the case worse was, that the idea had begun to be entertained, and was soon after received as a settled principle, that the written Scriptures were unfit for the reading of the laity; and ought to be locked up, with their "tremendous mysteries," in the hands of the priesthood.[5]

The Sect thus began.[6] In the year 654, soon after the Saracens' conquest of Syria, a man named *Constantine*, resident at Mananalis near Samosata, received from an Armenian Deacon whom he had for several days hospitably entertained on his way homeward from captivity in Syria, the present of two volumes, then very rare; one containing the 4 Gospels, the other the 14 Epistles of St. Paul. (May we not suppose the giver's advice and prayers to have accompanied the gift; and that thus in fact there was a certain connexion of the Sect, thereupon arising, with religionists of kindred feeling of an earlier date?[7]) It is reported by the narrators,[8] and various later writers have adopted the

[1] See my Vol. i. pp. 331, 332.

[2] See ibid. pp. 330—337.—A remarkable exemplification of this will be soon given by me, from the reported writings of a Patriarch of Constantinople, who lived shortly after the first rise of Paulikianism, and with whom one of the Paulikian teachers may very probably have come into contact.

[3] Cited before by me Vol. i. p. 341.

[4] Besides the corruptions prevalent of saint-worship in all its various forms, there was now received in the Greek Church a system of *Pelagianism* of doctrine, as we shall afterwards see, the direct opposite to the doctrines of grace; of which doctrinal system Photius himself was an eminent example.

[5] Photius (p. 100) notes the restriction as *most properly* inculcated and observed in the time of Sergius' youth, and as not then a new restriction: *μη εξειναι φησας την των λαικων πληρουντι ταξιν ανεδην ουτως την των φρικτων λογιων ποιεισθαι αναγνωσιν.*

[6] See Phot. p. 62, P. S. p. 30.

[7] Compare the account of the foreign heretic detected in Gaul A.D. 650, given p. 227, Note [4] suprà.

[8] Alike by Photius and Petrus.

idea, that Constantine had been previously educated in, and then held, the principles of *Manicheism*. Others have suggested that he was rather a *Marcionite Gnostic*, than a Manichean.[1] I suspect the evidence will prove quite de-

[1] So Gieseler, in his Essay on Paulikianism, in the Berlin Studien und Kritiken for 1829.—It will be useful to the reader to subjoin the following Synchronical Table of the Greek emperors and chief Paulikian teachers. In the Paulikian Chronology I follow Gieseler.

A.D.	Byzantine Emperors.	A.	D.	Paulikian Teachers.
641—668	Constans 2, grandson of Heraclius.	6	50	
668—685	Constantine 4, Pogonatus.			Constantine, or Silvanus, Symeon, or Titus, 654 to 684, to 690,
685—711	Justinian 2; including his ten years of exile, and six after restoration.			
711—713	Bardanes Philippicus.	7	00	
713—716	Anastasius 2.			Paul, Gegnæsius, or Timothy, to 715 (?) to 745,
716—718	Theodosius 3.			
717—741	Leo 3, the Isaurian. Iconoclast.			
741—775	Constantine 5, Copronymus. Iconoclast.			
	754 Constantinopolitan Council against images.	7	50	Joseph, Epaphroditus, to 775,
	756 First deportation of Paulikian colonists to Europe.			
775—780	Leo 4.			
780—797	Constantine 6, and his mother Irene.			
	787 2nd Nicene Council, in sanction of image-worship.			
797—802	Irene.			Bánes alone, to 801,
802—811	Nicephorus; image-favourer.	8	00	
811—813	Michael 1, Rhangabe.			
813—820	Leo 5, the Armenian. Iconoclast.			
	Paulikians persecuted, retire to Argas.			Sergius, or Tychicus, to 835,
820—829	Michael 2, or Balbus.			
829—842	Theophilus.			
842—855	Michael 3, and his mother Theodora.			
	Image-worship finally re-established.			
	Paulikian massacre. Paulikians fix in Tephrice.	8	50	Συνεκδημοι. to 870
855—867	Michael 3.			
867—886	Basil 1, the Macedonian.			
	867 Photius banished. 868 P. Siculus' embassy to Tephrice.			

Photius' 1st Book was finished before his banishment in 867; his 4th after banishment. Petrus Siculus finished his Book about 870, when the Bulgarian See vacant.

cisively, when we come to sift it, that he was in truth a member of the Greek established Church. However this might be, his profession of Manicheism, if ever it existed, now ceased: and the perusal of these sacred books caused a total revolution in his professed principles, and whole subsequent course of life. Separating himself not from mere Manichean, or other heretics alone, but from the established but now apostate Church of Greek Christendom, he applied himself thenceforward to the formation of a distinct Christian Sect, or Church:—a Sect to consist of such as might be willing, with himself, to found their faith and practice on the simple rule of those unadulterated sacred books; the only part, apparently, then possessed by him of God's written Word. In the missionary labours whereby he sought to accomplish this his object, (and indefatigable those labours seem to have been,) he likened himself to a disciple of St. Paul. In this character he addressed his first appeals, not to his Mananalitan neighbours, but to the inhabitants of a place called Cibossa, near Coloneia and the source of the Lycus, in the first Armenia; (the place perhaps where the donor of his New Testament was residing;) saying, "I am *Sylvanus;* you the *Macedonians:*"[1]—thus intimating that it was the doctrine of *St. Paul*, very specially, that he wished himself to teach, and them to follow. And they, acquiescing in the views of this Παυλικος, or disciple of St. Paul, adopted, as if in public token of their profession, the name which has thenceforth ever attached to the Sect, of Παυλικιανοι, or *Disciples of the disciple of St. Paul.*[2]—Now, supposing Constantine sincere in his pro-

[1] See 1 Thess. i. 1.

[2] That the name of *Paulikiani* was assumed by *themselves*, and with a view to mark their profession as *followers of St. Paul*, is stated by Photius: for he says in one place, και γαρ επιγραφονται τουτον· (i. e. St. Paul;) and, in another, ου ψευδωνυμοι παραγραφονται. (Lib. iii. p. 42, ii. p. 190.) And so Petrus Siculus, p. 26: ὁτι απο Χριστου την τοιαυτην κατεβδηλυγμενην αἱρεσιν παρελαβον, και εκ διδασκαλιας του κηρυκος της ορθοδοξου πιστεως Παυλου του Αποστολου. Besides which the very remarkable custom, kept up for above two centuries among them, of their chief teachers assuming, together with the pastoral charge, the name of one of St. Paul's disciples or companions, commemorated in the New Testament,—as Constantine that of *Sylvanus*, Simeon that of *Titus*, Paul of Episparis that of *Timothy*, Sergius that of *Tychicus*, &c.,—is evidence of the fact as unanswerable as palpable. Their churches too were named after St. Paul's churches, the *Macedonians*, *Achaians*, *Philippians*, *Ephesians*, *Colossians*, *Laodiceans*. Cedrenus ap. Dowling, p. 15.

As to the *formation* of the word *Paulikiani*, great but very needless difficulties, as it seems to me, have been made about it, alike by ancients and moderns. Instead

fession, it needs not to say how noble the enterprise; or again how strikingly, if carried out, it must have been a witnessing for Christ, in the midst of the prevailing superstitions and apostasy. His sincerity has however been impeached. The reader must all through bear this in mind. The historians from whom the narrative is taken assert that it was done *hypocritically;* and in order, by means of the words of Scripture perverted, to propagate more safely, as well as insidiously, the principles of *Manicheism.* Yet they agree that he renounced and cast away his Manichean books, (if ever he had any,) abjured Manicheism, (if ever he profest it,)[1] and made it a law to his followers not to read any other book whatsoever, but the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament:—moreover that these Gospels and Epistles were unadulterated by the Paulikians; and both received, and preserved, in precisely the same words as the authentic copies of the Greek Church.[2]

of being "so strangely formed," as Mr. Dowling says, (p. 13,) it needs but to trace it back to its root, precisely according to the analogy of derivatives of similar termination, in order to see its simple and natural explanation. If Χριστιανος is derived from Χριστος, and Henricianus from Henricus, from what may we suppose Παυλικιανος derived, but from Παυλικος? Again from what Παυλικος but Παυλος: just as κοσμικος from κοσμος, Σωκρατικος from Σωκρατης, &c.?—Which being so, we have only to reverse the process in the application. In assuming the name of Sylvanus, Tychicus, &c., alike Constantine, and other teachers of the sect after him, proclaimed themselves to the world, as not *Socratics*, not *Platonics*, but *Paulics*, i. e. followers of St. Paul. So Petrus Siculus says of Sergius, (p. 45,) εαυτον επονομασας Τυχιχον, τον εν ταις επιστολαις εμφερομενον του αποστολου Παυλου, τοις πασιν ελεγεν ειναι μαθητης του Αποστολου. Which being the teacher's profession and title, that of their followers was as naturally *Paulikiani*, or *disciples of a disciple of St. Paul.*—The absurd torturing of the word, as by Zonaras and Anna Comnena, (ap. Dowling, 12, 48,) in order to make it a corruption from the supposed barbarophonic title Παυλοϊωαννοι, the compound of the names of two *Manicheans* of Samosata, named *Paul* and *John*, that lived some time before Constantine, deserves remark, as showing the *animus* of the writers: especially considering the Paulikians' confest condemnation of this Paul; Παυλον τον Σαμοσατεα αναθεματιζουσι προθυμως. (P. S. p. 5.) Nor indeed is its explanation as a corruption from Παυλιανοι, in the sense simply of *Disciples of Paul of Samosata*, or, as Mr. Dowling, of *Paul the father of Gegnæsius*, above 100 years after they had been marked by the Paulikian profession, much more felicitous. See Petrus Sic. 28, 36; and Dowling 12, 13.

I am glad to observe, since printing my 3rd Edition, that Dr. Gieseler agrees with me in this derivation of Παυλικιανοι from Παυλος, (the Apostle,) through the intermediate Παυλικος. He suggests, however, that the appellation was given to the sectaries, not by themselves, but by the Greek Catholics: these latter first calling them Παυλικοι; then, in order to do away with the idea of relation to the great apostle, which that word might seem to imply, changing it into Παυλικιανοι. A view this not only less natural, I think, than that given by me; but directly contrary to Photius' testimony, given above, that they *named themselves* after St. Paul.

[1] Phot. i. 63, P. S. 31.—I shall enter on the question thus suggested afterwards.

[2] Thus Petrus Siculus, p. 13, after enumerating the Books of the New Testament received by them, (Αποδεχεσθαι αυτους την θειαν του αγιου Ευαγγελιου τετρακτυν,

The ministrations of Constantine were prolonged for a period of near 30 years. Then at length, the sect having become sufficiently considerable to attract notice, an edict of persecution was issued against him and his Paulikian congregations by the Greek government; and the execution of the edict entrusted to an officer of the Imperial Court, named Simeon. The penalty of death was declared against both teacher and disciples, such as might persist obstinately in heresy: but with the injunction of mercy to such as might recant, and that they should be delivered to the neighbouring Churches for instruction. The result was that Constantine himself at least was thereon stoned to death; one Justus, a recreant from Paulikianism, being the inflictor of the mortal blow:[1] and the place, says Petrus, is called "The heap," from the multitude of stones so heaped together, to this day.—But from the stoning of Constantine, as from that of the proto-martyr Stephen, a new head to the Paulikian remnant was raised up in the person of his murderer. Impressions were made on *Simeon* by what he had seen and heard, that he could not shake off. Returning to the Imperial Court, he secluded himself for three years, we are told, in his own home, reflecting on it: then, having made up his resolution, *left all*,[2]—the necessary sacrifice, it seems, involved in the step he was taking; and, joining himself at Cibossa to those whom before he persecuted, and who at the risk of life had still continued stedfast in the Paulikian faith, became, under the name of *Titus*, their new head and chief teacher.—The report of the revival of heresy reached the ears of a neighbouring Bishop, after three years, through information of the same renegade Justus; and by him was communicated to the then Emperor, Justinian II. On this the Imperial mandate was again issued against the sectaries; and Simeon, and a large

και τας του ἁγιου Παυλου του αποστολου δεκατεσσαρας επιστολας, και Ιακωβου καθολικην, και τας Ιωαννου τρεις, και την του ἁγιου Ιουδα καθολικην, και Πραξεις των Αποστολων,) adds, ὡς εισι παρ' ἡμιν, απαραλλακτως εν λεξεσιν. Photius gives a similar testimony to the genuineness of the Paulikian Scriptures. And so too Cedrenus, two centuries after. Dowling, pp. 14, 19.

[1] P. Siculus, p. 33, suggests, as a fit parallel, David's slaughter of Goliath by a stone.

[2] Ανακαμψας προς τον βασιλεα, και τριετη χρονον επιμεινας εν Κωνσταντινουπολει, οικοι μενων, τελειως ενεργηθεις ὑπο του Διαβολου, καταλιπων απαντα λαθραιως απεδρα. P. S. p. 34.

number of his followers, convened to answer the charge. They were interrogated each separately on their tenets, and opportunity offered them for retractation. But in vain. They continued pertinacious in what was deemed their errors. Which being the case, a vast funeral pile was constructed, near the heap piled up over Constantine: and they were all thrown on it; and burnt alive.[1]

Still the heresy, as it was called, rose again from its ashes. One *Paul*, a Paulikian disciple, escaped with his two sons to Episparis, a village of the district of Phanaroa, not far south of Amisus on the Euxine, and there perpetuated the Sect.—And, after his death, one of those two sons, *Gegnæsius*, surnamed *Timothy*, took his place. Soon after which his entering on the dangerous office, he was summoned to Constantinople on a charge of heresy; (it was under the reign of Leo the Isaurian;) and there examined by the Patriarch in open court, and by the vote of the hearers acquitted.[2] Returning with royal letters of safeguard against false accusations,[3] he yet thought it well to quit Episparis, and to transfer the chief seat of the mission to Mananalis, near Samosata: that selfsame place whence Constantine had first proceeded; and one where the neighbourhood of the Saracens now offered a protection, against enemies from among the Greek Catholics. There he ministered for the rest of his life; and at length died of the plague, after 30 years' presidency.—A castaway foundling whom he seems to have rescued,[4] and taught, and made his goat-herd, named Joseph, and who now assumed the name of *Epaphroditus*, succeeded him in the office of chief president of the Sect. A sudden incursion of a band of Saracens occurring, Joseph removed to Epis-

[1] Πλησιον της Σορου πυραν μεγαλην αναψαντες, αρδην κατεφλεξαν απαντας. Ib. p. 36.

[2] Ψηφος των ακροατων. Phot. i. 78.—The name of the examining Patriarch is not mentioned. Occurring as the thing did in the reign of Leo the Isaurian, the Patriarch may have been *Germanus* the iconodulist, an ecclesiastical writer of some note in the Greek Church: or, more probably I think, it may have been his iconoclastic successor *Anastasius;* as Germanus was banished in 729 by the emperor Leo, and the former put in his place. (Fleury ix. 227, 228.) However this may be, his judgment, as a contemporary of the Paulikians in the highest ecclesiastical position, as to the doctrines then prevalent, is of course most valuable; and I shall therefore take occasion, when I come to a consideration of the charges against the Paulikians, to set it pretty fully before the reader.

[3] των συκοφαντων φωνας. Photius, p. 83.

[4] P. S. 38.

paris, the scene of Gegnæsius' earlier ministrations, and of Paul's before him; and was there received and welcomed with "lamps" and honour. But, while holding a meeting for religious worship, the house was attacked by an imperial officer in the neighbourhood; and he was thus forced to be again a fugitive, and finally settled at Antioch in Pisidia. There he ministered some years, and gained many proselytes; and appears, from Photius' report, to have both lived and died in the esteem of the citizens, and in kindly fellowship with them.[1]—Next followed *Baanes;* one called, at a more advanced period of his life at least, ῥυπαρος, or *the filthy:* a name given him by those of his fellow-sectaries, apparently, who opposed and rejected him for his immoralities.[2]—And then at length he was superseded, just at the end of the 8th century, by one Sergius, surnamed *Tychicus;* whose eminence as a Paulikian teacher, and very illustrative history, demands a more particular and full notice.—Before entering on it, however, let me just observe that it was in the course of the 8th century, which included the period of Gegnæsius' and Joseph's ministry, that there occurred that grand movement against *image-worship* that I have alluded to in my Chapter on the Saracens:[3] and respecting which it is asserted both by Hamartolus, a nearly contemporary historian, and others,[4] that though participated in by many others of the Greeks,—some from

[1] So Photius, i. 93: Πολλους μεν των επιχωριων της αυτου λυμης εργον απεδειξεν, πολλης δε της παρ' εκεινων ηξιωται δεξιωσεως.

[2] This view is surely more natural than Dr. Gieseler's; (p. 90 of his Essay on the Paulikians in the Berlin Studien und Kritiken, of which more hereafter:) who would have the appellative ῥυπαρος to have been given to Baanes by *the Greek historians*, on account of his excesses. Could historians, who depict the whole sect as abandoned to enormities, have given him this as a personally distinctive title? Indeed P. Siculus, p. 51, expressly speaks of Sergius *hating* and denouncing Baanes for his immorality.

[3] Vol. i. p. 467. Saints' intercession and relics were also rejected by Leo I. Fleury ix. 227.

[4] Hamartolus' age may be with probability inferred from the date at which his Chronicle ends, viz. A.D. 842. From the Paulikian Manicheism, he says, ανεφυη ἡ των αλιτηριων και κακοσχολων εικονομαχων εμβροντητος αἱρεσις.—The testimony of G. Monachus (a writer of the 10th century) is to the same effect. He says that "the Iconoclasts were the protectors of the abominable and demoniacal worship of the Manicheans," i. e. Paulikians; "from whom in fact they derived their origin." Dowling, 41, 42, 45.

I the rather note this because Gieseler, in his Essay, suggests a contrary view of the conduct of the iconoclastic emperors; very much on the ground of Leo the Isaurian having called away Gegnæsius to Constantinople for trial. But very mistakenly, I think. See my p. 255 Note [2].

purer motives, we may be sure,[1] some from motives political and earthly,—it was originated by the *Paulikians*. This may account both for the comparative fairness of Gegnæsius' examination in the Patriarchal Court at Constantinople, and also for the many years of Joseph's undisturbed ministrations at Antioch.

And now as to *Sergius*. The circumstances of his conversion to Paulikianism from the established religion, or rather established apostasy, are very observable; and thus told by Petrus Siculus, his bitter enemy.[2] While yet a young man in his native town of Ania, near Tabia,[3] in Galatia, he was addrest, it is stated, by a woman of Manichæan principles; one that was a disciple of the Devil, ignoble in station, and in character cunning and deceitful.[4] "I hear, Sir, that thou excellest in literary science and erudition, and art moreover, in every respect, of good and moral character. Tell me, then, why dost thou not read the divine Gospels?"—Seduced by her words, and not aware of the hidden poison of impiety that was in her, he replied; "It is not lawful for us men of the world[5] to read them, but only for the Priests." On which this was her answer; "It is not as thou supposest. For there is no acceptance of persons with God: since the Lord willeth all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth. But your Priests, because they adulterate God's word,[6] and hide the mysteries contained in the Gospels, do therefore avoid reading to you, their auditors, *all* things therein written; but read *some* things, and omit *others*, that so ye may not come to the knowledge of the truth. For it is written therein, 'Some will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord,

[1] "They (the image-worshippers) were now opposed by the murmurs of many simple or rational Christians: who appealed to the evidence of texts, or facts, and of the primitive times, and secretly desired the reformation of the Church." Gibb. ix. 122.

[2] Witness the strain of bitter invectives against Sergius here occurring. p. 40.

[3] A town on the Halys, about a hundred miles south of Sinope.

[4] ασεμνος. This may mean either *impious*, *morally disreputable*, or simply *ignoble*. Mr. Arnold has preferred the second sense. How the woman's conduct on this occasion, and result of the instructions given by her to the young man Sergius, agreed with this latter charge, the reader will see as we go on.

[5] κοσμικοις.

[6] καπηλευονται τον του Θεου λογον. It is the phrase used by St. Paul 2 Cor. ii. 17; "For we are not as the many καπηλευοντες τον λογον του Θεου, which corrupt God's word."

have we not in thy name cast out dæmons, and done many miracles; and the King[1] answering shall say, Verily, verily, I say unto you, I know you not.' Look and see whether it is not so written. And who are they to whom the Lord will say, 'I know you not?'" Whereupon he, being most stupid and ignorant, was at a loss and silent. [The historian here pauses, himself to answer the question which Sergius in his ignorance could not. The persons, says he, so cast out are exorcists, like the sons of Sceva, who through magical incantations cast out devils, and heal diseases; and, as they make use of Christ's name in their incantations, the dæmons through fear of it fly: also men that lead indeed a solitary and irreprehensible life; but, through ignorance falling into heresies, will therefore not obtain the kingdom.[2] Such is the true answer to the woman's question.—He then resumes his narration.] But Sergius, ignorant of all this, looks into the Gospels: and finding the words written there which the woman had stated, says to her, "Tell me, concerning whom says the Lord these things?" She gave him not then however a reply to his question; but went on thus. "And concerning whom said the Lord, 'Many shall come from the east, and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, but the children of the kingdom will be cast into outer darkness?' Who are these, she said, *the children of the kingdom?*" And the wretched man, not knowing that Christ meant by these the national Israelites, to whom pertained the adoption, &c.,[3] but who were cast out because they crucified him, and deeming that mad woman to be a guide to salvation, began earnestly to ask her the meaning of the things that have been mentioned. And she, a guide in the way of destruction, having a mouth like an open sepulchre, began thus blaspheming against holy persons:—"These children of the kingdom are thy holy

[1] ὁ βασιλεύς. Mark the expression. It expresses the woman's own view of Christ's place and office on the great day of judgment.

[2] He adds:—that nothing may be owing to these persons in that day by the just Judge, they receive here the gifts of healing: so that when they exclaim, "Lord, Lord, have we not done many miracles in thy name? they may be answered, Friend, I do thee no wrong: thou hast received in thy life-time what was thine; take now thine own, and depart."

[3] I slightly abbreviate here.

ones; [or saints, ἅγιοι;][1] whom thou veneratest, she said, as Deities, the living and immortal Lord being left by thee: these they that will hear from the mouth of the just Judge in that day, I never knew you."—In the same style running through sundry passages written in the Gospels, and giving a perverted sense to each phrase in them, so as she saw him ready to receive it, she soon perfected him as an instrument of the Devil; and sharpened a weapon against humanity, fearful as had never been in any before him.

Such is the account of Sergius' conversion, given by the hostile historian Petrus Siculus; and which has seemed to me too characteristic to allow of omission or abridgment.[2] After which Sergius became, and continued for 34 years, the chief minister and head of the Paulikians: at first in association with Baanes; then, on account of Baanes' open lapse into licentiousness, superseding and separating from him. He had, like his predecessors, I should observe, adopted in the first instance the name of one of St. Paul's followers, *Tychicus;* in token of his *professedly,*

[1] Meaning, I doubt not, the holy ones of the Greek Church *then living:* i. e. their bishops, priests, and exorcists.

So I explained the meaning of the phrase in my earlier Editions, as well as the present. Mr. Arnold in the British Magazine for May 1847, at p. 558, objected to this: but only by stating his opinion that Petrus was right in supposing the woman to mean *departed saints;* without entering into any argument to solve the difficulties of this view.—Of course the two questions arising are; 1. could *departed saints* be supposed any way to cast out devils, &c.; 2. could that be the thing and the way alluded to by the woman? On the 1st point Wolf says, that the habit was already formed of invoking saints in casting out dæmons. But it is the act that is spoken of, not the invocation accompanying it: and this the Greek bishops, priests, and exorcists did. Moreover both the context of the Scripture passage cited, speaking of *prophesying in Christ's name,* indicates living members of the priesthood: and it is to these that the woman's whole discourse refers. Now the Bishops were almost as much designated by the title of *holy,* as departed saints themselves. Ἁγιώτατοι is mentioned by Bingham, ii. 9. 6, as among the Bishops' common titles of honour in the early ages of the Church: and so too Ducange, on *Sanctitas* and *Sancti.* Says he; "Sanctos, *etiamnum superstites,* compellatos episcopos docemur:" illustrating by citation (among others) from Theophilus Alexandr., "Decet *præsentibus sanctis* ordinationes fieri in ecclesiâ." The same elsewhere too of the priests and monks generally; the ἱερατευμα ἁγιον, in the ecclesiastical sense of the priesthood. Moreover the Greek Catholics' regarding and venerating their priesthood, *as gods,* was even made a matter of reproach against them by the Saracens. See my Vol. i. 410, Note [4]. Θεια και ἱερα κεφαλη, is Petrus' own title to an Archbishop; θειοι ποιμενες to the priests. (pp. 2, 3.)

Which being so, and the term thus applicable to *living priests,* as well as to departed saints, and the whole gist of the woman's discourse that the *priests* who hid, or corrupted the Bible, would be cast out, not *the departed saints* of the Greek Church, (among which latter, by the way, the Paulikians' favourite apostle Paul himself was included,) have I not reason, not merely to prefer this view of the woman's meaning in the word ἁγιοι, but to rest on it with little doubt or hesitation?

[2] Save only where I have noted the abbreviation. My translation is literal.

at least, expounding and propagating that apostle's doctrine.—The worst and most dangerous point in Sergius, as a head to the heresy, was *his semblance of virtue*. He so wore the very guise of piety, that Photius and Petrus themselves could find no immorality to charge him with: though it was but, in sooth, the wolf disguised as a sheep, the tare as the wheat.[1] Hence very chiefly his great influence.—His spirit moreover was eminently *missionary:* and his laboriousness and activity in that character such, that in one of his letters, written in later life, he thus expressed himself; "From East to West, and from North to South, I have run preaching the Gospel of Christ, and toiling with these my knees."[2] The words seemed to Petrus like words of boasting. At the same time he bears testimony, incidentally, and we may say unintentionally, to Sergius's sincerity of motive in his labours. It was his object, he remarks, to deliver his countrymen from what he now considered as their *fatal error*.[3]—It appears too from Petrus' narrative that a success attended him not incommensurate with this his laboriousness. Not of the laity only, but even of the priests and Levites, monks and nuns,[4] many were induced by him to join the Paulikian sect, and indeed to become teachers in it. Thus it grew and multiplied greatly.

[1] Phot. i. 96; δεινος την αρετην σχηματισασθαι. Also 106—108. And P. S. 40.

[2] Ὡς αυτος εν μια των επιστολων αυτου λεγει· Απο ανατολων, και μεχρι δυσμων, και βορρα, και νοτου εδραμον, κηρυσσων το ευαγγελιον του Χριστου, τοις εμοις γονασι βαρησας. P. S. 45. i. e. travelling on foot, as Gieseler explains it.

In which passage two things deserve notice: 1. Sergius' *public* assertion of the subject of his *preaching* being *Christ's Gospel;*—2. the fact of his *having no life of ease*, but *toiling* in the work. Indeed he was supporting himself, like St. Paul, as appears afterwards, by the work of his hands.*

As to Sergius' *boast*, if such it be called, we may compare it with St. Paul's, his professed exemplar; "From Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ." Rom. xv. 19. And indeed Petrus himself compares Sergius' missionary journeyings with St. Paul's: Περιελθων τας πολεις πασας και τας χωρας αοκνως, εν αις ὁ Αποστολος προ οκτακοσιων ετων τον λογον της αληθειας εκηρυξε. p. 45.

[3] νομισας παντας ανθρωπους, τους την ειλικρινη και αμωμητον ἡμων των οντως Χριστιανων κατεχοντας και ευσεβη πιστιν, εν απωλειᾳ κεισθαι. p. 44.

[4] I use Petrus' language. Πολλους μοναζοντας και μοναζουσας, Χριστῳ την παρθενιαν αναθεμενους, δια των οικειων μαθητων διεφθειρε, και του μονηρους απαλλοτριωσας βιου, του Θεου απεξενωσε· πολλους ἱερεις και Λευϊτας της ορθοδοξου πιστεως αποσπασας, και εκ προβατων θηρας αποτελεσας, ανθρωποβορους ειργασατο. p. 46. The reader may remember my notice of the Judaizing Levitical form assumed by the early apostasy. See my Vol. i. p. 296.

* So Photius i. 130; Και τεκτονικης ὁ Σεργιος ουκ αμελετητος ην, και δη και συνηθης ην χεχρησθαι τῃ τεχνῃ· and 132; της οικειας αυτου τεχνης.

It was in the course of these 34 years of Sergius's ministry that a severe persecution was begun and carried on against them, by command of the Emperors Michael Rhangabe and Leo V, and at the instigation of the patriarch Nicephorus.[1] On this some of the Paulikians, now grown numerous, resisted: and they at length retired to a place called Argas, near Melitene;[2] a position in which the neighbourhood of the Saracens proved to them, in the event, just as to Gegnæsius before them,[3] to be an additional protection.[4] In regard of Sergius himself, he *dissuaded them from resistance;*[5] as appears from an extract from a Letter of his own, given by Petrus: but in vain.—At length he ended his own course, by what his followers would regard as a kind of martyrdom for the faith. While working fearlessly and alone, as he was wont, in cutting wood on a neighbouring mountain,[6] he was surprised by a "certain pious Catholic," (so the Greek patriarch Photius eulogistically denominates the assassin,) who wrested his axe from his hand, and with it cleft him in twain;—"God's just judgment," says the historian, "on one who had so divided the Church of Christ:" besides the greater punishment of "his being sent into unquenchable and eternal fire."[7] This was in the year 835, some five years only before the death of his contemporary in the far West, Claude

[1] Phot. i. 126; Theoph. apud Dowling, 41.—Theophanes makes use of the occasion to inveigh against certain who had endeavoured to dissuade the Emperor from acceding to Nicephorus' call for persecution, on the plea that it was not fit for spiritual persons to pass sentence of capital punishment on the impious. For in this, he says, they were in direct variance with the Scriptures; where Peter is noted as passing sentence of death on Ananias and Sapphira!

[2] Not Mount Argæus, as I have stated in the three first Editions, after Raderus and Gibbon; but, as Gieseler observes, according to the Itin. Anton. a small town 26 or 28 miles west of Melitene.

[3] See p. 255 suprà.

[4] Compare Apoc. xi. 4. The Saracens were to be a scourge only to those who (collectively as a community) had not the seal of God on their foreheads.

[5] Εγω των κακων τουτων αναιτιος ειμι· πολλα γαρ παρηγγελλον αυτοις εκ του αιχμαλωτιζειν τους Ῥωμαιους αποστηναι, και ουκ ὑπηκουσαν μοι. But Petrus says that that was not enough; and that when he had urged forbearance on his followers, and expressed his disapprobation of their retaliating, in vain, then he ought to have resigned the office of their teacher. p. 46.

[6] I have before alluded to this his labouring with his own hands. It was a toilsome and hard kind of work; εις σανιδας αποξεειν των πρεμνων τα επιτηδεια.—As to his fearlessness in it, though a price was almost set on his life, Photius ascribes it to his reliance on magical defences: ουτω ταις μαγγανειαις αυτου τεθαρρηκοτα, και ταις γοητειαις την ζωην πεπιστευκοτα, και καταμονας ξυλουργειν επηρμενον. i. 131.

[7] So Petrus, p. 52, and Photius, i. 132.—They both date his death by the Mundane æra, A.M. 6343: from which we see that they and the Greeks still in the 9th century followed the Septuagint Chronology.

of Turin.—His memory afterwards continued sacred among the Paulikians; and the letters that he had addressed from time to time to their different churches were added, Petrus Siculus says, to their copies of the New Testament. Not so indeed, as if of the Canon of inspired Scripture: (we know to the contrary:[1]) but as that which they judged to be in spirit closely allied to it; in the same way, doubtless, as the Epistles of *Clement* were by the early Christians appended to the volume of Scripture, and sometimes read in their Churches.—Out of these Letters, "full of all pride and impiety,"[2] Petrus selects a few extracts, with his own added running comment upon them, in order professedly to inculpate the man's character. Of all which I subjoin literal translations, in all the disadvantage of this ex parte selection, that my readers may see the worst that his enemy could find against Sergius: only begging them to remember Gieseler's hinted caution about them,[3] as perhaps garbled, perhaps misrepresented.[4]

[1] The Paulikian fundamental rule was, *μη εξειναι ετερας βιβλους το παραπαν αναγινωσκειν*, except only the Gospels and Epistles. So Petrus himself, p. 26.

[2] P. S. p. 13. [3] Stud. und Krit. with special reference to my 7th extract.

[4] They are given at pp. 46—48 of Gieseler's Edition of Petrus Siculus: also all except the 1st and 3rd in Photius, pp. 112—117.

1. On the *founders* of the Paulikian churches.

. . . . . "But this I say, that Paul founded the Church at Corinth; Sylvanus and Titus founded that which is in Macedonia; Timothy overlooked Achaia; Epaphroditus administered the Philippensian Church; and that of the Laodiceans and Ephesians, and that too of Colossæ, were taught by Tychicus. For these three are one, and are taught by the same Tychicus."

So he depicts the founding and the founders of the *Paulikian* Churches, under these evidently *figurative* names, borrowed from those of some of the chief Pauline Churches.*—On which exclaims Petrus: "See how, when setting himself forth as teacher in those Churches of Antichrist, he imposes names on them, in order to deceive, of Churches of Christ 800 years ago existing! And was it only the Church of Corinth then that Paul founded? What a falsifier art thou of the truth! How is it thou art not ashamed of seducing the people?" †—So too Photius, i. 66.

2. Of his *missionary labours:* a passage already cited.

"From East to West, and from North to South, I have run preaching the gospel of Christ, toiling with my knees." (A fact admitted, as we saw, by Petrus.)

3. His *advice* to the general Paulikian body *against aggression and cruelty*, after beginning the war of resistance at Argas.

"Of these evils I am guiltless: for I often admonished them to abstain from taking the Romans captives; but they did not obey me." (For the Greek see p. 261.)

"But how guiltless?" says Petrus. "If they would not obey thee, why stay with hem till thy death? Further, if a teacher to them of Christ's doctrine, why not inculcate on them, as He taught, When they persecute you in one city, flee to another?"

* The names were thus far in good keeping; viz. that the original Pauline churches named, as well as those of the Paulikians named after them, were connected respectively with the teachers mentioned by Sergius in association with them

† I a little abridge Petrus' various comments.

It was not long after Sergius' death that the Paulikian sectaries were visited by a far severer persecution, origin-

4. To one *Leo Montanus*, seeking to make a schism among the Paulikians.

"Beware of rending the faith which cannot bend.* For what accusation hast thou against me? Have I circumvented any? or acted proudly to any? Thou canst not say so. And if thou shouldest say so, thy testimony is not true. God forbid, however, that I should cherish hatred towards thee. Rather let me entreat thee, that as thou hast received the Apostles and the Prophets, which are in number four,† so thou wouldest receive also the pastors and teachers; that thou become not a prey to wild beasts."

5. "The first fornication, or adultery,—that in which we are involved by derivation from Adam,—is a benefit.‡ But the second fornication is greater; that of which Paul says, 'He who fornicates sins against his own body.'" He proceeds: "Now we are the body of Christ: and if any one separate from the traditions of the body of Christ, (i. e. from mine,§) he sins; since he follows those who teach other doctrine, and is disobedient to the sound words."

"The impious wretch," says Sergius, "to call *fornication* a benefit!"—I need hardly suggest to the reader that it is of *spiritual* fornication, according to the Scripture figure, that Sergius is speaking: meaning thereby man's original *apostasy* and *alienation* from God, *derived* from Adam. Respecting this, Augustine uses nearly the same figure. After speaking of the two harlots on whom Solomon pronounced judgment, as being typical, and representing Jews and Gentiles as both under sin, he observes; "Omnis enim anima quæ, desertâ æternitate veritatis, terrenis sordibus delectatur, *fornicatur* à Domino." Serm. x. 2, ad. Pop.‖ I shall have to revert to this in a later Chapter, where the true character of Paulikianism will come into consideration.—But how the original apostasy a benefit? Because, I presume, where sin abounded, it gave occasion for grace much more to abound. "Oh! happy sin," said Luther, "which hast found such a Redeemer!" See p. 96 suprà.

6. From a Letter to the *Colonienses*.—"Assured beforehand of the proof and worthiness of your faith, we remind you,¶ that as the older churches received and cherished pastors and teachers, so ye received one who was a shining lamp, a light-bearing star, a guide to salvation; according to that which is written, If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light."

Of this Petrus exclaims:—"Wretched, impious man! Paul called himself the foremost sharing of all things, an abortion, the least of the apostles: and dost thou, Photius, purblind seer-like, call thyself a splendid lamp, a guide to salvation! Thou, a blind leader of the blind!"

The reader here suggest that it does not appear from Petrus' or Photius' History, that Constantine was taught at all at Coloneia. But Constantine did. And there is nothing in the context to forbid the reference being to him, not to Sergius. For the Paulikian Church at Coloneia would seem to have continued from Constantine's time.

Then, presently after; "Be imitators of me; and hold fast the traditions which ye have received from me. Then, presently after; "Let no one seduce you in any wise! But, having received promises from God, be of good cheer: for we write to you having confidence in our hearts: for (ὁτι) I am the porter of the door, and the good shepherd, and the guide of that which is Christ's body, and the lamp of the house of God; and I am ever with you, even to the end of the world. For even though I be absent in body, I am present in spirit with you. Finally, farewell! Be ye stedfast; and the God of peace shall be with you!"

"Child of the Devil," says Petrus; "thus to make thyself equal with God!" To understand this, *if* a true extract, (on which *quære* let Gieseler's caution be remembered,) the context seems indispensable. Sergius never could have meant the

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* τηρησον σεαυτον ενδος το τεμνειν την ακλινη πιστιν.

† Meaning the four evangelists, says Raderus.

‡ Ἡ πρωτη πορνεια, ἡν εκ του Αδαμ περικειμεθα, ενεργεσια εστιν.

§ P. Siculus' own interpolated gloss, I conceive.

‖ So Photius himself too, ii. 201: Τας πλανωμενας ψυχας απο του αληθινου Θειυ, και οπισω των δαιμονιων εκπορνευουσας.

¶ ὑπομνησιν προς ὑμας ποιουμεθα.

ated by direction of the image-worshipping Empress Theodora. And both the severity of the persecution, and the numbers of the sect, may be judged by the multitudes said to have been sacrificed in it. Reckoning together those that were drowned in the sea, and those put to the sword, the numbers stated are not less than 100,000.[1]

On this, like certain of the Albigenses, Hussites, later Piedmontese Waldenses, and French Calvinists of after times, the Paulikians determined on more decided resistance to their persecutors: and under Carbeas, previously an officer of high rank in the Imperial service, but who had now (whether converted to their views by the persecuted, or disgusted with the persecutors) deserted to them, fortified themselves on Mount Tephrice in Armenia, and maintained a war of various success, until at length reduced by the first Basil.—In the progress of this war, if cruelties were sometimes retaliated on their injurers, who can wonder? It is to be remembered, however, that after they had multiplied and strengthened into a powerful community, it was not the whole of them, any more than the whole body of Hussites, Waldenses, or other orthodox sects just enumerated, that we presume to have been Christian Witnesses; but such only among them (and I believe were not wanting) as acted still, like Sergius and his predecessors, in the true Christian evangelic spirit.

Now it was here, and about this time, that *Petrus Sicilus*, the historian to whom we have so often referred,

absurdity, that he would be with them personally to the end of the age."—Is there anything in Paulikian doctrine to make it probable. The promises given speaks of promises from God,—promises inducing the hopeful confidence expressed. The sequel expresses relations in which God, or Christ, has promised to stand to his Church.* Construing the clause expressing Sergius' hopefulness *parenthetically*,† may not *these* be the promises meant; and the "I" designate the divine Saviour speaking, not Sergius? What there is of difficulty in this solution, may arise from Sergius' loosely citing Scripture, or Petrus' slightly garbling Sergius.

[1] So the Continuator of Theophanes, apud Dowling, p. 43. This was A.D. 845. —Gibbon (x. 177) observes on this persecution; "Many simple *Iconoclasts* were punished under a more odious name;" i. e. of *Manichæans*. The attachment indeed of this term of reproach to the iconoclasts is notorious. So Dowling, p. 50.

* Compare Joh. x. 3, 11; xvi. 13; Apoc. xxi. 23; Matt. xxviii. 20; Joh. xiv. 17, 18.

† Ταυτας δε τας επαγγελιας εχοντες εκ Θεου, θαρσειτε· (ημεις γαρ πεπεισμενοι οντες εν ταις καρδιαις ημων γραφομεν υμιν·) ὁτι ὁ θυρωρος, και ὁ ποιμην ὁ καλος . . . . εγω ειμι, κ. τ. λ.

jointly with Photius) the most authentic on the subject,—the *Reinerius Saccho*, if I may so say, of the *Paulikian heresy*,—being sent on the mission by Basil, visited and spent nine months among the sectaries. The date is given by himself, A.D. 868. And I wish to take this opportunity of noting cursorily the heresies he charges on them; his authority being, as he tells us, in part that of personal observation, in part that of the *reports* of the Catholics, or Christians of the Established Church, resident in the neighbourhood:[1]—viz. 1st, that of holding, like the Manichæans, two principles, (αρχας,) or two Gods, an evil and a good, the one the creator of this world, the other of the world to come; 2ndly, that of dishonouring the Virgin Mary,[2] and discrediting the fact of Christ's being born of her, forasmuch as he brought, they said, his body from heaven; 3rdly, the turning away from participation in the awful mysteries of Christ's body and blood; 4thly, the dishonouring of the material cross; 5thly, the rejection of the Old Testament from the Scripture Canon; 6thly, the repudiation of the established ministry of Priests and Presbyters.[3] —Photius adds, as a further charge against them, that of rejecting Baptism: and others inveigh bitterly, as indeed already noticed, against their enmity to the worship of the sacred images.[4]—I reserve the examination of these charges, (as before intimated,) for a later Section.

The subsequent history of the Paulikians is *European*, —They had already in the year 756, under direction of the Emperor Constantine Copronymus, detached a colony, which acted also as a religious mission, to *Thrace*.[5] A century after, and just while Petrus Siculus was among them, they appear to have strengthened this by a second.[6]

[1] Pet. Sic. p. 2.

[2] And *the saints* too. So P. S. of Sergius, p. 40: Σεργιον τον της Θεομητερος και παντων των ἁγιων ὑβριστην.

[3] Their own chief ministers were called, as alike Petrus Siculus and Photius tell us, Συνεκδημοι, or *Comperegrini;* the younger, or inferior, *Notarii*. The word συνεκδημοι is used, Acts xix. 29, and 2 Cor. viii. 19; to which, as also to 2 Cor. v. 6, in illustration of its meaning, I shall have to refer hereafter.

[4] See pp. 256, 257.

[5] Ὁ δε βασιλευς Κωνσταντινος Συρους τε και Αρμενιους, οὐς ηγαγεν απο Θεοδοσιουτολεως και Μελιτινης, εις Θρακην μετωκησεν· εξ ὡν επληθυνθη ἡ αἱρεσις των Παυλικιανων. Theophanes Chronograph. apud Dowling, p. 40.

[6] Petrus Siculus specially addresses his history to the Archbishop of the Bulga-

Yet another century after (about A.D. 970) the Emperor John Zimisces,—whether, as Zonaras reports, at the request of the Patriarch of Antioch, "because that they still *corrupted many with their heresy*," (this connecting link of the chain that testifies to their continued missionary enterprise and work will not be lost upon the reader,)—or, as Anna Comnena, from his appreciation of their faithfulness and courage,—from one or other, I say, of these two motives, Zimisces removed the rest across the Bosphorus, and settled them on the Northern frontier of the Empire; free toleration being now granted, and the city and district of *Philippopolis* given them in possession.[1]—There Cedrenus (whose account of the heresy, mainly agreeable to that of Petrus Siculus, will be noticed hereafter) describes them as living in the 11th century.[2] There the Emperor Alexius Comnenus vainly attempted to convert them to the so-called Catholic faith, at the commencement of the 12th. There again the Latin Crusaders that conquered Constantinople found them in the year 1204. The which last-mentioned speak of them under the name of *Popolicani*, or *Poplicani*;[3] a name corrupted, as I conceive, from their proper title of *Paulikiani:* the corruption being helped on perhaps through confusing it with the adjective of locality, formed from the name of their then chief city of residence *Philippopolis*.[4]—And by this name, I must

rians, in order, as he says, to put him on his guard against the heretics; who, he had learnt, were at that time just about sending a mission into Bulgaria.

[1] Dowling, p. 48.—It is to be observed that, in the then state of the empire, their position on the Northern frontier at Philippopolis in Thrace, on the upper Hæmus, was one of peculiar trust and responsibility.—We may compare the assignment of fortified towns to the *Huguenot* heretics, in a later age.

[2] Mr. Faber makes Cedrenus flourish in the 12th century: but Dowling (p. 46) infers from internal evidence, and I think with reason, that he died before the end of the 11th.

[3] The following passage occurs in Geoffroy de Ville Hardouin. "Une partie des genz qui estoient *Popolicani*, s'en allerent à Johannise, et se rendirent à lui, et li distrent; Sire, chenauche devant Phinepople; enuoie tost; nos te rendrons la ville tote." Dowling, p. 49.

[4] From *popolis*, the terminating half of *Philippopolis*, *Popolicani* would be an adjective not unnaturally formed, as *Anglicani* from Anglia, &c. When hearing of the sect there residing as *Pavlicani*, a word in sound not very dissimilar from *Poplicani*, the supposition seems to me warranted by the frequent and well-known Frankish corruptions of Greek names, that they may have confounded the two, and ascribed the former appellation to that of the city the Paulikians lived in. The *Philip* might be omitted by them in the process, just as the *Constantine* in the Turkish name (*Stambol*) of Constantinople.—The identity of the *Popolicani*, *Poplicani*, and *Publicani* with the *Paulikiani* is allowed by all. See Du Cange ad verb.

now observe, as well as by their tenets, and the known migratory course of certain bands of their community, they are connected with sectaries of the *West* called *Publicani:* who, whether transported by the line of the Danube, or across the sea,—whether in the movements of war,[1] of commerce,[2] or of direct missionary enterprise,—had already from the commencement of the 11th century (just when the Turkish woe was to be let loose on Greek Christendom) appeared, and excited notice, in Italy[3] and other countries of Western Europe: while in each of them acting on the same proselyting principles, and in each drawing down on themselves the same persecutions for heresy, as their brethren and predecessors in the East. Of these persecutions, says Gibbon, in his masterly and comprehensive, though religiously considered incorrect, sketch of the Paulikian sect, (so I hope to prove it,) "the flames which consumed twelve Canons at Orleans (A.D. 1022) was the first act and signal."[4]

[1] "Under the Byzantine standard," says Gibbon, (x. 186,) "the Paulikians were often transported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily. In peace and in war they freely conversed with strangers and natives; and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps." In a Note subjoined Gibbon quotes a curious extract from William of Apulia, thus noticing the Sectaries, and the odium of the Manichæan name attached to them, in his narrative of a battle between the Greeks and Normans A.D. 1040;

> Cùm Græcis aderant quidam quos pessimus error
> Fecerat *amentes*, et ab ipso nomen habebant.

The *amentes* is from Μανης and μαινομαι.

[2] Venice especially opening its arms to trading foreigners.

[3] On the Paulikian settlements in Western Europe, especially in the south of France, see Gibbon's further remarks, ibid.; also Mosheim, xi. 2. 5. 2; who expresses himself to the effect following:—That either from missionary zeal, or to escape the oppressions of the Greek Government, some members of the Paulikian sect migrated first to Italy, then to other countries of Western Europe, gradually, as they went, collecting proselytes. At what time they migrated thither was uncertain; but undoubtedly by the middle of the xith century many had spread into Sicily, Lombardy, Insubria, especially Milan, others into Gaul and Germany: the common name in Italy and Germany being *Paterini* and *Cathari;* in France *Albigenses* (from the town Albi), *Bulgari* from Bulgaria, and *Publicani* the equivalent of *Paulikiani.*

So too Gieseler, H. E. ii. p. 151; but less decidedly as to the Paulikian origin and connexion of the Western heretics. It is to be remembered that the grounds for the idea of their having had a Paulikian origin (over and above the similarity of the charge of Manichæism) are mainly three:—the notorious fact that the Paulikian heretics from Thrace, or Bulgaria, *sent out missions westward,* and also went westward individually on the call of war or commerce; the fact that the name *Bougres,* or *Bulgarians,* attached, as just stated, to some of them, and was used interchangeably with *Cathari* (=*Puritans*), *Albigenses,* &c.; and the fact that some of these latter, as at Cologne, expressly ascribed to themselves a *Greek* origin. To which add the Papal Legate's statement in 1223, noticed in my § 4, p. 290, infrà, as to some of the heretics in France speaking of their having a Pope, or Patriarch, in Bulgaria.

[4] Ibid.

And so, at the precise epoch at which our sketch of the earlier *Western* Witnesses concluded, (concluded by mention of certain heretics found near Turin in 1028, of similar religious profession apparently with the Paulikians, and of whom it is said that they knew not how they had come into Italy,) I say we are led by the fortunes of those whom I presume to have been *Eastern* Witnesses for Christ, back to the *West* again; and shall *there*, in our next Section, have to trace in the records of the two lines, (if so they may be called,) conjoined or intermixed, the further history of Christ's Witnesses.

§ 4.—WITNESSES IN WESTERN EUROPE, WHETHER OF WESTERN OR EASTERN ORIGIN, DURING THE 11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES, UP TO THE RISE OF PETER VALDES.[1]

In pursuing my subject in this Section, I shall abstract the extant notices (some very fully) of certain profest confessors for Christ, brought before the Councils of *Orleans*, *Arras*, *Thoulouse*, *Oxford*, and *Lombers*, in the years 1022,[2] 1025, 1119, 1160, 1165, respectively: filling up the long chronological interval between the *second* and *third*, in the want of recorded *details* of certain other intervening Councils, (at which however similar heretics seem similarly to have confest and been condemned,) by notices of *Berenger* and *Peter de Bruys*, with their respective followers; and that between the *third* and *fourth* by *Evervinus'* account of heretics, still evidently of the same line and character, that were condemned A.D. 1147 at *Cologne*.—In regard of *some* of these, the connexion in respect of local origin, as well as character, with the *Paulikians of the East* is marked decisively: in regard of *all* it is very possible:—though

[1] See generally Gieseler, II. E. Sections 46 and 84, on the heretics from A.D. 858 to 1305.

[2] A Charter of King Robert, given in the Gallia Christiana, Tom. viii. col. 491, which purports to have been executed in the year 1022, "quando Stephanus hæresiarches, et complices ejus, damnati sunt et ursi Aurelianis," fixes the date of the transaction to *that* year; and not, as some report, 1017. Maitland, Letter to Mill, p. 29.

the greater probability seems to me this, that the Paulikian immigrants in the eleventh and twelfth centuries found, and partly intermingled with, other similar reputed heretics of native *Western* growth; the offshoots of those dissentients, especially of Claudian origin, whom I traced in my Section 2 preceding.

Of the heretics condemned by the Council of Orleans we have four contemporary, or nearly contemporary reports, the fullest being that in the Chartulary of a Monastery at Chartres:[1]—all however reports by *enemies;* and therefore,

[1] Of *this* report (which will be found in D'Achery i. 604) Dr. Maitland says; "It is obviously a *biographical* account of *Arefastus;*" (the knight that was so prominent an actor in the transaction:) "in fact D'Achery tells us that it is extracted from the *Chartulary* of *St. Pierre-en-Vallée* at *Chartres;* which is the very monastery in which Arefastus afterwards became a monk." Letter to Dr. Mill, p. 19.—Of the *next* most full account, that by *Rodulphus Glaber*, he observes that its author was a monk of Dijon; whose Abbot was also Abbot of Fescampes in Normandy, having been invited to it by Count Richard of Normandy, the superior lord of Arefaste:—also that Glaber's History was written at the suggestion of this Abbot, and perhaps some twenty-five years after the Council of Orleans. Ib. p. 30.—A *third* but briefer notice is found in a French Chronicle, by *Ademar* a monk of St. Martial, living at the time of the Council, and whose Chroniele stops at the year 1029: and a *fourth*, still briefer, in a Letter of John, a monk of Fleury near Orleans, addressed to the Bishop of Vic in Spain, and written in the same year, and probably within a few weeks of the transaction. For he speaks of it as having "happened at Orleans on *Innocents' Day*, without any other mark of time." So Dr. Maitland ibid. p. 32.—The original of three out of these four reports, is printed both by Mr. Faber and Dr. Maitland; the other (*Ademar's*) only in its abridged form, as given by Baronius. As various points of interest are omitted in this abridgment, I shall here subjoin the full original, copied from Harduin's Councils, vi. 822; adding also, as it is very short, that of *John of Fleury*.

"Eo tempore," inquit *Ademarus*, "decem ex Canonicis Sanctæ Crucis Aurelianis, qui videbantur esse religiosores aliis, probati sunt esse Manichæi. Quos rex Robertus, cùm nollent aliquatenus ad fidem reverti, primùm à gradu sacerdotii deponi, deinde ab ecclesiâ eliminari, et demum igne cremari jussit. Quidam etiam Aurelianensis canonicus, cantor, nomine Theodatus, mortuus erat ante triennium in illâ hæresi, ut perhibebant viri religiosi, et hæretici ipsi; cujus corpus, postquam probatum est, ejectum est de cœmeterio, jubente Episcopo Odalrico, et projectum in invium. Quia autem flammis judicati sunt supradicti decem cùm Lisoio, quem rex valdè dilexerat propter sanctitatem quam eum habere credebat, securi nihil timebant: et à flammis se inlæsos exire promittebant; et ridentes in medio ignis ligati sunt. Et sine morâ penitus in cinerem redacti sunt, ut nec de ossibus residuum invenirctur eorum."

John of Fleury's account is as follows. "Volo vos intereà scire de hæresi quæ die Sanctorum Innocentium fuit in Aurelianensi civitate. Nam verum fuit, si aliquid audistis. Fecit Rex Robertus vivos ardere de melioribus clericis, sive de nobilioribus laicis, prope quatuordecim ejusdem civitatis; qui Deo odibiles, perosique cœlo et terræ, abnegando abnegabant sacri baptismi gratiam, Dominici quoque corporis et sanguinis consecrationem. Cum hoc, post perpetrata scelera vitiorum negabant posse recipi veniam peccatorum. Enimvero cùm his assertionibus nuptiis detrahebant: à cibis etiam quos Deus creavit et adipe, tanquam ab immunditiis, abstinebant."

like those already abstracted in my sketch of the Paulikian sect in the *East*, to be received with the necessary allowance and caution.

It is said that the heresy, hitherto unknown in France, originated from a woman who had come from *Italy*:[1] that country in the South of which, as we have seen, Paulikian emigrant bands had gained footing as early as the beginning of the xith century;[2] and perhaps too in its Northern regions, there where Claude of Turin had two centuries before witnessed for Christ.[3] Of this woman, it is related, that wherever she went, she exercised so singular an influence, as to seduce not the more simple only and the laics to her opinions, but many even of the more learned of the priesthood.[4] Thus at Orleans, as elsewhere, during a temporary sojourn in the city, she corrupted several of the clergy: more especially two of the canons,[5] named *Stephen* and *Lisoie;* who for their rank, learning, wisdom, almsgiving, and general sanctity of character, were, according to the united testimony of all four of the chroniclers,[6] held universally in the highest reputation. These now became the local heads of the new heresy; and with all their zeal endeavoured to propagate it both at Orleans and beyond it.—Among others the chaplain of a knight of Rouen (the latter named *Arefaste*) heard their fame, became their disciple, and returning home sought to proselyte his patron Arefaste, whom he loved, we are told, with singular affection;[7] assuring him that Orleans shone above other cities with the light of wisdom, the lamp of holiness.[8]—Arefaste

[1] "Ex Italiâ procedente." *Rod. Glaber.* [2] See p. 267.

[3] Supposing the *Turin* heretics of 1028 to have been of foreign origin.

[4] "Seducebat quoscumque volebat, non solùm idiotas et simplices, verùm etiam plerosque qui videbantur doctiores in clericorum ordine." Rod. Glaber.

[5] On the institution of the *Canonical* life and order, shortly before Charlemagne, see Guizot on the Civilization of France, Lect. 26; or Mosheim viii. 2. 2. 14.

[6] So *Arefaste's Biographer;* "Stephanus et Lisoius apud omnes sapientiâ clari, sanctitate . . magnifici, eleemosynis largi, opinione habebantur vulgi:"—*John of Fleury;* "quatuordecim de melioribus clericis, sive de nobilioribus laicis:"—*Ademar;* "decem ex canonicis qui videbantur esse religiosiores aliis:" and again; "Lisoio quem rex valdè dilexerat propter sanctitatem quam eum habere credebat:"—*Glaber;* "hæresiarches duo (heu! proh dolor!) qui in civitate putabantur genere ac scientiâ valentiores in clero;" and again, "viros hactenus in omni morum probitate perutilissimos."

[7] "Quem singulari affectu diligebat" Arefaste's Biogr.

[8] "Præ cæteris urbibus coruscare luce sapientiæ, atque sanctitatis lampade." To

suspected *heresy;* and, with the privity of the king and of some of the priesthood, went to Orleans, and feigned himself a disciple of the two canons, in order the better to detect it. In his case, just as in his chaplain's, the instructions of these new teachers began with, and were based on, the words of God's own book, the Bible.[1] As he listened and seemed impressed, they likened him, in figurative language still drawn from the Scriptures, to a wild tree transplanted from the wilderness of an evil world,[2] and grafted on a better stock in their sanctuary; but added that he needed a cleansing by the waters of wisdom, and a pruning away of vices by the sword of God's word, in order to the reception of the doctrine that had been delivered to them by the Holy Spirit.[3] And then they opened to him views strange and heretical on the religious tenets in vogue throughout Christendom: saying, that in *baptism* there was no washing away of sins, in the *sacramental elements* no conversion by the priest's consecrating words into Christ's body and blood;[4] that it was vanity to make prayers to the *saints* and *martyrs;* that *works of piety and justice,* esteemed in the Church Catholic to be the purchase-price of an eternal reward,[5] were superfluous: —further, according to Rodolphus Glaber, that the heaven and earth, as now visible, had existed from eternity;[6]—that

those who with me may feel convinced that these Orleanists were real Christian witnesses, the figure used in the above will suggest the Apocalyptic symbol, "These are the two *candlesticks*."

[1] Of the Chaplain it is said, "cùm divini verbi dulcedine ab eis debriatur;" of Arefaste, "Cùm primum divinorum voluminum exemplis . . eum informarent."—It will be well to mark the words "divinorum voluminum." Could they well have been used, had the New Testament been the *only* part of God's word appealed to?

[2] "Translatus de iniquo sæculo." Ibid.

[3] The reference is evidently to John xv. 2, 3; "Every branch that beareth fruit he cleanseth it (καθαιρει), that it may bring forth more fruit, ... Now ye are *clean* (καθαροι) through the word that I have spoken to you." They applied the figure as including both the *cleansing* of the plant with water, and *amputating* with the husbandman's knife: "aquis perfunderis sapientiæ;"—"donec gladio verbi Dei vitiorum spinis carere valeas."

[4] So in the *Chartulary.*—By *John of Fleury* the same charges are thus expressed; "abnegando abnegabant sacri baptismi gratiam, dominici quoque corporis et sanguinis consecrationem."—In regard of John of Fleury's further charges against them of *disparaging marriage,* and *abstaining from meats,* I have omitted noticing them in the text, because none of the other accounts specify them.

[5] "Omne Christianorum opus, pietatis duntaxat et justitiæ, *quod æstimatur pretium remunerationis æternæ,* laborem superfluum judicabant esse." *Glaber.*

[6] "Cœlum pariter ac terram, ut conspiciuntur, absque auctore initii semper extitisse asserebant." *Ib.*

all the Bible said of a Trinity of Godhead in Unity was false;—and, according to the Chartulary, that Christ was neither born of the Virgin Mary, nor had suffered for men, nor had been really buried in the tomb, nor had risen from the dead.—Now, whatever the knight may have thought or felt respecting *Christ*, it is notorious that, according to the received theology of the day, it was on the saints and the sacraments, the works of merit and the penances,[1] thus alike set aside by his teachers, that he must have rested his hopes of salvation. "If not to these," he said, "tell me what I may look to, lest I despair." In answer, while congratulated on his eyes having begun to open to the true faith, he was told that in their further instructions they would show him the way wherein he would be cleansed from every spot of sin, and taught by the Holy Spirit unreservedly that doctrine which was the mystery and the glory of all Scripture:[2] after which he would have heavenly food wherewith to satiate his soul; would see angelic visions; and in the abiding fellowship of the Lord of all, in whom were all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, never know want again.[3]

I pass over the story that follows in the Chartulary (professedly in explanation of what was meant by the promised *heavenly food*) of a nightly meeting, an invocation and apparition of the Devil, followed by horrid impurities, atrocities, and Thyestean banquets, very much such as were ascribed to the early Christians by their heathen enemies.[4] Its absurdity and manifest falsehood, as Mosheim says,[5] forbids it a moment's attention; except as showing

[1] I add the word *penances*, in allusion to John of Fleury's statement respecting the impossibility of pardon after flagrant sins committed (see p. 269): supposing the impotence of *penance* to that effect to be the thing intended; and thus the charge to be of the same nature with Rodolphus Glaber's respecting works of merit.

[2] "Pandemus tibi salutis ostium, quo ingressus (per impositionem videlicet manuum nostrarum) ab omni peccati labe mundaberis, atque sancti Spiritûs dono repleberis; qui Scripturarum omnium profunditatem et veram dignitatem absque scrupulo te docebit." *Chartulary.*

[3] "Deinde cœlesti cibo pastus, internâ satietate recreatus, videbis persæpe nobiscum visiones angelicas . . . . nihilque tibi deerit, quia Deus omnium tibi comes nunquam deerit, in quo sapientiæ thesauri atque divitiarum consistunt." Ib.—The reader will observe that I have deviated in my text from this original, by saying, "treasures of wisdom and *knowledge*," instead of "wisdom and *riches*;" doing so because it seems to me that it was a quotation from Col. ii. 3.

[4] See in Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Minutius Felix, Athenagoras. Of this resemblance more afterwards.

[5] "Apertè falsa." xi. 2. 5. 3.

the animus of the writer, and of others that have written like him. If true in a single particular, would it not have been reported by Arefaste against his teachers at the Council?[1] It is evidently a mere traditionary legend, patched on to the original narrative of Arefaste by its monkish retailer; and with the motive, as indeed he tells us, to scare true Christian men from the horrid heresy.[2]—The proper narrative proceeds to tell of the assembling of a Council against the heretics. It was under the presidency of King Robert and the Bishops of the neighbourhood; and Arefaste and the two Canons were summoned before it. At first, on their rendering a confession of their faith, it seemed difficult to convict them of heresy.[3] But, when charged by Arefaste with having taught him, as gospel,[4] the several anti-sacramental and anti-christian errors above specified, and reminded also of their assurance to him, that from that doctrine neither tortures nor death should ever make them swerve, they confessed to the charge, and said they had long held the doctrine.[5] Nor could either the arguments of the Council, enforced for some hours,[6] or the

[1] I might say moreover,—had such been their habits, would Arefaste have received the report he did from his Chaplain?—Further contrast their acknowledged excellence of moral character;—and again the sentiment ascribed to them by John of Fleury, *Post perpetrata scelera*, &c. See p. 269.

[2] "*Digressionem* fecisse videor:" sc. "ut Christicolæ caveant se ab hoc nefario opere."

[3] So the Chartulary.

[4] "Illam doctrinam quam salutiferam *evangelizabatis*." Ibid.—The word *gospel* is one that the Paulikians were ever fond of. So in Sergius' Letter. So too Bernard of the Petrobrussians; "*Solius evangelii* se profitentur æmulatores, et *solos*;" &c. In Cant. Serm. lxv. Quoted by Faber, p. 189.

[5] Glaber.

[6] The Biographer of Arefaste, in the Chartulary, makes the fact of Jesus Christ's birth, suffering, and resurrection, in human nature, the chief subject of the President's arguments with the accused. "We were not present," they said, "and so cannot believe it true." To which the President; "Do you not believe that you had carnal parents?" And, on their assenting; "If then ye believe that ye were procreated by parents, when ye were not, why disbelieve that God was begotten by God without mother before the worlds, and afterwards born of a Virgin, through the Holy Spirit's overshadowing?" They replied, "What nature denies always differs from creation." To which the President; "Before anything was made by nature, believe ye not that God the Father made all things, by His Son, out of nothing?" After which their reply is given; "*Ye may relate*," &c.;—the memorable reply cited on my next page.

On this Dr. Maitland says: "Their examination was chiefly on one point, the denial of.. the great mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh:" and he blames Mr. Faber for not so reporting it. But surely it is Maitland, rather than Faber, that is wrong in the matter. The final answer of the accused is evidence in itself, that it was not to a dialogue, or argument, such as we have just quoted that it was the answer; but rather to some carnal formal system of religion and human

threats of a torturing death, induce recantation; either from themselves or others, who now, to the number of ten or twelve, chiefly clergy, eagerly pressed forward to declare their accordance of faith with them.[1] With strange confidence they asserted their assured expectation that both those around them, and all the world, would sooner or later acknowledge their doctrine to be the truth;[2] and, as to the burning threatened, made light of it, even as if persuaded that they would come out of it unhurt.[3]—Their final answer to the Council is said to have been as follows: and there is a freshness, life, and character in the words that almost of itself evidences to us their correctness; just as if too deeply engraven on the mind of Arefaste, who must himself have reported them, ever to be forgotten. "*Ye may say these things to those whose taste is earthly, and who believe the figments of men written on parchment. But to us who have the law written on the inner man by the Holy Spirit, and savour nothing but what we have learnt from God, the Creator of all, ye speak things vain and aliene from divine truth. Put therefore an end to your words! Do with us as you wish! Even now we see our King reigning in the heavenly places; who with his right hand is conducting us to immortal triumphs and heavenly joys.*"[4]

invention, opposed by their judges to one spiritual, and delivered to men by the Holy Spirit. Indeed it seems to me to bear internal evidence, from its stupidity, incongruousness of texture, and want of keeping with the general narrative, of having been foisted on Arefaste's own narration by his monkish Biographer; just as the legend of Satan's apparition, &c., noticed before.

[1] The Chartulary says that the whole number of heretics were summoned to the Council at once; "omnis illa nequissima congregatio." Glaber says that in the Council, on Stephen and Lisoie making their confession of faith, "plures post illos se parti illorum profitebantur hærere, nec ullâ ratione se posse affirmabant ab illorum segregare consortio." He states the number burnt at 13; of whom Ademar makes 10 to have been Clerics and Canons.

[2] "Tam vos quàm cæteros, cujuscumque legis vel ordinis, in eam cadere expectavimus; quod etiam adhuc fore credimus." So too previously: "Dicebant fore in proximum in illorum dogma populum cadere universum." Glaber.

[3] Ibid.

[4] I must give the original unbroken. "Ista illis narrare potes qui terrena sapiunt, atque credunt figmenta carnalium hominum scripta in membranis animalium. Nobis autem qui legem scriptam habemus in interiori homine à Spiritu Sancto, et nihil aliud sapimus nisi quod à Deo omnium Conditore didicimus, incassum superflua et divinitate devia profers. Idcirco verbis finem impone, et de nobis quidquid velis facito. Jam Regem nostrum in cœlestibus regnantem videmus; qui ad immortales triumphos dexterâ suâ nos sublevat, dans superna gaudia." *Chartulary.*

A contrast seems intended in the appropriating pronoun *Regem nostrum*, between the *earthly* king condemning and the *heavenly* approving.—Compare the Paulikian woman's reference to Christ as a *King*, in her conversation with Sergius, p. 258.

—On this, after shameless insults and acts of violence received from the people, and specially from the Queen who was present,[1] they were despoiled of their clerical vestments, and led to a great fire kindled without the city. Even then their confidence did not forsake them. They smiled, it is said, when tied to the stake, and in the midst of the flames.[2]—The monk Ademar takes pleasure in relating that the fire (as if in mockery of their hopes) quickly and effectually did its office. The number burnt is stated at from twelve to fourteen; two only, out of the whole number, having recanted.—At the same time the corpse of another Canon, who, it was learnt, had died in the heresy three years before,[3] was, at the command of the Bishop of Orleans, exhumed from its sepulchre, and cast in token of indignity by the highway.

Of the heretics examined at the Council of ARRAS the account is as follows.[4]—It was reported to the Bishop, when holding a station there in the year 1025, that certain men had lately come into the neighbourhood from the confines of Italy,[5] and introduced a new heresy: setting forth a certain kind of righteousness,—so they called it,—as that by which alone men were purified; and asserting that there was no sacrament of the Church, by which otherwise they could attain to salvation;[6]—thus overthrowing the established religion. The chief teachers of the sect being, it would seem, absent, the other and more illiterate members of it were summoned before the Bishop, and ques-

[1] The writer in the Chartulary relates, and evidently with satisfaction; "When they had been ejected from the Church, the Queen, (like Herodias, says Faber,) with a stick which she was carrying, *struck out the eye* of Stephen, formerly her Confessor!"

[2] See Ademar's account.

[3] Ademar.—In A.D. 1029, there was a gathering of the neighbouring Bishops, with King Robert, to the dedication of St. Anian's Church at Orleans; on which occasion his relics, and those of other *saints*, were exhumed with honour, as the Church's fittest defence and ornament. Hard. vi. 843.

[4] See for the full account of this Council, *D'Achery's Spicilegium*, i. 607—624; for a brief summary, Gieseler ii. 153, Mosheim xi. 2. 5. 4; or Faber's extracts from D'Achery, given in his book, p. 358.

[5] "Ab *Italiæ finibus* viros eo loci advenisse;" "auditores Gundulfi cujusdam ab *Italiæ partibus*." D'Achery, p. 607.

[6] "Quandam justitiam præferentes hâc solâ purificari homines asserebant, nullumque in sanctâ Ecclesiâ aliud esse sacramentum, per quod ad salutem pervenire potuissent." Ibid.

tioned as to their doctrine, worship, rule of life, and chief teacher. They replied that they were the hearers of one Gandulph, from the parts of Italy; that they had been instructed by him in the precepts of the Gospels and Apostles; that they received no Scriptures but these, and held to them in word and life. When questioned respecting the established religion, it appeared that they disbelieved in the sacred mystery of baptism, the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, the efficacy of penances in satisfaction for sin, the doctrine of purgatory, and use of masses for the dead; that they disapproved of the adoration of relics, images, and the cross, of saint-worship, of the altars, incense, bell-tinkling, and chanting in the church-worship,[1] of legitimate marriage[2] also, and burial in church-yards: that they denied the legitimacy even of the priesthood, and, in short, the whole doctrine, discipline, and authority of the Romish Church. As regarded themselves and their rule of life, they said, (and no one seems to have impeached their conduct as inconsistent with the profession,) "If any one will diligently examine, it will be found agreeable with the doctrine of the Gospels and Apostles. It is to separate from the world; to restrain the flesh from concupiscence; to gain our livelihood by the works of our hands; to injure none: and to show love to all who unite in desiring to follow the same doctrine and life."[3]—The result of the examination of these simple and illiterate men is said to have been their return to the Catholic Church, through the reasonings and persuasion of the Bishop: whose arguments, let it be observed, were based on the Holy Scriptures, as what was received by them,[4] *the Old Testament* as well as the New.—Thus, even supposing them right in their faith, they failed of being witnesses for Christ. However, the

[1] Ib. 613—622.

[2] "Legitima connubia execrari." Ibid.—So of others, pp. 280, 287, infrà.

[3] "Lex et disciplina nostra, quam à magistro accepimus, nec evangelicis decretis, nec apostolicis sanctionibus contraire videbitur, si quis eam diligenter velit intueri. Hæc namque hujusmodi est: mundum relinquere; carnem à concupiscentiis frænare; de laboribus manuum suarum victum parare; nulli læsionem quærere, caritatem cunctis quos zelus hujus propositi teneat exhibere." D'Acher. i. 608.

[4] "In hoc vobis repugnare convincimini, quòd evangelica vos et apostolica præcepta [p. 611, fidem evangelicam et traditionem apostolicam] tenere dicitis." D'Achery, p. 609. And then the Bishop argues from the New Testament and Old Testament indiscriminately.—At p. 619 they are addrest as, like the Paulikians, the followers specially of *St. Paul*: "Paulus, cujus vos auditores esse mentimini."

sketch given will assist us the better to understand the nature of the heresy which had been taught them; more especially in respect of that doctrine of a certain *justifying righteousness*,[1] which seemed opposed to what was generally taught as *flowing from the sacraments*. Though *they* abandoned the witness, (at least on that occasion,) we have abundant evidence to show the stedfastness of others; and their real witnessing, in defence of the same doctrine, in many different parts of France.

I pass over the notices of heretics condemned at the Council of CHARROUX, in 1028,[2] also some about A.D. 1045 at Chalons,[3] and others in the Council of RHEIMS, A.D. 1049,[4] with the mere remark, in the want of recorded details, that they seem to have been heretics of the same class and

[1] The Bishop, in his address, argues as if this was a righteousness of mere *human merit*. But *faith* was expressly spoken of by the men in question, as essential to the righteousness they advocated. For their objection to the baptismal rite was this,—that *personal faith* in a baptized infant could not accompany the baptism. p. 608.

Dean Waddington, ii. 92, speaks of the Council of Arras as itself contending for justification by faith. But not so, most certainly, in the sense attached to that phrase by Luther afterwards, or by the Church of England. In one Chapter indeed (ch. xvi. p. 623) the Bishop argues very distinctly for Augustine's anti-Pelagianic views of free justification by grace. But the whole effect of his long discourse is this;—that the faith required is one resting not directly on *Christ*, and *Christ's finished work* and *righteousness*, but on *the Church*, (the *Roman* Church, p. 624,) with its sacraments, (transubstantiation specially, 610,) rites, saints, images, and other superstitions, as *the one channel* of saving grace: purgatory however coming in at the last, for such as might have merited it. "Jure purgatorius ignis esse dicitur; quòd per eum peccata aliqua purgantur, prout viventes aut eleemosynis, aut sacrificiis, aut certè vicariâ pœnitentiæ solutione, obtinere possunt." p. 169.

[2] This Council is thus noticed by Ademar in his Chronicle. "His diebus (A.D. 1028) Concilium aggregavit Episcoporum et Abbatum Dux Wilhelmus," (i. e. William, the 4th Duke of Aquitaine,) "apud Karrofum, propter extinguendas hæreses quæ vulgo à *Manichæis* disseminabantur." Harduin vi. 843.

[3] Roger, Bishop of Chalons, writing about that time to Wazon, Bishop of Liege, tells of certain Manichæans, rustics who had lately come into his diocese, who regarded Manes (the head of the heresy) as the Holy Spirit; abstained, as in accordance to the Old Testament law, "Thou shalt not kill," (a point to be observed,) from flesh-meat; also forbade marriage; adding that, most extraordinarily, no sooner did any join them, than they became more eloquent than the most erudite Catholics. So Gieseler ii. 154.

[4] After the 12th Canon we find in the Acts of the Council the clause following: "Et, quia *novi hæretici* in Gallicanis partibus emerserant, eos excommunicavit; illis additis qui ab eis aliquod munus vel servitium acciperent, aut quodlibet defensionis patrocinium illis impenderent." Harduin vi. 1007.—It is probable that allusion was made to heretics of the same class in the 13th Canon of the Council of *Thoulouse*, held A.D. 1056; the charge there given being in tenor not dissimilar from the preceding. "Cùm *hæreticis*, et cùm *excommunicatis*, ullam participationem vel societatem habentem præcipuè excommunicamus; nisi correctionis vel admonitionis causâ, ut ad fidem redeant catholicam. Si qui autem adjuvantes eos defendere conati fuerint, vinculo simul excommunicationis cùm eis subditi permaneant." Hard. vi. 1046. So were all suspected of heresy cut off from society!

character as those already noticed at Orleans, Arras, Turin. The link that next demands more direct notice, in our chain of evidence, is the history of the notable heresy and sect of BERENGER.

It was in the year 1045, being then principal of the public school at Tours, (he was afterwards Archdeacon of Angers,) that he first excited attention, by combating the received doctrine of transubstantiation: a doctrine which, after Paschase Radbert's direct promulgation of it in the 9th century, and the vehement controversies about it thereupon arising, had in the 10th century made silent progress, so as at the opening of the 11th to be tacitly regarded as the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church.[1] We are not told who was his instructor in the doctrine; and his appeals to Scripture, as much as to the early Fathers,[2] show that his faith rested on his own examination of *it*. At the same time it seems not improbable that an incidental intimation, which we find in history, of his having in the fervency of *his earlier years* disgraced himself by the defence of certain *heresies*,[3] may have had reference to some early partiality betrayed by him for the heretics and heresies, then so rife through the French provinces, of which we have been speaking.—"Roman Catholic writers," says Dean Waddington,[4] "do not dispute the brilliancy of his talents, the power of his eloquence, . . . or his general erudition. They admit too that habits of exemplary virtue and piety gave life and efficacy to his genius and learning: by which merits he acquired the veneration of the people, and the friendship of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of the day."[5]—His doctrine was condemned in Councils held at

[1] So Wadd. ii. 92; referring to the Arras Council for illustration.

[2] Thus, in a Letter to his adversary Lanfranc, he says, "Nondum enim adeo sategisti in Scripturâ divinâ;" i. e. so as to be qualified to pronounce upon his doctrine. Of the Fathers he says, that Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine must be esteemed heretics, if he was one. Hard. ib. 1016.

[3] "Licet Berengarius primum calorem juventutis aliquantarum hæresium defensione infamaverit." So William of Malmesbury, quoted by Faber, p. 158.—In which passage we are to observe that there is the ascription to him of *heresies* in the *plural*, not of *one* heresy only; also that the ascription has reference to his early youth. Now his main heretical doctrine, (as it was deemed,) that of *anti-transubstantiation*, he preached and propagated, notwithstanding his retractations, all through life.

[4] Ch. Hist. ii. 92.

[5] Compare William of Malmesbury's testimony to his character. "Innumeris bonis, maximèque humilitate et eleemosynis, approbatus. Largarum possessionum

Rome, Vercelli, and Paris, in the year 1050, the first under the presidency of Pope Leo IX: and, in sequence of a decree of that of Paris, he was deprived of the temporalities of his benefice. Still, however, professing and promulgating his doctrine, he was summoned in 1055 to another Council at Tours; at which the famous Hildebrand attended as Papal Legate, and at which Berenger is said formally to have retracted. The retractation, in terms more or less dubious, was repeated a second and a third time, in the course of the 30 years following.[1] Berenger, though he might hold the doctrine, had not the fortitude of a martyr. His retractation, however, was not from conviction, but under the influence of fear. In every case he reasserted the same doctrine after quitting the Council; employed poor scholars to disseminate it through France; and died, we are told, A.D. 1088, a penitent and in sorrow;—not, we know, on account of his anti-Romish doctrine, but on account of his retractation.[2]—His real views on the *sacrament* were very much those of the English Church: viz. that Christ's body is *spiritually* present to the *inner man;* and *spiritually* eaten by those, and those only, who are the true members of Christ.[3] In short it was the doctrine of what was spiritual, against the then received ex opere operato doctrine of universal saving efficacy to true Catholics in the sacrament; as well as against its being an expiatory sacrifice.—With views like these on the *one* sacrament it is scarce to be supposed but that Berenger,

dispertiendo dominus; non abscondendo et adorando famulus. Fœmineæ venustatis adeo parcus, ut nullam conspectui suo pateretur admitti, nè formam videretur delibasse oculo, quam non pruriebat animo. Non aspernari pauperem; non adulari divitem. Secundùm naturam vivere: habens victum et vestitum, juxtà Apostolum, his contentus esse." Apud Faber 158. So soo Hildebert in his Epitaphium on Berenger: ap. Cave Hist. Litt. p. 601.

[1] The dogma of faith that he was required to sign was this: "Ego Berengarius, indignus diaconus, . . . profiteor . . . panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse; et sensualiter non solum sacramento sed in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari, et frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri." Wadd. ibid. 94.

[2] Mosheim (xi. 2. 3. 17) refers to a little work of Berenger's, in which he declares that he had retracted under fear of death, and prays God's forgiveness for it. "Deus omnipotens," he says, "miserere, fons misericordiarum, tantum sacrilegium agnoscenti." Note [9]. Soo too Waddington, p. 95.

[3] Mosheim (ib. 18, Note [3]) cites the following from a Letter of Berenger's, as decisive of his views: "Constat verum Christi corpus in ipsâ mensâ proponi; sed *spiritualiter interiori homini verum;* in eâ Christi corpus, *ab his duntaxat qui Christi membra sunt*, incorruptum, intaminatum, inattritumque *spiritualiter* manducari."

like his Paulikian contemporaries, would hold views similarly heretical respecting the *other*. And indeed we have direct testimony to the fact. A letter is extant, of the date 1048, from the then Bishop of Liege to King Henry: invoking his interposition against Berenger and his friend Bruno, Bishop of Angers, as not only promulgating the heresy of *anti-transubstantiation*, (I use the term anticipatively,) but also (much like those at *Arras* and *Orleans*) doing away, it was said, with the *baptism of infants* and *legitimate marriage*.[1]—A yet further connecting link with the Paulikian sectaries, or else with some other similar line, appears in the following remarkable statement, ascribed to Berenger by his adversary the famous Lanfranc. "The gospel was preached in all nations: the world believed: the Church was formed. It increased: it fructified: but, through the unskilfulness of those who understood not, fell away into error afterwards, and perished. *In us alone, and those who follow us, has the holy Church survived on earth.*"[2] Now it can scarcely be supposed that Berenger meant the *perishing* here spoken of, in other words the *apostasy* of the Church, to have occurred only recently, and in his own time.[3] And if not, then his declaration of

[1] "Fama . . omnium nostrum replevit aures, qualiter Bruno Andegavensis episcopus, item Berengarius Turonensis, *antiquas hæreses* modernis temporibus introducendo, adstruant corpus Domini non tàm corpus esse quàm umbram et figuram corporis Domini; *legitima connubia destruant;* et, quantùm in ipsis est, *baptismum parvulorum evertant.*" Harduin, vi. 1023.*

The asserted *antiquity of the heresies* deserves notice; as well as the ascription to Berenger, not of *one*, but *all*.—Bossuet (Variations xi. i. 1) says; "Berengarius never impugned anything but the real presence." This is only one, out of many examples, of Bossuet's glaring inaccuracies. See p. 237 Note [3] suprà, for another example.

[2] "Prædicatum est evangelium in omnibus gentibus: credidit mundus: facta est ecclesia. Crevit: fructificavit: sed, imperitiâ malè intelligentium, postea erravit et periit. In nobis solis, et in his qui nos sequuntur, sancta in terris ecclesia remansit." De Corp. et Sang. Cap. 23; apud B. P. M. xviii. 776.

[3] Compare Bruno of Asti's statement in his Life of Pope Leo IX. "Mundus totus in maligno positus erat. Defecerat sanctitas; justitia perierat, et veritas sepulta erat: regnabat iniquitas, avaritia dominabatur: *Simon Magus ecclesiam possidebat.* Episcopi et sacerdotes voluptatibus et fornicationi dediti erant: non erubescebant sacerdotes uxores ducere, palam nuptias faciebant, nefanda matrimonia contrahebant. . . . . Quod his omnibus deterius est, vix aliquis inveniebatur qui vel Simoniacus non esset, vel à Simoniacis ordinatus non fuisset. Unde etiam (hc adds) usque hodiè inveniuntur quidam qui malè argumentantes, et ecclesiæ dispensationem non bene intelligentes, ab illo jam tempore sacerdotium in ecclesiâ defecisse contendunt." A point so important, that Bruno has a treatise afterwards to show that, after all, this

* The extract, which seems to me curious and interesting, had not, I thought, been noticed before: but I now find it to have been referred to in Dr. Gilly's Waldensian Researches, p. 89.

its having remained in those who thought with him, becomes his testimony to a *line* or *succession* of faithful dissentients from the established Church existing *before him;* whether the *Paulikians*, as I said, or *some other line.*—It well consists, too, with the sentiment elsewhere ascribed to him respecting the Church of Rome; to the purport, that "the Romish Church was a Church of malignants, and its See not the Apostolic seat, but that of Satan:"[1] and is indeed altogether *most remarkable.*

I may mention, in passing, a notice that occurs in the History of Aquitaine, of heretics of the same character as those at Orleans being discovered at Perigord: also, in the History of the Treves Diocese, of heretics found at Ivo within it, A.D. 1101; who, in agreement with those above mentioned, denied the *transubstantiation* of the elements in the one sacrament, and the availment to the salvation of *infants* of the other sacrament, i. e. of *baptism;* besides, it is said, many other errors, unspecified.[2] I must not however dwell on this, but proceed to the history and the heresy of *Peter de Bruys.*

did not vitiate the ordinations, nor destroy the Church. B. P. M. xx. pp. 1731 and 1734. How long previously this had been Bruno does not clearly say; but only that such was the state of the Church at Leo's assumption to the Popedom; i. e. A.D. 1048. (Which period, let it be remembered, was a part of what Mr. Digby eulogizes as the *Ages of Faith!* See p. 24 suprà.)

[1] So Lanfranc, B. P. M. xviii. p. 770;—also in the Tract by an anonymous Benedictine monk; who, after noticing Berenger's abjuration before Pope Nicholas, thus writes. "Sed Berengarius more suo ad proprium vomitum redire non timuit; et, *ultrà omnes hæretieos*, Romanos Pontificos et sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam verbis et scriptis blasphemare præsumpsit. Nempe sanctam Leonem Papam, non Pontificem, sed pompificem et pulpificem appellavit; sanctum Romanam ecclesiam vanitatis concilium et ecclesiam malignantium; Romanam sedem non apostolicam, sed sedem Satanæ, dictis et scriptis non timuit appellare." Harduin vi. col. 1014.—The assertion is indeed remarkable, as the monk says, for going beyond those of all heretics thus far. A century after, the Waldenses, as a body, made it.

"To know from what source Berengarius derived this language," says Hurd on the Papal Antichrist, "we need only reflect that in the catalogue of his works we find a Treatise written by him expressly on the *Book of Revelations.*" But Cave doubts this.

[2] "Ivodii, quod Trevericæ diœcesis appenditium est, fuerunt eo tempore (A.D. 1101,) hæretici, qui substantiam panis et vini, quæ in altari per sacerdotes benedicitur, in corpus Christi et sanguinem veraciter transmutari negabant: nec baptismi sacramentum parvulis ad salvationem proficere dicebant; et alia perplura profitebantur erronea, quæ memoriæ tradere nefas duxi," &c. Histor. Trev. in Dacher, Spicil. ii. 221.

Two priests and two laics of the sect are specially mentioned as seized, and brought to examination before the Bishop. Of the latter one recanted, the other fled. Of the priests also one recanted; who afterwards, falling into other sin, was put to death. The other firmly confessed and adhered to the heresy, but in some way effected his escape.

The account of PETER DE BRUYS is derived chiefly from a letter written against him by the contemporary abbot of Clugny. It seems that he was originally a presbyter of the Church; then became a missionary and protester against what he denounced as the superstitions of the day, in the French provinces of Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc; —the former the subsequent scene of the labours of the devoted Neff.[1] His success was great; and a sect formed of his followers. They were vulgarly called after him *Petrobrussians;* but called themselves *Apostolicals;*[2]—very much like the *Paulikians*, named after *St. Paul*, as being men that professed to follow his apostolic doctrine. At length in the year 1126, after near twenty years of missionary labour, he was seized by his enemies, and burnt to death, in the town of St. Giles, near Thoulouse; so passing, says the abbot, from temporal to eternal fire.

The account of the Petrobrussian heresies, given by Peter de Clugny, is as follows:—1st, that Christian *baptism* is of no benefit without faith accompanying, and *that* not the faith of *others*, but of the *baptized one;* (a view grounded by them on Christ's words, "Whosoever *believeth* and is baptized shall be saved;") so doing away, says the abbot, with infant baptism: and which he elsewhere notices as thus expressed by the Petrobrussian heretics; "Neither baptism is of avail without personal faith, nor personal faith without baptism:"[3] 2ndly, that Christ's body and blood are not present in the *sacrament of the altar*, nor ought indeed to be offered to God, as for the salvation of

[1] Peter de Clugny's Treatise against the Petrobrussians is addressed to the Bishops of *Embrun*, *Die*, and *Gap*, as the countries where the heresy first spread, and remained still lurking. "Putabam Alpes gelidas, et perpetuis nivibus opertos scopulos, incolis vestris barbariem invexisse;.. itaque agrestibus et indoctis hominum moribus peregrinum dogma faciliùs irrepsisse." B. P. M. xxii. p. 1035. A brief sketch is given by Gieseler ii. 365, 366.—Clugny was a Benedictine monastery 4 leagues N of Macon.

Peter de Bruys is placed in the line of *Paulikian* origin by the ancient Languedoc historian, Bossuet, Faber and others. Perhaps a *Western Alpine* origin should rather have been assigned him; as by the Waldensian M. Peyran, (p. 36,) and others.

[2] "Jactant se esse successores Apostolorum, et *Apostolicos* nominant." Bernard super Cantic. Serm. lxvi. 8; ap. Faber 195.

[3] "Primum hæreticorum capitulum negat parvulos, infrà intelligibilem ætatem constitutos, Christi baptismate posse salvari; nec alienam fidem posse illis prodesse, qui suâ uti non possunt: quoniam, juxtà eos, non aliena fides, sed propria, cùm baptismate salvat: Domino dicente, 'Qui crediderit,'" &c. Petr. Cluniac. contrà Petrobrus. apud B. P. M. xxii. 1034. Again: "Dixistis, Nec baptismus sine propriâ fide, nec propria fides sine baptismo, aliquid potuit. Neutrum enim sine altero salvat." Ib. 1045.

the souls of the people; seeing that his body was once for all given to his disciples at the last supper, and has since then never been *made by* any one, nor *given to* any one:[1] 3rd, that it is vain to sacrifice, pray, give alms, or do other good deeds in behalf of the *dead;* the latter being wholly unaffected thereby,[2] and *purgatory* a mere invention:[3] 4th, that the *cross* is not to be adored or honoured; rather that, as representing the instrument on which Christ was cruelly tortured and killed, it should be treated with indignity, and cut up, or burnt:[4] 5th, that the building of *churches* is unnecessary, and ought not to be; since God's Church consists not of a multitude of cemented stones, but of the unity of the faithful gathered together; and that their prayers are equally heard by him everywhere:[5] 6th, that God is mocked by the Priest's *chanting* in public worship; seeing that he is not pleased with musical sounds, but with the affections of the heart.[6]—Besides these charges he notices that which we have seen urged against the Eastern Paulikians, of *rejecting the Old Testament;* though simply, it would seem, as an inference from the report of their receiving the gospel only.[7] Indeed some said they rejected more or less of the *New Testament* also. And so too says St. Bernard.[8] By the latter the charges are further added of *condemning marriage* and *meats:*[9] and Bossuet in later times, insisting on the truth of these, as well as of the charges before enumerated, has branded Peter de Bruys and his disciples as undoubted *Manicheans.*[10]—It may be

[1] "Non solum veritatem corporis et sanguinis Domini quotidiè et continuè per sacramentum in ecclesiâ oblatum negat; sed omnino illud nihil esse, neque Deo offerri debere." Ib. 1034. Again; "Non tantum veritatem carnis et sanguinis Christi, sed et sacramentum, speciem, ac figuram negatis; et sic absque summi et veri Dei sacrificio ejus populum esse censetis." And; "Corpus Christi (dicitis) semel tantùm ab ipso Christo in cœnâ ante passionem factum est, et semel, hoc est tunc tantùm, discipulis datum est. Exinde neque confectum ab aliquo, neque alicui datum est." Ib. 1057.—This comes fourth in the Abbot's list of charges. I have placed it next to the other sacramental charge.

[2] Ib. 1034. [3] So Bernard in Cant. lxvi. 11.

[4] "Instrumentum quo Christus tàm dirè tortus, tàm crudeliter occisus est, confringi præcipit et succendi." B. P. M. 1034.

[5] Ib. 1034, 1048. So our Hymn;

"Where two or three with sweet accord, &c.
For thou, within no walls confined,
Inhabitest the humble mind."

[6] Ib. 1048, 1079. [7] Ib. 1037.

[8] In Cant. lxv. 3; "Solius evangelii sc profitentur æmulatores."

[9] Ep. lxvi. 2—7. [10] Variat. xi. 36.

well therefore, the evidence being close at hand, to anticipate, in respect of *this* branch of the sectaries, my intended examination of the charges against the general Paulikian body; and to observe that two *facts* are incidentally noticed by the Abbot of Clugny, which constitute a direct contradiction to these last accusations. The *one* is, that Peter de Bruys and his disciples, in order to mark their contempt of the crosses and cross-worship, had impiously on a certain Good Friday broken a wooden cross to pieces, kindled a fire with them, *roasted flesh* thereon, and *eaten* it, after a public invitation to the people to partake:[1]—the other, that they had actually compelled certain monks to *marry wives;*[2] the reason, as given by Coccius, being that they considered that priests and monks should rather marry than live in fornication. Besides which it is to be observed that the Petrobrussian doctrine, that the *cross* should be hated as the *instrument of Christ's torture and cruel death*, is a direct refutation of the charge of *doketic Manichcism:*[3] the which, as is well known, represented Christ to have been a mere *phantasm;* and not of flesh and blood, susceptible of suffering and death, like our own.

The heresies of Peter de Bruys were propagated after his death by a monk named HENRY; of whom the Abbot of Clugny and others speak as Peter's disciple.[4] Beginning from *Lausanne*, he, about A. D. 1116, transferred his labours to *Le Mans*, and then to *Provence*, and *Languedoc;*[5] with eloquence such as to melt all hearts, and a character for both sanctity and benevolence such as to win all admiration.[6] He was the *Whitfield* of the age and country:

[1] "Ad inauditam Divinitatis contumeliam, magno de crucibus aggere instructo, ignem immisistis, pyram fecistis, *carnes coxistis*, et, ipso passionis Dominicæ die, . . invitatis publicè ad talem esum populis, comedistis." And again; "Die ipso passionis Dominicæ publicè carnes comestæ." Petr. Clun. Ib. pp. 1051, 1035.

[2] "Sacerdotes, . . monachi, ad ducendas uxores terroribus sunt ac tormentis compulsi." Petr. Clun. ib. 1035. Faber, p. 201, cites Coccius' comment; "Sacerdotes et monachos potius debere uxores ducere quàm scortari."

[3] Mr. Faber, p. 176, has well urged this argument. It applies also, as I shall show, to the *Eastern* and *earlier* Paulikians.

[4] Mosheim doubts the connexion, chiefly because of Peter de Bruys' breaking crosses, and Henry's carrying about the banner of a cross with him. But the reason seems, as Dean Waddington observes, (ii. 177,) insufficient. Peter de Clugny says; "Henrico ejus pseud-apostolo;" "Henricum ejus asseclam." B. P. M. 1036.

[5] "Quomodo de *Lausanâ* civitate exierit, quomodo de *Cenomannis*, de *Pictavi*, de *Burdegali*." Bernard Ep. 241. 3.

[6] Mabillon, in his Vet. Analecta, gives the following testimony of an eye-witness

and with success that to a Catholic eye was fearful. When Bernard in fine was called to stem it, the change apparent in the habits and manners of the people is thus graphically described by him. "The churches are without people; the people without priests; the priests without reverence; Christians without Christ:[1] the churches are reckoned but as synagogues; the sacraments not held sacred; excommunications by priests, invocation of saints, oblations for the dead, pilgrimages, festival-days, are all neglected and despised: by denial of the grace of baptism infants are precluded from salvation; and men die in their sins, their souls being hurried away to the terrible tribunal, unreconciled by penitence, unfortified by the holy communion."[2]—The eloquence of Bernard was successful in restoring the ascendancy of the established faith. Henry was pursued to Thoulouse, where in the year 1147 he was seized, convicted, and imprisoned. Soon after he died; whether by a natural death, or by the flames, (like *Arnold of Brescia*, a little later,[3]) is a point disputed.[4]

But I must hasten on to speak of the heretics discovered and burnt at Cologne in that same year 1147. We have an account of them in a letter addressed to St. Bernard from *Evervinus*, Præpositus of *Steinfeld* near that city.[5]—He says that they were brought up before an as-

to *Henry's* character and behaviour in Le Mans. "Publicè testabatur nunquam se virum attrectasse tantæ rigiditatis, tantæ humanitatis et fortitudinis: cujus affatu cor etiam lapideum facile ad compunctionem posset provocari. Dum orationem haberet ad populum, etiam clericis ad pedes ejus residentibus et flentibus, tali resonabat oraculo, ac si dæmonum legiones uno hiatu ejus ore murmur exprimerent. Veruntamen mirum in modum facundus erat." Gieseler, ii. 366. Gieseler dates his ministering in Provence A.D. 1134.

[1] i. e. Christ, as formed by *transubstantiation* from the sacramental elements.

[2] See Bernard's Ep. 241, to Count Ildefonso of St. Giles, near Toulouse; and Gaufridus' Life of Bernard, iii. 6. I have added what the latter adds. Both the one and the other charge Henry with immorality of life; but this not very consistently.

[3] Omitted in my list above, as having mixed up too much the *political* with the *religious* reformer. He was condemned by the 2nd Lateran Council A.D. 1139, and burnt at Rome 1155. After his condemnation by the Lateran Council, Arnold retired awhile to Zurich. (Wadd. ii. 113—115.)

[4] Faber 185, Wadd. ii. 178. Gaufridus' account is this. "Etsi tunc fugit hæreticus, et latuit, ita tamen impeditæ sunt viæ ejus, et semitæ circumseptæ, ut vix alicubi postea tutus, tandem captus et catenatus episcopo traderetur." ibid. Waddington, following Alberic's chronicle, reports him to have finally fled to, and been taken at *Rheims*. But Giesoler (ii. 367) seems to me to be right in supposing Alberic on this point to have confounded *Henry* with a heretic of Bretagne named *Eon*.

[5] See Dr. Maitland's Facts and Documents, p. 344, &c.; where Allix's translation is given, with a few notes of his own. I regret that he has not, as usual, given the original Latin from Mabillon in the Appendix.

sembly of the clergy and laity; including many nobles, and presided over by the Archbishop himself. Certain inferior and more illiterate members of the sect had declared that, if their teachers failed to make good the cause, they would return to the Catholic Church: although otherwise resolved rather to die than recant. Accordingly, on the gathering of the assembly, two of these teachers maintained their heresy from the words of Christ and his Apostles: and in so far successfully, that though some returned, yet others (the greater number apparently) continued firm in their heresy.[1] On this, after three days' admonition, they were seized by the people, put into a fire, and burnt. "And what is most wonderful," adds Evervinus, "they entered to the stake, and bare the torment of the fire, not only with patience, but with joy and gladness.—Holy Father! I wish your explanation, how these members of the Devil could with such courage and constancy persist in their heresy, as is scarcely to be found in the most religious in the faith of Christ."[2]

In describing the heresies of these men he distinguishes two divisions or varieties of the sect, then and there existing. It is, I believe, the earliest direct notice of such division; and, both on this and other accounts, deserves attention.

Of the *first* he thus writes. "They assert that the Church is only among them,[3] because they alone follow Christ's steps, and an Apostolic life; not seeking the things of this world, or accumulating possessions, like us Romanists. 'We are,' they say, 'the poor of Christ; who have no certain abode, fleeing from one city to another, like sheep in the midst of wolves, and enduring persecution, in common with the Apostles and Martyrs: and this, notwithstanding that we lead an holy and strict life in fasting and abstinence; persevering day and night in prayers and labours, and seeking from thence, as those who are not of this world, only what is necessary to support

[1] This seems to me the order of events. Evervinus' narrative is a little confused; noticing the heretic bishop's pleading, before the commoner heretics' reference to their teachers.

[2] Ibid. p. 345.

[3] Not, I conceive, as excluding the other subdivisions of the sect, with whom their differences were comparatively small; but the Romish so-called Church Catholic.

life. As for you, loving the world, ye have peace with the world, because ye are of the world. False apostles, who adulterate the word of Christ, seeking their own, have misled you and your forefathers: whereas we and our fathers, *being born apostles*, have continued in the grace of Christ, and shall continue so to the end of the world. To distinguish between us and you, Christ saith, By their fruits ye shall know them. Our fruits are the footsteps of Christ.'—As regards the *sacraments*, it was confessed openly by them both that daily at their tables, when taking their meals, they, according to the form of Christ and his Apostles, consecrate their meat and drink into the body and blood of Christ by the Lord's Prayer, therewith to nourish themselves, as being *the members and body of Christ:* [1]—also that, besides water-baptism, they baptized with fire and the Holy Ghost; having been themselves so baptized: according to John the Baptist's words, 'He (Christ) shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' As for us, their saying is that we hold not the truth in the sacraments, but only a kind of shadow and tradition of men."—With regard to *orders* Evervinus thus defines the discipline of the sect: viz. *first*, by the laying on of hands they receive some of their *auditors* into the number of *believers*, who thenceforth have leave to attend at their prayers; then, after sufficient trial, they lay hands on them again for the baptism of the Spirit, and so constitute them *elect*.—On another point he makes the strange assertion; "In their *diet* they forbid *milk*, and all made of it, and all that is procreated by copulation:" also that they "despise *our baptism*, and condemn *marriage*." "The reason why, I could not get out of them; either because they durst not own it, or because they knew none." It was surely *Romish* marriage they objected to, to which the priest's *blessing* was essential: [2] certainly not marriage itself. For he soon after says: "They have among them continent women, as

[1] So Bernard, in Cant. lxvi. 8. "Se solos corpus Christi esse gloriantur."

[2] Essential to its *legality*. So Gieseler ii. 25, of the 9th century. "The blessing of a priest was made necessary to its legality," i. e. in the Romish Church.

Compare the case of the French Calvinists' marriages after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, as reported on at the French revolution:—all, ever after the Revocation, having been reckoned legally null in France, and the children illegitimate. See this illustrated in a Note at the end of Ch. v. Part v. of this work from De Rulhiere.

they call them, widows, virgins, *their wives* also; some of which are amongst the *elect*,[1] others of the *believers*: as if in imitation of the Apostles, who had power to lead about women (or wives) with them."[2]—On the asserted rule of abstinence and diet I shall observe presently.

Of the *other* variety of the heretics he speaks thus.—"These deny that the body of Christ is made on the altar, because of the priests of the Church not being rightly consecrated. For they say that the apostolic dignity sitting in the chair of Peter,—forasmuch as it has mixed itself in secular affairs, and not waged God's warfare as Peter did,—has deprived itself of the power of consecrating: and that what it has not itself the Bishops, who live also like men of the world, cannot receive from it; viz. the power of consecrating others. They allow them indeed the power of preaching, and defer to it; alleging Christ's words, 'The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair; what therefore they bid you that do:' but nothing more. So they *make void* both *priesthood* and *sacraments*, baptism alone excepted: and allow this only in those who are come to age; adducing the text, 'Whosoever shall *believe*, and be baptized, shall be saved.'—As regards *marriage*, they allow that only between two virgins: grounding their doctrine on the texts following: 'What God hath joined together let not man put asunder;' 'Whosoever marrieth her that is divorced commits adultery:' and 'Let marriage be honourable to all, and the bed undefiled.'[3]—They put no confidence in the *intercession of saints*. They maintain that *fastings* and other afflictions, *undertaken for sin*, are not necessary to the just, nor to sinners; because that at

[1] This indicates the *first* class of heretics.

[2] In the above, I have given almost uniformly Evervinus' words, as translated in the Facts and Documents; slightly abridging, here and there, or condensing.

[3] Does not this look as if the objection of the so-called heretics was to the partial *prohibition*, and the *dissolution* of marriages, as practised among the Romanists, rather than to marriage itself? A person conversant with the history of those times will be aware not only of the prohibition of marriage to priests, monks, and nuns, but also that the power of binding and loosing was sometimes applied by the Pope and Church dignitaries to the sanctioning of divorces and re-marriages among the laity, in a manner as unscriptural as gainful.

Compare the charge against the Petrobrussians, p. 283 suprà. Also Claude Seyssels's against the Waldenses, four centuries later:—"Nullâ lege humanâ se astringi prædicant: quâ potissimum ratione matrimonia liberè in omni gradu contrahi posse affirmant, uno aut altero ad summum exceptis; quasi in reliquis prohibendis nullam pontifices habuerint potestatem." Ap. Charvaz sur les Vaudois; p. 508.

what time soever the sinner repents of his sins, they are all forgiven him. And all other church-observances, which have not been established by Christ or his Apostles, they call superstitions.—They believe in no *purgatory fire* after death; but that souls, as soon as they depart out of the bodies, enter into rest or punishment: proving it from that text of Solomon, 'Which way soever the tree falls, whether to the South or North, there it lies.'[1] By which means they make void all the prayers and oblations of believers for the deceased."

It would seem from Evervinus' language as if the individuals burnt on the occasion he refers to, were chiefly, perhaps wholly, of the *former* of these two classes: and he further mentions of them that they spoke of their members as scattered almost everywhere, and of their heresy as having been concealed from the time of the martyrs, and preserved in *Greece* and some other countries;[2] thus apparently connecting themselves, and it, with the *Paulikians* of the Greek Empire, as the recognised parent-stock and founders. In this connexion and lineage, however, we can scarce doubt but that the others participated. For it appears from a Tract of Eckbert,[3] abbot of a neighbouring convent,—addressed a few years later to the Rector of the Cathedral of *Cologne*, on the subject of these same heretics,—that the two above-mentioned varieties,[4] (as well as others also alluded to by him as in his time existing,) were comprehended in the same great family or sect of *Cathari*, i. e. of the *Western Paulikians*, the offspring of those of the *East*.—And what then the points thus first developed of *difference?* It seems hinted as *one* by Evervinus, that the class first mentioned deferred to the *Greek connexion* more than the second; regarding the head-minister of the sect in the East as their own head, or, as Evervinus calls it, their *Pope:*[5] while the others recognised no such Pope,

[1] The reader will do well to mark this reference to the *Old Testament* as authority.

[2] Maitland, p. 349.

[3] Copious extracts from Eckbert's Tract are given by Maitland, p. 354, &c. The date of the Tract is stated as A.D. 1160.

[4] Ibid. p. 354, 355.

[5] This is, I believe, the earliest notice of a Paulikian minister, or bishop, in Bulgaria having ascribed to him in his sect any such pre-eminence. I refer not to the *name;* (for *Papa* originally, indeed till about A.D. 600, meant simply bishop, even in the West;) but to the pre-eminence. If true, in a really *Papal* sense, it was a mark that corruption from the simplicity that is in Christ had then begun among the

or head. A *further* point of difference appears in this, that the former (at least the *elect* of the former) practised an *abstinence* from flesh-meat, and certain other kinds of food; which is not noted, but rather the contrary, of the latter.[1] Of any difference of views as to *marriage* I say nothing, because it is difficult to form a satisfactory judgment from accounts so self-contradictory, and therefore unintelligible.—On the other hand it is sufficiently evident that with respect to the doctrines of *purgatory*, *intercession of the saints*, and other *idolatrous superstitions* of the Church of Rome then established, not one division only of the Paulikian sectaries reprobated them, but both;—just as they also united to reprobrate the *Romish sacraments*, *church*, and *priesthood*.—As to the *rule of abstinence* now practised, (*if Evervinus be correct*,[2]) by one subdivision of the Paulikians in Western Europe, I cannot but call attention to it as the earliest credible notice, if I mistake not, of any such practice; and must at the same time suggest the jeopardy in which it placed the future Christianity of those that embraced it. In the third and fourth centuries a similar rule of abstinence was embraced, as we know, by many orthodox Christians with good intentions; and very soon, as we also know, it degenerated into a system of mere asceticism and superstition, instead of real religion. Was not the same result likely to follow, sooner or later, with these Paulikians? In effect we have subsequent notices of the rule as still pursued by one of the Paulikian branches, (not all,) through the next century: until the celebrated examination of heretics, recorded in the Codex

Sectaries in the *East*. Much earlier, however, it can scarce have been; as neither *Cedrenus* in the xith century, nor *Zingabenus* in the xiith, take any notice of it.—Other marks of corruption followed afterwards. In modern times (so Gibbon x. 185) the Paulikians of Bulgaria had come to be superstitious *worshippers of the cross*;—the very worship against which they had before most strongly protested.*

In a letter from Conrad, the Pope's Legate, of the date of 1223, given by Matthew of Paris, and quoted by Maitland, Facts and Doc. p. 191, and by Hallam, Mid. Ages, iii. 465, we find a curious notice of the Bulgarian Pope, as then recognised by certain of the body in France and Spain: "Circà dies istos hæretici Albigenses, constituerunt sibi Anti-Papam in finibus Bulgarorum, nomine Bartholomæum."

[1] See what they say of the needlessness of *fasting*, &c., undertaken for sin.

[2] It must be remembered that there is not a whisper of charge of the same kind against the *Eastern* Paulikians, even up to the 13th century. See Cedrenus and Zingabenus.

* On the authority of Marsigli, on the Impero Ottomano.

Tolosanus, exhibited this branch as by that time altogether destitute of their old apparent vitality in religion, and lapsed into mere superstitious forms and fanaticism.—Who can over-estimate the peril of a first departure from the simplicity that is in Christ?—Of this however more hereafter.

The necessary limits imposed on me forbid my making reference to that Tract of the monk ECKBERT just alluded to; except as evidence, that up to the year 1160 the same heretics continued to abound in the neighbourhood of Cologne; that it was their habit to defend their tenets by words of Holy Scripture; that they did this so speciously, that even the learned of the clergy were, *to their disgrace*,[1] very generally unable to reply; and that they were mercilessly persecuted, even unto death. With what martyrs' constancy they braved death, notwithstanding Eckbert's attempt to depreciate it,[2] let the affecting example subjoined testify; an example of the same date and locality.[3]—Nor again must I notice an account of others of the same class of heretics, apprehended soon after at VEZELAI in Burgundy, under the curiously coupled appellations of *Telonarii* and *Poplicani*;[4] further than to say that their one grand error was reported to be "the making void all the sacraments of the Church,—the baptism of children, the eucharist, the

[1] So Eckbert; Facts and Doc. p. 351.

[2] Ib. 357: as if they only confessed boldly, when hopeless of life.

[3] I cite from Godefrid's Annals, ad ann. 1163; given in the B. P. M. xxv. 253.

"In this year certain heretics of the sect of the Cathari, coming from the parts of Flanders to Cologne, took up their abode secretly in a barn near the city. But, as on the Lord's day they did not go to church, they were seized by the neighbours, and detected. On their being brought before the Catholic Church, when, after long examination respecting their sect, they would be convinced by no evidence however convincing, but most pertinaciously persisted in their doctrine and resolution, they were cast out from the church, and delivered into the hands of laics. These, leading them without the city, committed them to the flames; being four men and one little girl (juvencula). The latter was by the compassion of the bystanders held back, with a view to her preservation; in hopes that, terrified by the deaths of others, she might acquiesce in saner counsels. But, suddenly escaping from the hands of those that held her, she resolutely cast herself into the flames, and perished.—It was in the Nones of August."

[4] *Telonarii* is the τελωναι of the Greeks latinized. (See Ducange ad verb.) The attachment of that title to the *Paulikians* of Western Europe I conceive to have arisen thus curiously. Their proper and original appellation, *Paulikiani*, was first corrupted through *Popolicani* (see p. 267) into *Publicani*: then, as *Publicani* was the rendering in the Vulgate Latin of the word τελωναι (tax-farmers) in the New Testament, this Greek word latinized was further attached as an equivalent.

sign of the life-giving cross, the sprinkling of holy water, the building of churches, payments of tithes and oblations, marriage, monastic institutions, and all the duties of priests and ecclesiastics:" and that, though for 60 days efforts were made "nunc minis, nunc blandimentis" to convert them, they continued stedfast, excepting *two*, in their heresy, and were burnt.[1]—I must hasten on to the narrative given in William of Newbury, of the *Publicani* condemned A.D. 1160, at the Council of OXFORD. His account I shall translate literally. It is as follows.

"About the same time certain vagrants came into England, of the class that they generally call *Publicani*.[2] ..... They were in number, counting both the men and women, somewhat more than 30. Dissembling their error, they entered the country peaceably; their object however being the propagation of that pestilential heresy. There was one *Gerard* leading them, to whom all looked up as their preceptor and head. For he alone was in some little measure literate: whereas the others were illiterate, and evidently rustic and unpolished, of the Teutonic language and nation. During a sojourn of some little time in England they added to their company one woman, and one only; she having been circumvented by their poisonous whisperings, and fascinated (so the report runs) by certain magic arts.—They could not long be hidden. Inquiries were made by some persons out of curiosity: and, forasmuch as they were of a foreign sect, they were seized, and kept in public custody. The king, unwilling either to dismiss or punish them without investigation, commanded an episcopal Council to be assembled at Oxford. There, when met in solemn assembly, as on a matter of religion, they answered through him who was the literate among them, and who, undertaking the cause, spoke for all, that they were *Christians*, and revered the doctrine of the Apostles. Being interrogated in order on the articles of our sacred faith, they answered rightly indeed concerning *the substance of the heavenly Physician*,[3] but perversely

[1] Chronicon Vezeliacense, ad ann. 1167; D'Achery ii. 560.

[2] Heretics that had come originally from Gascony, says the historian; and were scattered in numbers over Gaul, Spain, Italy, Germany.

[3] "De *substantiâ* quidem superni Medici recta; de ejus vero remediis, quibus hu-

concerning the *remedies* whereby he deigns to heal man's moral infirmity, i. e. *the divine sacraments:* expressing detestation of *holy baptism, the eucharist, marriage;* and wickedly derogating from the Catholic unity, to which these divine assistances attach. When they were urged with evidence taken from sacred Scripture, they answered that they believed as they had been taught, but were unwilling to dispute concerning their faith. Then, admonished to do penance, and re-unite themselves to the body of the Church, they despised that salutary counsel. The threats too which were piously set before them,—in order that they might retract through *fear*, if through no other motive,—they treated with derision: absurdly applying to themselves those words of our Lord, 'Blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, since theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'—Then the bishops, in order that the heretical poison might not be diffused more widely, having publicly pronounced them heretics, delivered them up to the Catholic prince for the infliction of corporal punishment. His command was that the mark of heretical infamy should be branded on their foreheads, and that they should be beaten with rods out of the city, before the eyes of the populace; strictly enjoining that no one should presume either to receive them under his roof, or minister to them any consolation. The sentence having been pronounced, they were led forth to that most just punishment: and they went rejoicing with light steps; their teacher going before them, and singing, 'Blessed shall ye be when men shall hate you.' To such an extent had the spirit of seduction deceived them.—The woman indeed whom they had led astray in England, induced by fear of punishment, left them, confessed her error, and obtained reconciliation.

manæ infirmitati mederi dignatur, id est divinis sacramentis, perversa dixerunt: sacrum baptisma, eucharistiam, conjugium detestantes; atque unitati Catholicæ, quam hæc divina imbuunt subsidia, ausu nefario derogantes." Maitland, 514.

Peter de Cluguy similarly speaks of Christ as the *cælestis medicus*, &c.; ubi sup. 1067: just as Basil much earlier; Ὁ μεγας ἰατρος, εκ παρθενικης ανατειλας παστα-δος. In Virg. Deiparam. (Not as the Lateran Council, which addrest Leo X. as the *medicus* of Christendom; when the priestcraft system of the apostasy had come to its *full* acme in the Pope, as Christ's Vicar plenipotentiary. See p. 82, Note [2] suprà.)

All this their heretical rejection of the *Sacraments* the reader will find discussed in my next Section. Meanwhile let him mark the manner in which their rejection of *marriage* is reckoned as one of their Sacramental rejections.

But the hateful company of heretics suffered the just severity of having their foreheads cauterized: he who was their head, and as for a mark of his primacy, sustaining the disgrace of a *double* branding, one on the forehead, and one round the chin. Further, their garments being cut down to the girdle, they were publicly scourged, and with the sounding of the whips cast out of the city.[1] After which, through the inclemency of the cold, (for it was winter,) and as no one showed them even the slightest act of compassion, they perished wretchedly."[2]

I conclude my long historical *catena* with a notice of the heretics denominated *Boni Homines*, one of the titles of the *Cathari* or *Paulikians* of Western Europe,[3] (and who are also said to have been *Henricians*, or followers of *Henry* of Italy, by the Benedictine historian of Languedoc[4] and others,[5]) that were examined and condemned at the Council of LOMBERS, A.D. 1165. In answer to the several charges brought against them they thus replied: that for *inspired Scripture* they received only the New Testament; except indeed, as appeared afterwards, Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms, in those points of their testimony which are referred to by Christ himself, or his apostles:[6]—

[1] Lingard says, it was "for their *obstinacy*." Le Bas' Wiclif, 84. So the Christians of old were blamed by the Pagans for their obstinacy. See my Vol. i. 216.

[2] There is an allusion to this transaction in a Manuscript of Ralph de Coggeshal, author of the Chronicon Anglicanum, &c.;—a writer nearly contemporary, as the date of his death is 1228. (Watt.) "Nonnulli eorum," he writes, (i. e. 'impurissimæ sectæ Publicanorum,') "in Angliam advenerant; qui apud Oxenefordiam deprehensi, jubente Rege Henrico II, clave candenti in frontibus deformiter sunt signati, et effugati." * He at the same time speaks of their being everywhere about that time, or a little after, "sought out and punished mercilessly, especially by Philip, Count of Flanders, with a just cruelty:" and adds a few notices of their doctrines and habits, that well agree with Evervinus's statements, and those of other writers; especially as to their rejecting saint-worship, prayers for the dead, and purgatory. See the extracts in Maitland's Facts and Doc. p. 516.

[3] For the full account I may refer the reader to Harduin's Councils, vi. ii. 1643; and for copious extracts from it to Faber, pp. 221—244, or Maitland's Facts and Doc. 139—145.

[4] Faber, p. 237.

[5] "Verùm ex locis quibus Cathari vixerunt, eorumque erroribus quos docuerunt, apparet eos non propriam hæresin condidisse; sed Henricianorum portionem fuisse, ac forte eosdem cùm Albigensibus." Sanderus De Visibil. Monarch. ap. Harduin vi. ii. 1693. So too the Benedictine Editor of Evervinus' Letter to Bernard, apud Bernardi Op.

[6] Their answer, as recorded at the commencement of the examination, is so represented as if the accused rejected the Old Testament altogether: "Responderunt quia non recipiebant legem Moysi, neque Prophetas, neque Psalmos nec Vetus Testamen-

* Le Bas, ib. 84, mentions certain other heretics of similar character burnt in England in King John's time.

that, in regard of the *baptism of infants*, they would say nothing of their own, but only answer out of the Epistles and Gospels:[1]—that the *sacrament of the body and blood of Christ* was consecrated by every good man, whether ecclesiastic or layman; and that they who received it worthily were saved, while they who received it unworthily received to themselves damnation:[2]—respecting *matrimony* they would only answer, as St. Paul, that man and woman were united to avoid fornication;[3]—respecting *repentance* and *confession*, and whether *fastings*, *mortifications*, and *alms* were necessary after repentance, in order to salvation, —that the Apostle James had said simply that they should confess one to another, and *so* be saved; and that they did not wish to be better than the Apostle, or, like the Bishops, to add anything of their own.—As to any direct and more full *confession of their faith*, they declined to make it to the Episcopal conclave examining them: only adding their be-

tum, nisi solummodo Evangelia, Epistolas Pauli, et septem Canonicas Epistolas, Actusque Apostolorum, et Apocalypsin." But, in the President's pronounced judgment,—a judgment founded in each particular on the heretics' previous answers to the interrogatories put, and which discussed and replied to them at length,—we find the following given as the *real* confession on this point of the accused; "Confessi sunt etiam isti hæretici se recipere Moysen et Prophetas et Psalmos, in his tantùm testimoniis quæ inducuntur à Jesu et Apostolis, et non in aliis:" the Judge adding; "Nos vero dicimus quòd si instrumentum vel scriptum testimonium proferatur, et in aliquâ parte sui credatur, debet totum credi, aut in nullâ parte sui recipi."—I conceive that the *inducuntur* does not mean merely *quoted*, but *referred to*, and so *authenticated*.

On this passage (which is not given or alluded to by Dr. Maitland) Mr. Faber (p. 229) justly dwells as very important.—I may remark in passing, that quoting from Hoveden, not from the Councils, Mr. F. gives the reading, "*Non enim* dicimus," for Harduin's, "*Nos vero* dicimus;" (p. 1645;) making the nominative of the clause, in consequence of the negative particle inserted, the heretics accused, not the judges. But there can be little doubt, I conceive, of Harduin's being the true reading; as the same contrast of the *orthodox* opinion, in opposition to the *hereties'* opinion, runs through the Bishop's judgment.

[1] From the following words in the Bishop's judgment on this point,—"Si autem quæratur cujus fide salvantur infantes, cùm ipsi fidem non habeant, sine quâ impossibile est Deo placere, dicimus quia fide ecclesiæ vel fide patrinorum,"—we may guess that the passage from the Gospel alleged by the accused in their answer, was the same that is spoken of as urged by the Petrobrussians, &c., viz., "Whoso believeth and is baptized shall be saved;" and that from the Epistle, "Without faith it is impossible to please God."

[2] The Bishop's judgment on this point insists on the *Romish priesthood* having alone the power to consecrate the elements; and this in the *Romish churches*, simply and only.

[3] I must here also note for comparison the Bishop's judgment. "In quinto Capitulo convincimus et judicamus istos hæreticos esse Novi Testamenti auctoritate, quia *nolunt confiteri* quòd vir et mulier possint salvari, si carnalitèr misceantur." And he afterwards expresses himself thus; "*Videntur* enim nuptiis detrahere, et eas damnare." This is different from a positive forbidding of marriage as unlawful.

lief of the *unlawfulness of oaths*;[1] and also, respecting the *priesthood*, that if persons were ordained to it in character different from what St. Paul had described in his Epistle, they were not Bishops or Priests, but ravening wolves and hypocrites, whom men ought not to obey.—When however, upon this, the presiding Bishop had proceeded to pass sentence on them as heretics, fortifying the judgment pronounced by arguments from Scripture,—they replied that the Bishop was a heretic, and not they; that he was their enemy, and an enemy of God, and had not judged rightly; and that they would not answer *him* concerning their faith; the Lord having commanded them, "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, while inwardly they are ravening wolves."—But, turning to the *people*, they said, "We will confess now, out of love to *you*, and for *your* sakes. Hear our faith! We believe in one living and true God, triune and one, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and that the Son of God took flesh, was baptized in Jordan, fasted in the desert, preached our salvation, suffered, died, and was buried, descended into hell, rose the third day, ascended into heaven, sent the Spirit the Paraclete to his disciples on the day of Pentecost, will come at the day of judgment to judge the quick and the dead, and that all will rise. We acknowledge also that what we believe with the heart we ought to confess with the mouth. We believe that he is not saved who does not eat the body of Christ; and that it is not consecrated except in the Church, and also not except by a Priest;[2] and that it is not better done by a good, than by a bad Priest.[3] We believe also that no one is saved except by baptism; and that children are saved by baptism. We believe also that man and wife are saved, though carnally united; and that every man ought to receive penitence

[1] Grounded doubtless on Matt. v. 34, James v. 12.

[2] In this there seems nothing inconsistent with what is recorded of the previous rejection of the Romish priesthood: because by Church they meant probably their own, or rather Christ's true Church, and by the Priests, all true Christians; according to St. Peter's notable declaration, "Ye are a royal priesthood," &c.—The same distinction was made in the Helvetic Confession, as we have seen, long afterwards. See p. 198 suprà.

[3] This seems to me an inconsistency, comparing it with what was said before; but the only one in the Confession.

(accipere pœnitentiam) in the heart, and with the mouth, and to be baptized by a priest, and in the church. And, indeed, if anything more [received] in the church could be shown by the Gospels or Epistles, that they would believe and confess it."[1]

When pressed to *swear* to this confession, they declined, as judging oaths unlawful. Thus it was of no avail to their acquittal. Their condemnation was ratified, and subscribed to by the whole Council.

§ 5.—TRUE CHRISTIAN WITNESS CHARACTER OF THE EARLIER AND MIDDLE-AGE PAULIKIAN SECTARIES.

THUS have I by copious extracts, or abstracts, from writers contemporary for the most part, and *all hostile*, set forth in the two last Sections the history of a continuous line of Paulikian dissentients from the established apostate Churches of Roman Christendom: tracing them down from their rise, about the middle of the viith century, through a period of above five hundred years; in part in Eastern Christendom, in part (conjunctively with other consentient heretics of *native* origin) in the Western, to the rise and times of Petrus Valdo, or rather Valdes, in the xiith. This was the *first* point that it needed I should develope, in my inquiry respecting the presumed EASTERN line of WITNESSES. It remains that we *consider* and *sift* the documentary evidence so set before us: with a view to deciding from it on the contested and very important point, whether these dissentients were, as asserted by the hostile chroniclers, *abominable heretics;* or rather *real Christians*, witnessing, according to the Apocalyptic description, for Christ. In doing this it may be convenient, in order to distinctness, to consider the particulars of evidence *favourable* and *unfavourable* separately: there being thus suggested, as my two main Heads in this Section,

I. THE OBVIOUS POINTS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THESE PAULIKIANS, AND THE FIGURED APOCALYPTIC WITNESSES:

[1] This translation is copied from Dr. Maitland, p. 144.

II. THE ALLEGED POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO, AND CHARGES OF HERESY MADE AGAINST THE PAULIKIAN SECTARIES.

I. THE OBVIOUS POINTS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PAULIKIAN SECTARIES AND THE FIGURED APOCALYPTIC WITNESSES.

And let me premise, ere entering on the investigation, that I shall under both this and the other head endeavour to keep separate what may be said of the two great divisions of the sect, Eastern and Western; in case we should prefer to regard *certain* of those that have been noted in Western Europe, (as we may very reasonably,) to be of a different and *Western* original.[1]

1st, then, in regard both of *ministers* and *congregations*, the *teachers* and the *taught*, (for the two are found constantly united together in the Paulikian histories, just like the symbols of the *olive-trees* and *candlesticks* in the prefigurative vision,) it is notorious that they bore a continuous and unvarying protest against the grosser superstitions of *saint-mediatorship*, *image-worship*, and other kinds of *idolatry*, as well as against the established system of *priest-craft* which supported them: superstitions through which the so-called Christians of the Roman world had degenerated practically into Gentiles; (just according to the Apocalyptic prefigurations;[2]) and against which, of course, witnesses answering to those of the Apocalypse must needs have testified.—Among the charges urged against the *Eastern* Paulikians before the Patriarch of Constantinople in the 8th century,[3] and by Photius and Petrus Siculus in the 9th, there come the following:—that they dishonoured the Virgin Mary, and rejected her worship, as well as that also, generally, of departed saints: that they denied the life-giving

[1] I allude particularly to the cases, already noted as doubtful, of *Berenger*, *De Bruys*, and *Henry*. To these some may wish to add the heretics discovered at *Turin*, (a case also dubious,) and some those at *Orleans* and *Arras*. For the originators of the heresy in those places are said simply to have come from *the borders of Italy;* and very possibly therefore from *Piedmont* or *Lombardy*, rather than other parts, which the Paulikian immigrants may have chiefly frequented. So Dr. Gilly in his *Waldensian Researches*, Introd. Inquiry, &c.—I shall have to allude again to this point of doubt in my next Section.

[2] See Apoc. viii. 3; ix. 20.

[3] See the account of the examination of *Gegnæsius*, surnamed *Timothy*, given in Petrus Siculus, pp. 36, 37: and of which an abstract will be found in my Appendix.

efficacy of the cross, and refused to worship it; and to *image-worship* bore such hostility, that they were by some branded as the originators of the iconoclastic heresy, and the war against the sacred images.—In the first notice of the sectaries in *Western* Europe, I mean at *Orleans*, they were similarly accused of rejecting the worship of martyrs and saints, the sign of the holy cross, and mystery too of transubstantiation; and much the same at *Arras* and *Turin*.[1] So again the *Petrobrussians*[2] were charged with the destruction of crucifixes as instruments of superstition, the denial of transubstantiation, and disbelief in purgatory and the efficacy of oblations and prayers for the dead: and very much the same is Evervinus's testimony respecting the heretics at *Cologne*, that of Ralph of Coggeshall respecting those at *Oxford*, and of St. Bernard respecting those he contended against at *Toulouse*. The protestation of the Paulikian sectaries against these *grosser* superstitions of the established churches of Christendom was, for the 500 years we speak of, continuous.[3]

2*ndly*, though before the eyes of men the self-styled Catholics of the Eastern and Western Roman world seemed to constitute Christendom,—though they filled as it were (to borrow that Apocalyptic figure) the whole *visible temple*, and applied to themselves the same boast as the Jews of old, "The *temple* of the Lord, the *temple* of the Lord are *we*,"—yet did these Paulikians regard and speak of them, throughout, as those who belonged not to Christ's true Church, but were apostates.—From the first their founder *Constantine* did not attempt the amending or purification of the Church established; but leaving it, as that which was hopelessly corrupt, (and of its awful corruption and apostasy, *a fact which I here take for granted*, the evidence will be found only too decisive,)[4] he entered his protest

[1] See pp. 247, 276 suprà. In Landulf's narrative of the *Turin* heretics, given in my Appendix, it is stated that a cross was erected at Milan, and their lives promised them on condition of "*adoring the cross*," and confessing the Catholic faith, but in vain.

[2] On the heretical (or religious) identity of these *Petrobrussians* with the other heretical bodies referred to, and their common *Manichæism*, the reader will do well to remember Bossuet's testimony given p. 283 suprà. The same as regards the *Henricians*. See p. 294, Note [5].

[3] The reader will refer for authorities generally to the narratives previously given.

[4] Besides the sketch already given in proof, (see pp. 249, 250,) let my readers refer

against its corruptions in a manner of all others the most decisive and striking; viz. by the formation of a new and distinct church, professedly in contrast with the other, as being a *gospel* church. With similar feelings his eminent successor *Sergius* is recorded to have devoted his energies to the conversion of the members of the established Greek Church around him, under the belief that those who held its doctrines were in the way to destruction.[1] The same is declared to have been the views of the sectaries in the time of Petrus Siculus and Photius; the same, two centuries after, in that of Cedrenus. Small as was their number, (and they were indeed few enough to answer to the Apocalyptic symbol of Christ's *two* Witnesses,)[2] yet they called their assemblies *the Catholic Church;* and said, "We are *Christians*, you *Romans*."[3]—At *Orleans*, in *Western* Europe, when under Papal auspices the apostasy had at length there too fully established itself, the converted Canons, though in a less open form of protestation, yet designated a change from the received faith to their own, as a translation from an evil world to God's sanctuary. To the same effect was *Berenger's* notable saying, though his conduct was not fully consistent with it; "Through the unskilfulness of erring men the Church perished: in us alone, and those who follow us, has the holy Church remained on earth:" and again that reported of *De Bruys;* "That all men present and past had been deceived; that the world was in the way to perdition; and God's grace with them only who agreed with him."[4] So, once more, it is related of the heretics at *Cologne;* "They say that the Church is only amongst them, because they only follow the steps of Christ."—And let me here observe on the claim asserted by them at the same time, both for themselves and for their predecessors, of a kind of *special missionary appointment*, as from heaven, for the confession and propagation

to the illustration that will be given, p. 330 infrà, from the writings of the Greek Patriarch Germanus. Indeed it is *essential*, in order to a fully enlightened judgment in the matter, that they read and consider it.

[1] See pp. 252, 260, suprà. [2] See pp. 210, 211, suprà.

[3] Phot. i. 6, 9; P. S. pp. 12, 37.—Compare Luther's saying, in his Letter to Pope Leo; "Breviter, *Christiani* sunt qui *Romani* non sunt." Roscoe iv. 396.

[4] Allowance will of course be made for hostile exaggeration in this reported expression of his sentiment.

of Christ's gospel-truth. "We and our fathers *were born apostles;*" (a word very much the same in meaning as *missionaries;*) "and shall continue so to the end of the world." It is but the continued expression of what was the view in which, *from the first*, the Paulikian sectaries themselves regarded their ministers and teachers. "Constantine, and the others after him," says Petrus, "they count as apostles of Christ:"[1] while the *general* missionary character of the sectaries is illustrated by what he tells of the religious mission planned by them, and about to set out for Bulgaria, even then when he was at Tephrice.[2]—And, as in Asia Minor and Eastern Europe, so later in Western Europe. "These are the heretics," says Eckbert, "that call themselves apostles."[3] And so too elsewhere.[4]—May not the mind naturally revert, on reading this, to the declaration made to St. John of Christ's *specially commissioning* two Witnesses, to testify for Him through the dark period of the Apostasy?

3*rdly*, as the Apocalyptic witnesses were to keep *God's word and commandments, and the witness of Jesus*,[5] so the adherence of the Paulikian sectaries (professedly at least) to Christ's gospel-word, as the alone ground of their faith, subject of their preachings and teachings, and rule of life, is all along marked most strongly. After his own conversion of sentiment, through the perusal of the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament, *Constantine* distinctly founded his new Sect upon *them:* making it a law to his followers to read nothing else whatever besides those sacred books; and this, we must remember, in a text confessed by the enemies of the Sect to be pure and unadulterated. The fulfilment and the effect of this rule meets us in the subsequent annals of the Sect continually. It was through the Paulikian woman's repeating and reasoning from these inspired Scriptures, that Sergius was induced to join it. It is the later testimony of Petrus Siculus, that in his time its members universally were familiar with every part of

[1] P. S. 32; also Cedrenus apud Dowling, p. 15.
[2] P. S. p. 2.
[3] Maitland, Facts and Doc. 349.
[4] E. g. in Bernard's account of the *Petrobrussians* and *Henricians*, p. 282; "They call themselves *Apostolics*, or *successors of the Apostles*."
[5] I combine the expressions in Apoc. xii. 17, xiv. 12, and xx. 4.

the Gospels and Epistles : [1] and that they so argued from *them*, when engaged in missionary enterprise, such as they were then just about entering on in Bulgaria, that there was but one thing to be done by all Catholics whom they might address ; viz. not to enter into argument with them, but to flee from them as from a serpent.[2]—After their migration into *Western* Europe, no change appears in this their habit. It was with the " sweetness of the divine word " that Arefaste's chaplain was intoxicated, as the chronicler reports it, by the Canons of *Orleans ;* and through " its being covered up in the words of the divinely-inspired volumes," that they sought to instil their heresy into Arefaste himself.[3] At *Milan* it was from the Scriptures that the *Turin* incarcerated heretics taught religious truths to the rustics that came to visit them.[4] The monk Eckbert complains that at *Cologne* the Cathari, that is the Paulikians, so wielded this weapon, that few of the Catholic clergy could withstand it.[5] At the synods of *Arras* in the North of France and *Lombers* in the South, as elsewhere, we find the sectaries referring to the written word as the sole rule of their faith, and rejecting uncompromisingly whatever might not be proved therefrom :[6]—a rule, let me observe, the more remarkable when contrasted with the very opposite rule of faith, built on Fathers Councils and traditions, enjoined on and received, throughout those five centuries, by Catholic Christendom.[7]—Once more, it was by the remembrance and recitation to each other of the promises of the gospel, that they cheered themselves when condemned to tortures and to death. Witness the notable examples at *Orleans* and *Oxford.*

[1] Παντα τα του Ευαγγελιου και του Αποστολου λογια διαλεγονται. P. S. p. 5.
[2] Ib. p. 4. [3] See p. 271 suprà. [4] See p. 246, and Landulf in my Appendix.
[5] Maitland ibid. p. 351.
[6] See pp. 276, 294, 295 suprà.
[7] In the Acts of the 2nd Nicene Council (Hard. iv. 42) we find an anathema against those who received not this latter rule. " His qui . . perhibent quod, nisi de Veteri ac Novo Testamento evidenter fuerimus edocti, non sequamur doctrinas sanctorum Patrum, neque sanctarum Synodorum, atque traditionem catholicæ, ecclesiæ Anathema!"

Petrus Siculus, (p. 10,) in true Nicene spirit, speaks of the Fathers as the διδασκαλους τα παρ' αυτοις [i. e. by the apostles] πραχθεντα τε και λεχθεντα τελεωτερον σαφηνιζοντας :—observing of the Paulikians a little after (p. 26) ; Τας δε των θεοφορων πατρων ἡμων [βιβλους αποβαλλονται], ὁπως μη δι' αυτων θριαμβευθῃ η αρχη της κακιας αυτων.

And let me not pass to another head without observing that this conversancy of the Paulikians, both ministers and people, men and women, with the Holy Scriptures, at least those of the New Testament,[1] while of the rest of the Christian world the laity, at least, were in comparative ignorance of them,[2] is, as a mere *literary phenomenon*, very striking. The question arises what might have been their means of effecting it, from generation to generation. Mere oral tradition is clearly insufficient. But I seem to myself to discern it in the recorded title of one of the *ministerial orders* of the Sect, compared with the rule laid down, as we have seen, by its founder Constantine, that its members should read nothing but the Epistles and Gospels; I mean that of *Notarii*. For I cannot suppose with Mr. Dowling, after Wolf,[3] that the office of these ministers was merely to register the acts of the Paulikian churches, and at times to read the Scriptures in their assemblies. I conceive it must have been also, according to the usual meaning of the word *notary*,[4] to *write out copies* for the people of what it was enjoined on the people they should read, that is, in this case, of the Holy Scriptures:[5] and this with the fidelity which in other transcriptions was the *sworn duty* of the *notary's* office.[6] Supposing it so, there must have been by this means, conjointly with that of the public *preaching*, a

[1] The charge of rejecting the *Old* Testament will be examined afterwards.

[2] Petrus evidently implies this, when speaking of the Paulikians' knowledge of Scripture as so surprising.

[3] "Concerning the word *Notarii* J. C. Wolfius has the following remark, in his Note on the place in Photius, i. 9:—'Ex. Henr. Valesii ad Socratis Histor. Eccles. v. 22 observationibus patet, Episcopos ad manus habuisse eruditos adolescentes, qui et acta ecclesiastica exciperent, et prout res ferebat, instar lectorum, populo sacras literas prælegerent. Atque hoc nomine Pauliciani illi sacerdotes suos *Notarios* appellasse videntur.'" So Dowling, p. 19.

As regards Valesius I find, on reference to his Notes, that the Notarii are spoken of by him also as "*scribæ*."

[4] Thus Jerome, in his Catalog. Script. Eccles. speaking of Origen's having been urged by some one to write Commentaries on the Sacred Scriptures, states that this person proposed "præbere ei septem *notarios*, eorumque depensas." In voc. Hippolytus

[5] Since my 3rd Edition was published I have been glad to find that Dr. Gieseler, in his Essay on the Paulikians in the Berlin Stud. und Krit., agrees with me here. He regards it as a point "not to be doubted," that it was very specially the office of the Paulikian *Notarii* to make accurate copies of the *Scriptures*, "in number sufficient for the wants of the people." And he justly adds that the very fact shows the value felt by the Paulikians for the Holy Scriptures.

[6] E. g. In a copy of a letter of Pope Alexander III. written about A.D. 1180, I find the following subscription: "Ego Otto, *notarius* Sacri Palatii, authenticum hujus

supply to the Paulikians of that double means of spiritual nourishment,—the word *written*, for *reading* in private, and the word *preached;* which two Vitringa supposes to be meant by the Apocalyptic symbol of the *two tubes*, for transmission of the pure olive-oil to the golden candlestick.[1]—And thus the burning of the candlestick among them will be accounted for; just as the quenching of the light, and prolonged darkness of the candlestick, is to be accounted for among both Greeks and Romanists, by the choking up of these sources of nourishment. For the charge made against *them* by the Paulikians, first in the East, then in the West, was but too true, of in part adulterating, in part suppressing, God's word among the people; while, as to the *preaching*, we have already traced its neglect for ages throughout Romish Christendom.—Let us admire that in the East, where first the apostasy was enforced in its grossness, the spoken language had not changed, so as in the West: and that consequently not *translation*, but only *copying* was needed, to furnish Christ's witnesses with that word of life which was its antidote.

4*thly*, although from first to last a cry was raised against the Paulikians for secret *immoralities*, even as a part of their religious ritual and system, (*just like that against the early Christians*,[2])—a cry echoed in the East by Petrus

Bullæ Domini Alexandri Papæ bullatum vidi et legi: et sicut in illo reperi ita in hoc scripsi; nihil addens, vel minuens, aut mutans, præter punctum, litteram, et syllabam." Hard. vi. ii. 1420.

So, later, the *Waldensian* Ministers. "Leur occupations, outre le service regulier des églises, étoient de *récopier les Evangiles*, et leurs Traités réligieux." Muston i. 461.

[1] "Tubi bini significant duo illa instrumenta per quæ institutiones ministrorum Dei transeunt et parantur, ad communem ecclesiæ usum,—*prædicationem oralem* et *Scripturam*." p. 626.—In my own view the dual number of the tubes follows more simply from the dual number of the witnesses.

[2] Athenagoras, in the second century, thus briefly sums up the charges of immorality and impiety made against the early Christians; Τρια ἡμιν επιφημουσιν εγκληματα,—*αθεοτητα*, *Θυεστεια δειπνα*, *Οιδιποδειας μιξεις*. (Pro Christianis, ch. 3; cited by Gieseler i. 76.) So too Justin Martyr, Apolog. i. 35; and, more fully, Minutius Felix, in his Octavius, ch. 9, &c.—If the reader will compare these with the charges of immorality made against the Paulikian dissentients,—as, for example, in the East by Cedrenus very briefly, Πασῃ ακολασιᾳ, και μιασμῳ ἑκατερας ανθρωπων φυσεως, *αδιαφορως και αδεως χρωνται*, (Dowling, p. 20,) in this following Photius, i. 10, (who adds further the charge of incest,) and more at large, in Western Europe, by the Biographer of Arefaste, in his account of the heretical transactions at Orleans, already alluded to,—the resemblance between the two will be found, if I mistake not, so striking, as almost to satisfy him, even à priori, of the latter being little more than a copy and repetition of the former; and dictated by one and the same author, him who is called "the accuser of the brethren."

Siculus, Photius, Cedrenus, and by others in the West continued downwards to St. Bernard,—yet in no case do we find authentication of the charge. On the contrary, from time to time there transpires in other statements of accusers that which is virtually a contradiction to those charges; and at least probable evidence of the morals taught by them, and generally practised, being (so as with Christ's Witnesses they must have been) unimpeachable.

Thus, in regard of their founder *Constantine*, if Petrus Siculus represents him as having embraced the foul crimes and impurities of Basilides,[1] it is but just after stating him to have planned the revival of the heresy *in another form*, because of having observed that the *foul crimes* of the old impure sect of the Manichees, as well as their impious sayings, were an abomination and horror to all men:[2] while Photius confesses to his having openly, at least, (whatever might be his real mind and conduct in the secret mysteries,) abandoned them.[3] Again, as regards *Gegnæsius*, among the charges preferred against him in the patriarchal court, not a word is there of any such kind of accusation: and, in respect of his successor *Joseph*, Photius speaks of his living long, and proselyting many,[4] near the city of Antioch in Pisidia, and being much esteemed and valued there: of which how could he have been judged worthy, had either his doctrine or his life been characterized by abominable impurities? Further, as regards *Sergius*, although Petrus heaps on him the most virulent abuse, yet it appears from his narrative, both that this eminent Paulikian was before his conversion to the sect a young man of excellent moral character;[5] and that afterwards, "re-

Let me add that precisely the same charges were made by Romanists against the morals of the *Waldenses*, even up to the year 1783. See Muston i. 489; "Et dans les tenebres ils renouvelaient les infamies des Manicheens," &c.

[1] Βασιλειδου του δυσωνομου τας ασελγειας τε και μιασματα, και των λοιπων [Μανιχαιων] απαντων τον δυσωδη υποδεξαμενος βορβορον, αναδεικνυται νεος τις δδηγος απωλειας. p. 32.

[2] Την αθεμιτον και μυσαραν αυτου αίρεσιν βλεπων βδελυκτην παρα παντων και φευκταιαν ὑπαρχουσαν, δια τας εν αυτῃ δυσφημιας τε και αισχρουργιας, θελων αυθις ανανεωσασθαι το κακον, μηχαναται κ. τ. λ. p. 31.

[3] Βασιλειδου τα μιασματα . . . . ουτε συν παρρησιᾳ ησπαζετο, ουτε κατα γνωμην και μυσταγωγιαν απεστρεφετο. i. 65.

[4] See p. 256 suprà.

[5] So the woman first addresses him; Ακουω περι σου, Κυριε Σεργιε, ὁτι . . . αγαθος κατα παντα ὑπαρχεις ανθρωπος. P. S. 41. Mr. Arnold says this was the *flattery* of an ασεμνος γυνη. On which I have before hinted (p. 257) that both the conduct of the

jecting," as Petrus expresses it, "all the vices and lusts of the Manicheans, he fraudulently simulated virtues, whereby the better to deceive; and so as, although a wolf, to appear vested before the world in sheep's clothing." [1] Indeed, in one of the very few and brief extracts given by Petrus from Sergius' letters, we find the latter thus asserting, in the way of challenge to one that had opposed him, the unimpeachability of his moral character; "What accusation hast thou against me? Have I defrauded any one? Have I acted with pride or overbearing? Thou canst not say it." [2]—As to the Paulikians *generally*, Petrus relates without observation on it, as if that which he might have difficulty in disproving, their disclaimer of the *impurities* of the Manichees; adding, as that which he thought he *could* maintain against them, "The *doctrines* of Manes they carefully hold and defend." [3]—No doubt individual blots may be inferred from his narrative to have existed among them; just as we learn from the epistles to the Corinthians, and others, that there were blots in the early Christian Church. Such, there can be no doubt, was the case of *Baanes:*—the only Paulikian of eminence, if I mistake not, against whose morals Petrus Siculus makes any *credible* [1] inculpatory statement; previous to the great multiplication of their body, and unhappy wars of resistance against the imperial Greeks that followed, at Argas and Tephrice. And it seems to me most observable, and altogether corroboratory of my point of argument, that in this case there is associated with it in Petrus' narrative, the circumstance of *Sergius' public reproof of the offender;* and both his own, and *the Paulikian majority's*, renuncia-

woman in only talking with the young man about the Scriptures, and also the result of her conversation, leaving him unimpeachable in morals even by his enemies, sufficiently witnesses to the woman's own character. So that her address may be taken as the simple truth.

[1] Ούτος τους μεν μιασμους και τας πολλας ακολασιας αυτων (i. e. of his predecessors) αποβαλομενος, . . αρετας τινας δολιως ὑπεκρινετο· και ευσεβειας μορφωσιν περικαλυψας τον λυκον, ὡς εν κωδιῳ προβατου, την δε δυναμιν της ευσεβειας αρνησαμενος, εδοκει τοις αγνοουσιν αριστος ὁδηγος σωτηριας καταφαινεσθαι. P. S. 44. And Photius, i. 96, yet more strongly; Δεινος την αρετην σχηματιζεσθαι.

[2] See the extract, p. 263 suprà.

[3] Ει γαρ και των αισχρουργιων αυτων (Μανιχαιων) εισιν, ὡς αυτοι φασιν, αμετοχοι, αλλα των αἱρεσεων αυτων ακριβεις εισι φυλακες. p. 2. And again p. 5; ὁτε τινι εξ αρχης διαλεγονται, χρηστον σχηματιζοντες εχειν το ηθος τα παντα.

[4] I mean beyond mere vague declamatory charges, and with any statement accompanying of connected and authenticating circumstances.

tion thenceforward of connexion with him and his disciples.[1]—Turning to *Western Europe*, the reader will not forget how at *Orleans* the Canons proselyted are allowed on all hands to have been those of the clergy who, for sanctity and general excellence of character, had for many years enjoyed the highest reputation:[2]—how at *Turin* no charge at all of *immorality* seems to have been urged against the heretics:—or how at *Arras* this was professed, and not gainsayed, as their rule of life; viz. "to separate from the world, to restrain the flesh from concupiscence, to live by the labours of their hands, to injure none, and to show love to all who united in the same views of life and doctrine."[3] Besides which I must not pass without allusion the eulogies on *Berenger's* character,[4] and the non-impeachment of that of *De Bruys:* or St. Bernard's general testimony to the *Petrobrussian* sectaries; "If you ask of the conversation of these people, nothing is more irreprehensible: what they say they do: they attack no one, circumvent no one, defraud no one."[5] Once more, (for *Reinerius Saccho's* testimony to the same effect must be reserved for later notice, as he lived after the epoch which bounds our present inquiry, viz. that of the teaching of Petrus Valdensis,) it must be remembered that this their unimpeachableness of moral character was publicly appealed to by the Paulikians at *Cologne*,[6] as Christ's own test and evidence of real Christianity; "By their fruits ye shall know them:—our fruits are the footsteps of Christ."[7]

[1] Δισσως και τρισσως αντεστη κατα προσωπον Βαανῃ, τῳ ῥυπαρῳ μαθητῃ, . . και, ευλαβειαν ὑποκρινομενος, ηρξατο ελεγχειν αυτον εις ὑπηκοον παντων, ου δια πιστιν, αλλα δια την ατοπιαν των αθεμιτων αυτου πραξεων. And then; Ὁ δε Σεργιος, δια τον δυσωδη βορβορον, ὀν εδιδαξε [Βαανης], βδελυξαμενος, και εις προσωπον καταισχυνας αυτον, εσχισε την αἱρεσιν εις δυο. p. 51. Could the public inculpation of the vices charged on Baanes have been so made by Sergius, and so followed up, had the moral sense of the Paulikians been as depraved and abandoned as the hostile writers against them would represent?

There is the further charge made against them by both Petrus and Photius, of *abominable falsehood*, in respect of the *teachers* calling themselves *Sylvanus*, *Tychicus*, &c., and their *Churches*, the *Macedonian*, *Achaian*, *Colossian*, &c.; though these men had been dead many hundred years, and the places were distant many hundred miles!—The reader will not require any refutation of *this* asserted violation of moral rectitude. [2] See p. 270, Note [6]. [3] See p. 276. [4] See p. 278.

[5] "Si conversationem [interroges] nihil irreprehensibilius; et quæ loquitur factis probat. Jam, quod ad vitam moresque spectat, neminem circumvenit, neminem supergreditur, neminem coneutit." Bernard in Cantic. Serm. 65. 5.

[6] See p. 287.

[7] There is less need of insisting on the evidence in favour of the morality of the

5*thly*, it is obvious that the *privations* and *sufferings* entailed on them by their profession of faith were such as to make the mourning garb of *sackcloth* their fit clothing:—as also that under them they exhibited a *self-denial, unwearied zeal, constancy*, and *fortitude*, through life and unto death, just as if there was some superhuman power sustaining them; even a power such as St. John was told of in those words of the Apocalypse, "*I will give power* to my two witnesses."—Denounced as they were from the first as

Paulikians, inasmuch as both *Mr. Dowling*, with reference to the parent stock in the East, and *Dr. Maitland*, with reference to the most questionable of all its Western offshoots long after, at the commencement of the xivth century, alike disclaim belief in the immoralities charged on them. The former thus writes, p. 32: "I take no notice of the charges of licentiousness of practice brought against the Paulikians by Photius and Petrus. . . The declamatory charges of controversial writers deserve to go for little." * Dr. Maitland thus: "I do not find in any of these hundreds of *Sentences* and *Confessions*," (i. e. in the records of the Inquisition at Toulouse, from 1307 to 1323,) "either as a matter of charge by the Inquisitors, or self-accusation, or charge by a Confessor, any the slightest attempt, directly or indirectly, to impeach the character of any Albigensian or Waldensian, with reference to chastity, temperance, or honesty." Facts and Doc. p. 224.

It is to be regretted that too many controversial writers, opposed to the Paulikians and Waldenses, exhibit no such candour as this: but act on the principle of at once receiving and retailing every charge of evil against them, as if true; with little, if any, consideration of the credibility of the evidence supporting it, or of existing counter-evidence.† To such how applicable is Tertullian's indignant remonstrance, against similar conduct on the part of the Roman magistrates of his time.‡ "When others are accused, they are permitted freely to speak to prove their innocence, and have the privilege of replying and objecting. Again, on accusation of murder, sacrilege, incest, or treason, (the ordinary heads of accusation against us,) ye demand in corroboration, proof of the act, the number of the perpetrators, the place,

* He adds; "And it must be confessed that, though such charges were often urged against the Gnostic and Manichæan sects, it is not easy to reconcile them with the genius of the Oriental systems." Which statement cannot be passed over without exception and protest: seeing that it is not on the ground of *connexion* with the Manichees or Gnostics that we assert their innocence; but on that of their being, both in doctrine and character, a sect *altogether aliene* from them. In fact, instead of Mr. Dowling's inclination to regard immorality as foreign to the genius of *those* heretical sects being well founded, there is extant in the very gems and medals of the *Gnostics* sufficient evidence (independent of concurrent Patristic testimony) to convict them of the grossest impurity; (see Mr. Walsh's interesting little volume on early Christian coins and gems, p. 69, &c.)—and, as to the *Manichees, their own authorized writings*, publicly appealed to by Augustine, and not repudiated, exhibit them in a character equally depraved and bad. (See, for example, the Acts of the Dispute with Felix, Book ii., Chap. vii.; or the De Hæres. Chap. xlvi.)

† Among them *Bossuet*, in his *Histoire des Variations*, xi. ii, stands pre-eminent. And I am sorry to have to add to the list the modern and respectable names of Dr. Gieseler and Mr. Arnold. The former in his Essay in the Studien und Kritiken, citing the charges from Photius and Tollius, intimates that Paulikianism had its dangerous sides, from which even such enormities may possibly have proceeded: a remark wholly founded on Dr. G.'s *own* theory of Paulikianism, as a particular kind of Marcionitism; which theory I doubt not to prove utterly and altogether baseless. (See my Appendix to this Volume.) Mr. Arnold has copied and adopted this passage from Dr. G. both in his Pamphlet of Remarks on the Horæ, and in the British Magazine for Sept. 1847. ‡ Apolog. 1, 2. I translate freely.

Manichean heretics, they were from the first a class proscribed and without the pale of the law;[1] and thus both

manner, time, accomplice, companions. In our case no care of this kind is taken, though it is equally necessary that whatever is falsely asserted should be elicited: e. g., upon how many infants each had already fed,—how many incestuous crimes he had hidden in darkness,—who were employed to prepare the human banquet,—what dog, [sc. to extinguish the lights, So Minut. Felix,]" &c. He then contrasts with these accusations the favourable report of their morals, drawn from Christian confessions, by Pliny: just as a Paulikian might have referred to the unwilling admissions of Petrus and Photius, in favour of the Paulikian Sergius; or the simple statement of the pure morals of the sect, made by members of it, as at Arras or Cologne.

[1] Οἱ *ουν ευσεβεστατοι και ορθοδοξοι ἡμων βασιλεις, ἱνα μη επι πλειον διαγεμηθεισα ἡ λυμωδης στασις αὐτη λυμηνηται πολλους των καθ' ἡμας, θεικῳ ζηλῳ κινουμενοι, τους κατα τοπον εὑρισκομενους της Ῥωμαικης αρχης Μανιχαιους κατα καιρους αποκτεινουσι.* P. S. 28; and again p. 31; *θεσπιζουσι* (*οἱ βασιλεις ἡμων*) *Μανιχαιους και Μοντανους ξιφει τιμωρεισθαι, τας δε βιβλους αυτων ευρισκομενας πυρι παραδιδοσθαι· ει δε τις φωραθειη ταυτας αποκρυπτων, τον τοιουτον ψηφῳ θανατου καθυποβαλλεσθαι, τα δε ὑπαρχοντα αυτων εν τῳ του δημοσιου εισκομιζεσθαι μερει.*—For the original anti-Manichæan laws, begun by Valentian I. A.D. 372, and added to by Theodosius the Great and others, A.D. 381, 382, &c., see Gieseler i. 216; Mosh. iv. 2. 5. 1.

The Paulikians being condemned as Manichees, the penalty against harbouring or concealing *Manichees* was of course applied to the crime of harbouring or concealing *them*, throughout the Greek empire. And as in the *East*, so in the *West* afterwards, laws of the same penal character against the same crime were enacted, as early as the eleventh century;—an early specimen of which has been already given (see p. 277, from the Councils of Rheims and Thoulouse, A.D. 1049 and 1056.

May we not discover in these laws, and the position in which they placed the Paulikians, an explanation of one of the names affixed to them, of which I do not remember to have seen any solution; I mean that of *Αθιγγανοι*?—The term is first applied to them, I believe, by *Theophanes*, an historian who died about A.D. 817; near about the time of the Paulikians' retirement to Argas, and beginning of their resistance to their Imperial persecutors. The Manichæans, he says, "now called *Paulikians* and *Athingani*." It strikes me that the appellation may have been given them from their being thus both legally and practically cut off from all contact with society; and, on their side, after the commencement of their resistance, and through distrust, disallowing the Roman Greeks' approach and touch.*—In a Tract on Heretics by Timothy, Presbyter of Constantinople, (given in F. Combefis' Historia Monothelitarum, Paris 1648, p. 456,) I find the following notice of a class of heretics called at the same time *Athingani* and *Melchisedekiani*. *Μελχισεδεκιανοι, οἱ νυν Αθιγγανοι προσαγορευομενοι, οἱ . . . . μητε ανθρωπον απτεσθαι αυτων ανεχομενοι, αλλα κἀν δωῃ αυτοις αρτον, ἡ ὑδωρ, ἡ ἑτερον τι ειδος, καταθεισθαι κελευουσι· και οὑτως αυτοι προσερχομενοι αιρουσιν αυτα. Ὡσαυτως και αυτοι ἑτεροις μεταδιδουσιν· ὁθεν και Αθιγγανοι, παρα το μη ανεχεσθαι ἑαυτους προσψαυειν, ητοι θιγειν τινος, (ἡ) προσαγορευθησειν.*† This passage seems to confirm my suggestion; especially as compared with Peter Siculus' statements. For he says in one place, p. 44, that before Sergius' time the Paulikians *φευκταιοι τοις ανθρωποις, και βδελυκτοι, πασιν εφαινοντο·* and how, after their secession to Tephrice, *αυτῃ ανεπιμιξιᾳ των ανθρωπων τοις δαιμοσι*

* "'Αθιγγανος dicitur qui non vult ad aliquem accedere." So the Etymolog. Græc. cited by Card. Mai; Spicileg. Rom. vii. 61.

† As to the precise heretics meant by Timothy, they were evidently not the *Melchisedekiani* of the 2nd century, mentioned by Augustine, (Hæres. 34,) who were charged with believing Melchisedec to have been an appearance of Jehovah: (a doctrine by the way hardly to be called heretical, for who can certainly say that it is not true?) because Timothy says, "They who are *now* called Athingani;" and he lived in the 7th century; (Mosh. vii. 2. 3. 6;) probably near to its close. May it have been then an early appellation, in some similar sense, of these *Paulikian Sectaries?* If so, it suggests to us some marked prominency in their views of Christ in his character of *High Priest:* perhaps such as that exprest by the *Turin* heretics. See p. 246 suprà.

their property and their lives exposed from day to day to forfeiture. Yet where was ever exhibited more earnest or enduring zeal than by them in the profession and propagation of their doctrines? The statement of Petrus Siculus, "that they were in the habit of cheerfully undertaking many labours and dangers, in order to the infusion of the poison of their own pestilential heresy,"[1] is one on which their whole history is a commentary. Like Simeon, those that possest property had to "leave all," on the undertaking of the work;[2] or, like Sergius, to toil in journeys, and for support labour with their own hands, while fulfilling it.[3] And the same of the Paulikian offshoots in Western Europe.[4] Yet was the *all* left, and the life of *labour, poverty, danger, suffering*, undertaken and continued, not by one but by many:—in the *East*, up to the amnesty accorded by John Zimisces near the end of the xth century;[5] (I date the limiting epoch no earlier, because, even after the gatherings to Argas and Tephrice, life was still to them a life of privations, and the remnant within the limits of the Greek empire *hunted out* to be *put to death*;[6]) and from that time, and ever after, in the *West*.[7]

Then consider them on the threatening, and in the im-

τελειως εξομοιουμενος sc. Καρβεας: (53:) also, in his Letter to the Bulgarian Archbishop, that the only right or safe way of dealing with them was to shun them: Αριστη αὐτη μηχανη τοις απλουστεροις τους μιαρους εκεινους αποτρεπεσθαι μεν, . . και, εν τω πυνθανεσθαι αυτους σιγᾷν, και φευγειν . . ὡς εξ οφεος. p. 4. Shunned themselves, even like serpents, they would needs suspect and shun others.

[1] Ειωθασι . . πολλους κοπους και κινδυνους προθυμως αναδεχεσθαι, προς το μεταδιδοναι της οικειας λσιμης. P. S. 3. [2] See p. 254.

[3] See pp. 261, 262, Notes [6] and [4].

[4] The sectaries at *Arras* speak in similar manner of their life of labour; and so too those at *Cologne*. So, again, Bernard says of those he was conversant with; "Panem non comedit otiosus: operatur manibus unde vitam sustentat." In Cant. Serm. 65. 5. [5] See p. 266.

[6] See the expressions used by P. Siculus about the Paulikians settled at *Tephrice*, in the Note p. 309: a representation that indicates no state of ease or enjoyment: also, respecting those within the Greek Empire, τοις εν Ῥωμανιᾳ δια ταυτην την αἱρεσιν αποκτενουμενοισι. p. 54.

[7] One of their most common names in the West was *Paterini*: of which the Edict of Frederic II (A.D. 1244) gives this account; "In exemplum martyrum qui pro fide catholicâ martyria subierunt, *Patarenos* se nominant, velut expositos passioni." But this testimony is of later date than now concerns me.

Bossuet endeavours to negative the force of the argument here used, by adducing the statement of *Faustus* the *Manichee*, as to the life of privation and poverty to which *he* had subjected himself through that religious profession. (Variat. xi. 59.) But he does not add Augustine's counter-statement, immediately following, of the *gold* (aurum in arcellis) that he knew him to have in reality accumulated; and the bed of down (caprinæ lodices), and luxury, with which he shocked the humble habits of his poor father. Contrà Faust. v. 5.

mediate prospect, of *cruel death.* It is said of Constantine by Petrus Siculus, that the reason of his casting aside the name and the books of the Manichees, when in a new form reviving Manicheism, was fear, from having seen many slain on account of that profession by the sword.[1] Again, 500 years after Constantine, the Monk Eckbert imputes to the Paulikians of his time a similar concealment of their real sentiments from fear of death; saying that, *like thieves confessing under the gallows*, these heretics confessed and maintained their errors only when left without hope of life.[2] These assertions are among the many palpable and shameless falsehoods, which he who runs may read in the anti-Paulikian writers. Was it through shrinking from death that Constantine disowned Manicheism? The profession he embraced instead of it, was that which exposed him to death just as much, indeed more, than Manicheism itself;[3] and after a few years, in effect, brought him to suffer it, in the cruel form of stoning. Was it because they could not help themselves, and were remedilessly doomed to suffer, whether they maintained their profession or not, that the Paulikians, either then or afterwards, held firm to their faith, and refused recantation? The very contrary is the recorded fact. We read respecting that earliest of their persecutions, how it was the royal command that both *Constantine* himself, and *his disciples*, should in case of conversion have *promise* of *free pardon:* but that the wretches preferred to die impiously in their error, rather than by repentance to obtain both temporal and eternal salvation.[4]

[1] p. 31.

[2] "Si aliquis vestrûm pro errore suo deprehensus fuerit, et deductus ante judices ecclesiæ, aut omnino negatis fidem vestram, aut tunc primùm aliquos errores vestros confitemini, cùm de vitâ amplius non speratis. Sed illa confessio non est ad gloriam vobis: et est quasi confessio furis; qui, cùm de vitâ suâ desperat, latrocinia sua impudenter confitetur sub laqueo." Facts and Doc. p. 510. See my allusion to this p. 291 suprà.

[3] The account, for example, of the free public dispute between Felix the Manichæan and Augustine, shows that in the case of the Manichees the penal laws were not executed. They are alluded to by Felix as that which *embarrassed* him, but nothing more. See Augustine, in Felic. i. 12. (Benedict. Edit.) Indeed Augustine expressly notes the fact in his Treatise against Faustus, v. 8: "Propter Christianorum temporum mansuetudinem quàm parva et propè nulla patiamini!"

[4] *Κατα την του βασιλεως κελευσιν ὁ Συμεων τους μαθητας Κωνσταντινου εν εκκλησιαις Θεου προς επιστροφην παραδεδωκεν· αλλ' εμειναν ανεπιστροφοι, μαλλον ἑλομενοι συναποθνησκειν τῃ ἑαυτων κακιᾳ, ἡ δια μετανοιας τον Θεον εξιλεωσασθαι, κ. τ. λ.* So P. S. 34. And the same of Constantine himself, Phot. i. 68.

In like manner under Constantine's successor *Simeon*, when the Paulikians were all gathered together and examined by the authorities, it was understood that *none but the pertinacious* would be condemned to suffer: yet all, notwithstanding, adhered to their error; and were all in consequence burnt together, on a vast funeral pile raised for the occasion.[1]—At *Orleans* the Canons were reasoned with "from the first hour to the ninth," in order to recover them from their heresy; with promise of pardon implied, if they retracted, as well as threat of burning if they persisted; and two out of the 15 or 16 took advantage of the offer, and so escaped, but none else.[2] The same was the case at *Milan*;[3] the same, as described by Evervinus, at *Cologne*;[4] the same at *Vezelai*;[5] the same at *Oxford*.[6]—And what is further most observable on this head is the spirit of united joy and meekness that marked their constancy in suffering:—a spirit so different from the proud impassiveness of the stoic philosopher, or the ferocious bravadoing, when under torture, of the American Indian savage. The brevity of Petrus' and Photius' narrative prevents me from referring (as I doubt not, had it been more circumstantial, I might have done) to the deaths of *Constantine* and *Simeon*, as examples. At *Orleans* however, and at *Oxford*, the records already cited present us with exemplifications in point very striking. At *Cologne* too Evervinus marked it. He expresses his astonishment, as we have seen, to St. Bernard, at the manner in which the heretics entered to the stake, and bare the torment of the fire, not only with patience, but with joy and gladness: adding; "Answer me, holy Father," (and Bernard's solution, if I remember right, shows that he was as unable to account for it as Evervinus,) "how these members of the Devil could with such courage and constancy persist in their heresy, as

[1] *Μαθων δε ὁ βασιλευς εκελευσε παντας ὑφ' ἑν ανακριθηναι, και τους εμμεινανταϛ τῃ πλανῃ πυρι παραδοθηναι. Ὁπερ και γεγονε· πλησιον γαρ της Σορου πυραν μεγαλην αναψαντες αρδην κατεφλεξαν απαντας.* Ibid. 35, 36.

[2] "Cum ab horâ diei primâ usque ad horam nonam multifariàm elaborarent omnes ut illos à suo errore revocarent, et ipsi ferro duriores resipiscerent . . . . præter unum clericum atque unam monacham cremati sunt. Clericus enim et monacha divino nutu resipuerunt." Arefaste's Biogr.

[3] See p. 246 suprà.

[4] See p. 286.

[5] See p. 291.

[6] See p. 293.

is scarcely to be found in the most religious of the faith of Christ." [1]

Such is a summary of the *points favourable*, even on the face of hostile historians, to this most remarkable line of Paulikian dissentients, as perpetuated for 500 years in Eastern and Western Roman Christendom.[2] And I confess that when I review the summary,—when I consider the inviolable adherence ascribed to them through that long period to the written Gospels and Epistles, as their one standard of doctrine and duty,—their unimpeachableness of morals,—their continuous protest against all the grosser and more palpable superstitions of the church established,—a protest not by word only, but by separation, as that from which they must needs come out, as being apostate,—and kept up with a zeal, endurance, and fortitude, through life and even unto death, which was the astonishment of their enemies,—when I consider further the guarantee that appears against their having been weak and hot-brained *enthusiasts*, both from their so long continued unchangeableness of tenets, (a characteristic never attendant on enthusiasm,) from the admitted learning and wisdom of various of their most eminent teachers, (witness the instances of Sergius[3] and the Orleanist Canons,) from the simplicity of their adherence to the written word as

[1] See p. 286.—Compare with my argument on this head what Justin Martyr tells us of the impression made on *him* by the early Christians' ready and fearless suffering of death. Apolog. 2.

[2] Joachim Abbas, we shall soon see, gave much the same testimony, about A.D. 1200.

[3] I have already quoted from Petrus Siculus the testimony existing on this point to Sergius, Ακουω περι σου, κυριε Σεργιε, ότι εν επιστημη γραμματων και παιδευσεως τελειος. (So Gieseler for πελεις.) And the whole history, as I have before intimated, testifies to the falsehood of Peter's charge against the woman, as if one ασεμνος, and whose testimony should be rejected as mere hypocritical flattery.—Which being so, what are we to think of Bossuet's version, "Peter of Siculus acquaints us that a Manichæan woman seduced an *ignorant layman*, called Sergius"? Peter's subsequent exclamation against him, as αλογωτατος και αμαθης because he could not answer the woman's quotations and inferences from Scripture, so as Peter would have done himself, (by his own account most incorrectly,) cannot justify Bossuet. For this is Peter's mere declamatory abuse of Sergius; the other statement giving us his real reputed character at the time.—Bossuet is a writer on these subjects *always* to be distrusted.

It is to my own mind very remarkable, that in the only two cases in which Paulikian *women* are recorded to have been the instruments of converting men to their sentiments, the persons so converted, viz. Sergius and the Orleanist Canons, should have been precisely those to whose high character, both for *morality* and *learning*, there existed at the time the strongest testimony.

their rule, not to visions or impressions independent of it, and the general good sense of their conversational reasonings on religious points, even as reported by enemies,[1]—I say, when I consider all these things, it seems to me almost inconceivable that they should have been on any *essential* point of faith heretical, or in error: indeed that they should have been anything but a line of *faithful witnesses* for Christ's truth and Gospel; taught, commissioned, and sustained, from generation to generation, by Christ's own eternal Spirit. In the history of the world can one single example be adduced of a line of religionists, to whom all these characteristics attached, and who may yet be proved to have been anything but *God's real servants?*[2]

Before coming however to any decided conclusion on this most important question, it is necessary that we further consider very carefully, and refute, as proposed,

IIndly, THE CHARGES OF HERESY AND ERROR ALLEGED AGAINST THE PAULIKIANS.

Among which the general and direct charge of *Manicheism* that first meets the eye, and which has been made in the strongest and most unqualified manner against the Paulikians by opponents alike ancient and modern,[3] need

[1] As an example, I may refer to the Paulikian woman's conversation with Sergius. Indeed *generally*, as regards the reasonings of the sectaries both in the East and in the West, it was confessed that not only the laity, but the clergy, were for the most part unable to answer. Compare Petrus Siculus' confession, pp. 4, 5, and Eckbert's, p. 291, respecting the heretics at Cologne; also the account of the Orleanist woman, &c.

[2] Compare the case of the *Priscillianists* of the end of the fourth century. Waddington (i. 334) describes *them* as a kind of *Manichæans* that profest to receive the pure inspired Scriptures, and no others. But, on turning to the records of the Council of Braga, held A.D. 561, the reader will find that like Ebion, Tatian, Manes, &c., they both corrupted the true, and forged false Scriptures. "Si quis Scripturas quas Priscillianus secundùm suum depravavit errorem, . . vel quæcumque . . sub nomine prophetarum vel apostolorum suo errori consona confinxerunt, legit, . . sequitur, aut defendit, Anathema sit." Hard. iii. 349. Moreover, except Priscillian himself, scarce any suffered; and in little more than a century the sect vanished. I know no other more favourable case of other reputed heretics, to compare with that of the Paulikians.

[3] "If we are not disposed to set up our own conjectures against contemporary testimony, and to make antiquity bow to our prejudices, we must admit the correctness of the common opinion, and regard the Paulikians as a *Manichæan* sect." So Mr. Dowling at the conclusion of his Pamphlet. Dr. Maitland's views to the same effect appear in the chapter in his *Facts* and *Documents* on the Paulikians, p. 83, his Reply to Mr. King, p. 76, and his Letter on the Orleanists to Dr. Mill, p. 41. In the first, his statement may seem thus far qualified, that he represents the Paulikians as

detain us scarce at all. For, reserving its *full* examination and confutation for my Appendix,[1] as being that which would necessarily involve so lengthened a sketch of real Manichæan doctrine, as to be an interruption to our more proper present course of investigation, it will suffice here to give the abstract and result of that examination. And this is in effect as follows:—viz. that in regard of all the four most important principles of religion,—*first*, its account of the origin of man, and of the mixture of good and evil apparent in the world,—*secondly*, its doctrine on the mode of deliverance from the aforesaid evil,—*thirdly*, man's future prospects beyond death, in the case both of those who follow out this plan of deliverance, and those who neglect it,—*fourthly*, the authority on which these its doctrines are propounded, and by which sanctioned,—that in regard of all these four points, the doctrines of Manicheism, and those of the Paulikians, were not only not the same, or similar, but altogether the most different; indeed directly *antagonistic to each other*, and *incompatible*. Insomuch that, after examination, the intelligent and candid reader will see reason, I am persuaded, not only most fully and absolutely to exculpate the Paulikian sectaries from the Manichæan imputation,—but also to marvel, I will not say how the charge could ever have been made, (man's enmity against the truth will account for that,) but how it should have been so long believed in and perpetuated, as nothing less than one of the most extraordinary mistakes on record in the history of literature.—It would be well indeed if the apostate Church could prove for *itself* as complete a variance from Manicheism. It needs but to consider its *additions* of new apocryphal Scriptures, and making void of the old

Manichees to the same extent as the Albigenses. But that this his qualification amounts to but little, appears from what he says in the second passage referred to; as well as in others that might also be given.

Among the ancients, besides Petrus Siculus and Photius, which latter calls the Paulikian doctrine *Manicheism added to*, I may specify Anna Comnena, who designates it as *the unmitigated poison of Manicheism*, Cedrenus, &c.

Among later writers Mr. Dowling particularizes, besides *Romanists*, the *Protestant* historians Henke, Gieseler, Guericke, Neander in Germany, Mather in France, F. Schmid in Denmark, &c. Differing, he says, in minor points, and not agreed whether the Paulikian errors were of Gnostic or Manichean origin, yet all believe that they held dualistic opinions, and bore some of the principal features of the early Oriental heresies.—British Magazine for Oct. 1838.

[1] Viz. the Appendix to the present Volume.

by its *traditions*,—its dogma of *purgatory*,[1]—its *distinction of meats*, and *compulsory fastings*,—its *forbidding of marriage* to the clergy, and *inculcation of virginity*, (not for special missionary work, or any present necessity,[2] but) as in itself the better and holier state,[3]—and in fine its *fictions* and *adoration of dæmons*,[4]—to see which were the more Manichæan of the two; the accused or the accusers; the Paulikians, or the two apostate Churches of Greek and Roman Christendom.[5]

To complete our proof however of the general purity of the stream of Paulikian doctrine, up to the epoch spoken of, it needs that, besides clearing it of the imputed *Manicheism*, we disprove also its contamination by *other* heresy on vital points of the Christian faith: such as concerning *the Scripture canon, the two principles, the incarnation of Christ, and the two sacraments*. In the discussion of which charges, as we have no writings of the Paulikians with which to compare them, (save and except only four or five extracts of their Letters, made by bitter enemies,[6] professedly with a view to inculpate them, and themselves very possibly, as Gieseler intimates, misquoted or misrepresented,[7]) it is evidently required by every principle of

[1] See my Sketch of Manichæan doctrine, in the Appendix to the present Volume.

[2] See 1 Cor. vii. 26.

[3] In fact in the xith century, on Gregory VII's imperious law against the marriage of priests, he was called by them a *Paterine*, or *Manichæan*. "Multi sacerdotes, præsertim in Italiæ provinciâ Mediolanensi, sacerdotia dimittere malebant quàm conjuges, ab ecclesiâ Romanâ secedebant, et infami *Paterinorum*, id est *Manichæorum*, vocabulo Pontificem ejusque asseclas notabant, qui conjugia sacerdotum damnabant." Mosh. xi. 2. 2. 13.

[4] "Manichæi satis ostendunt placere sibi adorari multos Deos: nec mirum; quandoquidem in sectâ suâ numerosissimam Deorum familiam commemorant atque commendant." "Et quis numeret omnia Deorum vestrorum officia fabulosa?" So Augustine contrà Adimant. Manich. 11; and Contrà Faust. xx. 10.—On the Romish dæmons and dæmonolatry see p. 10, &c., suprà.

[5] "If the Manichæan errors and practices which had corrupted religion were to be rooted out, &c." So Southey's Book of the Church, ch. xii. p. 267; with reference to the necessity of a dissolution of the monasteries, in order to the Reformation in England.

[6] Of this bitterness illustrations abound. So e. g. at p. 11, the Paulikians generally are designated by Petrus Siculus as *δαιμονες σαρκικοι, incarnate dæmons*. And, when speaking of their most eminent teacher Sergius, he calls *him* the devil's champion, the enemy of the cross of Christ, the mouth of atheistic impiety, the hater of Christ, who trampled under foot the Son of God, and did despite to the Spirit of grace, &c. pp. 40, 44.—In similar spirit Photius, i. 95, 96, speaks of Sergius' father, and Sergius himself, as the venomous spawn of the serpent, the devil.

[7] See my p. 262 suprà.

fairness and good sense, that we receive the hostile testimony of the accusers with much reserve and suspicion. And if on cross-examination it be found contradictory either to itself, or to other testimony, or to the general character, life, or acts of the sect, then I think we are bound to dismiss it as untrustworthy, and the mere language of passion and prejudice. How but so, had there been no writings of Claude of Turin preserved to us, should we have escaped acceding to the utterly false charge of Arianism made against *him*, by enemies like Dungal or Bossuet?[1]

1st, then, is it true that they *rejected the Old Testament?* Strange indeed, and almost incredible, even *à priori*, must this charge appear, in its application to those who received the New Testament, not, like the Manichees and other heretics, in a garbled and falsified text, but in a text confessedly pure and unadulterated. As Gibbon observes; "Their *utmost diligence* must have been employed to dissolve the connexion between the Old Testament and the New:"[2] nor indeed could even such diligence by any possibility have sufficed.—The circumstance that no such charge was made against Gegnæsius, surnamed Timothy, in his examination before the Patriarch of Constantinople,[3] detracts of course yet further from its probability: especially considering that this occurred after 70 years' existence of the sect, and two legal processes against it, by royal authority, during the presidencies of Constantine and of Simeon;[4] in the which how can we suppose but that the fact, if true, would have transpired?[5]—Again, the coincidence of the view of Adam's fall, and transmission of the apostasy from God thereon consequent to his posterity,[6] exprest in Sergius' epistolary fragment already cited, I say its coincidence with the account in Genesis, indicates anything but opposition to the authority of *that* part of the *divine*

[1] See pp. 234—237 suprà. [2] x. 172.
[3] See p. 255 suprà, and the Tabular View in my Appendix.
[4] See pp. 254, 255.
[5] Nor indeed was any such alluded to in that part of the Formula of Abjuration which specially concerned Paulikians, (I mean the latter part,) which was required long afterwards from those who renounced Paulikianism for the Greek established Church. See the Formula apud Coteler. Patr. Apost. i. 539, and the Tabular View.
[6] See the extract in my p. 263 suprà: also the extract from Augustine, as to the Manichæan views on this point, in my Sketch of Manichæism in the Appendix.

record ;—a part specially excepted against by the heretical objectors to the Old Testament.—Equally strong against the charge is the Paulikian woman's incidental but solemn statement to Sergius, about Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob's admission into the kingdom of heaven.[1] For the principle on which, not the Manichæans only, but the older Gnostic sects also, rejected the Old Testament, was as being the revelation and code of the evil God; a rejection involving that also of the holy men of the Old Testament and its God, i. e. the ancient Prophets and Patriarchs. Accordingly both Petrus Siculus and Cedrenus charge this rejection of the old prophets on the Paulikians:[2] and Photius urges against them the absurdity of thus rejecting Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and yet receiving the New Testament, which acknowledged them as God's servants and saints.[3] Strange but for the blinding, the willing blinding of prejudice, that Petrus and Photius should have forgotten their own recorded statement about the Paulikian woman, as not rejecting those Old Testament prophets, but distinctly recognising them among the saved; and consequently not rejecting, but recognising, the Old Testament itself.—So much as to the *Eastern* and *earlier* Paulikians. Then, passing to the history of their supposed *Western* descendants, we find in it that which yet more throws discredit on the charge. For at *Orleans*, both from the absence of accusation on this point, and from other evidence,[4] it may be probably inferred that the sectarian Canons appealed to the Scriptures *generally*, as their rule of doctrine. The same as to the *Turin* heretics, burnt at Milan. For it was from "the divine Scriptures," unrestrictedly as to canon, that they are said to have taught their rustic auditors.[5] At *Arras* and at *Cologne* the reference for authority to the Old Testament Books,[6] in their discussions, seems to indicate that these were received by the there accused sectaries, as

[1] See p. 258 suprà.

[2] Πεμπτον το μη αποδεχεσθαι αυτους την θειαν βιβλον παλαιαν, πλανους και ληστας τους προφητας αποκαλουντας. So P. S. p. 13. And Cedrenus (ap. Dowling, p. 17); "They reject the prophets . . saying that not one of them is included among those that are saved." So too the Form. of Abjuration, p. 537.

[3] B. iii. pp. 8, 11, 13.

[4] "Divinorum voluminum exempla." These are said to have been reasoned from by the Canons, and lay probably open before them. See p. 271 suprà.

[5] "Rusticis.... falsa rudimenta à Scripturis divinis detorta seminaverunt." See p. 216 suprà, and Landulf cited in the App.

[6] See pp. 275, 276, 288, 289.

well as those of the New. At *Lombers*, though the charge is said to have been confessed to by them of rejecting the Old Testament, yet the President's own statement of the matter in his condemnatory sentence,[1] shows that it was a rejection of it only where unauthenticated by Christ and his Apostles: in other words, a rejection of what was apocryphal and spurious; a reception of what Christ authenticates as the *Law*, *Psalms*, and *Prophets*, i. e. of the whole Old Testament *canonical* Scripture.—Which being so, and as their implicit reception of the *New* Testament almost necessarily involved that of the *Old*,[2] I cannot but regard this accusation of the earlier Paulikians as most improbable, nay incredible.

The truth of the matter seems to me to be as follows:—that themselves for a long time not possessing the sacred Books of the Old Testament, (and the reader must bear in mind the great difficulty in that age of obtaining them, especially by persons excluded, as they were, from the established Church,[3])—that knowing moreover that spurious Scriptures were abroad, purporting to belong to its canon,[4] —and hearing, it is probable, false arguments and views on religion and the Church, urged from what really belonged to it, but which from the supercession of the Mosaic law, in respect of its polity and ceremonial, might be of no force under the Gospel,[5]—I say it seems to me that, under all these circumstances, it became an established

[1] See p. 294, Note [6].

[2] I find the following note in Mr. Dowling, p. 17. "Milner thinks that the fact that the Paulicians received the writings of St. Paul is a proof of the soundness of their faith with regard to the Old Testament: forgetting that the ancient Manichæans, though they also partially received the New, most certainly rejected the Old Testament."—*Partially* received the New Testament!! It was *partially* indeed! The Gospels and Epistles Manes declared to be corrupted, interpolated, and filled with Jewish fables; discarded the Acts of the Apostles altogether, and issued another Gospel of his own. So Mosheim, iii. 2. 5. 9. Similarly the Presbyter Timothy, whom I have cited at p. 309, speaks of him thus; Ου ταις Κυριακαις γραφαις χρωμενος. "He (Manes) discarded the Scripture of our Lord." (Hist. Monothel. Col. 452.) And what then becomes of Dowling's answer to Milner?

[3] Considering too the prohibition against any but the established clergy reading, and consequently against any possessing the Scriptures. See pp. 250,257 suprà.

[4] In the Apostolical Constitutions the Apocryphal Books of Moses, Enoch, Adam, Isaiah, David, Elias, and the three Patriarchs are noticed, as among others to be shunned; as Gnostic books, corrupt, and αντιθετα της αληθειας.—Further we know how from books of what is now called *the Apocrypha* Romanists still argue for certain of their errors.

[5] Such as the assertions of the *Levitical* character of the Christian priesthood, and propriety of recognising in the church both sacrifice, altar, &c., of which I have long since spoken. See my Vol. i. 294—296, &c.

habit with the Paulikians, (just as indeed with the Waldenses afterwards,[1]) to admit of no religious dogma on the asserted authority of the *Old* Testament alone; or except as authorized also by that which is pre-eminently the Christian code and charter, and which through God's grace they did possess and could refer to,—the Scriptures of the *New*.[2]

As to the cognate charge of the Paulikians rejecting *St. Peter's two Epistles*, it must be understood that both Petrus and Photius in the first instance, and this more than once, speak of the Paulikian New Testament Canon as if not wanting on this head.[3] It is only on afterwards noting the Paulikians' aversion for the Apostle Peter, personally, that they, either the one or the other, speak of the rejection of Peter's Epistles.[4] And Cedrenus afterwards only specifies the personal antipathy to Peter; not the rejection of his Epistles.[5]—Which being so, and the fact obvious that there is nothing in St. Peter's Epistles in any peculiar or distinctive manner opposed to any Manichæan or Gnostic heresy, more than other parts of the New Testament,[6] the *personal* antipathy spoken of is a point that forces itself on the mind as needing consideration; and what, and why, and how arising. Dr. Gieseler thinks that it may have been on account of St. Peter's Judaizing, when he fell under the rebuke of St. Paul.[7] And it seems to me indeed *possible* that this may have been partly held in remembrance by the Paulikians: for it suits their anti-judaizing

[1] "Quidquid ecclesiæ doctor docet, quod per textum Novi Testamentum non probat, hoc totum prò fabulis habent." Reinerius, c. 3; because, he adds, of *the foolish fables* taught, as true, by certain Catholics. B. P. M. xxv. 264. This occurs just after his stating that these same Waldenses had translated and taught both the Old Testament and the New.

[2] Petrus Siculus (p. 7) gives one specific instance of the Paulikians' rejection of the Old Testament prophets' testimony; viz. those respecting the Virgin Mary: *τας περι αυτης των προφητων μαρτυριας ου προσδεχονται.* What these were, will be seen under my 3rd head.

[3] So Pet. Sic. p. 5; *Παντα τα του Ευαγγελιον και του Αποστολου λογια διαλεγονται.* And Photius i. 9; *Το μεντοι Ευαγγελιον και τον Αποστολον, ἁ και το θειον των Χριστιανων περιπτυσσεται και τιμᾶ συνταγμα, εγγραφως τουτοις παρεθετο.* Where by the *αποστολον*, says Wolf, is meant "Scripta apostolica." And this, adds Photius, without any change of words of any moment, any adulteration, so as the Valentinian and other heretics, or any interpolation or addition; *ονομασιν ουδεν μεγα παταλλαρτων, ουδε κατακιβδηλευων τα λογα το σχημα, . . μητε παρενθηκαις μητε προσθηκαις.* pp. 9, 10.

[4] Phot. i. 24, P. S. pp. 13, 14.—Manes himself did not reject Peter Cyril ap. P. S. 19.

[5] See his report in the Tabular View in my Appendix.

[6] Pet. Siculus, p. 14, and Photius, i. 26, suggest that it may have arisen from St. Peter's speaking of those that wrested St. Paul's Epistles to their own destruction. But this surely could not suffice.

[7] Stud. und Krit.

spirit, and their jealousy for the pure gospel, otherwise manifest; in contradistinction alike to each ritualistic or Pelagian substitute.[1]—But, considering Peter's instant return from his momentary error, I cannot think the reason sufficient, either for such strong and continuously exprest antipathy, or for the strength of the Paulikian saying in the present perfect tense about him, "Peter has become a denier of the faith in Christ."[2] It strikes me that there may rather have been another and quite different solution. According to the long-received ideas and phraseology in both Eastern and Western Christendom, *Peter* was considered to live and speak and reign in *his successors in the Roman See.* So said the Greek Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon as early as the 5th century;[3] and their voice was re-echoed again and again in the 8th and 9th.[4] So, e. g. by Gregory II about himself, to the Isaurian emperor Leo; "The holy *Peter*, whom all the kingdoms of the West recognise as God on earth."[5] And what the use of Peter's voice and authority, thus exprest? Always, or almost always, the Paulikians would think, in support of evil and error, not

[1] In Photius passages occur sometimes about the *νομος* and *χαρις*, as one point of difference between the Paulikians and the Catholics. So iv. 253, on the parable of the prodigal son: *Ει βουλει δε τους ὑπο τον νομον και ὑπο την χαριν,... λαμπρως επιδεικνυται ὡς εκ της αυτης εστι πατριας και αγαθοτητος ὁ τε νομος και ἡ χαρις.* Photius himself, let me observe, again and again expresses his belief of the full *αυτεξουσιον*, or *free-will* of man, to resist evil. So ii. 145, 146: where, having noticed the Paulikian doctrine, *ὡς ενοχλει ἡμας προς κακιαν ὁ Πονηρος*, "that the Evil One disturbs us with temptation to evil," it is answered by Photius, Yes, but by the *αυτεξουσιον* of the soul we can resist his temptations. So again iii. 36. It is surely very Pelagian.

I observe in the Abjuration Formula for Manichæans the following similarly Pelagian declaration of faith: *Αναθεματιζω τους το αυτεξουσιον αναιρουντας, και μη εφ' ἡμιν ειναι λεγοντας το ειναι καλους ἡ κακους.* Coseler. Patr. Apost. i. 538. How different from Scripture, from Augustine, from the subsequent Augustinian school, and from the Church of England!

[2] *Μαλιστα τον κορυφαιον των αποστολων Πετρον δυσφημουσιν, ὁτι γεγονεν εξαρνος, φασι, της εις τον διδασκαλον και Χριστον πιστεως.* Phot. i. 24; also P. S. 14.

[3] In the Ephesian Council; *Ὁ αγιος Πετρος... ἑως του νυν και αει, εν τοις αυτου διαδοχοις και ζῃ και δικαζει.* In that of Chalcedon: *Πετρος δια Λεοντος* (i. e. Pope Leo, then Bishop of Rome) *ταυτα εξεφωνησε.* Hard. i. 1477, ii. 305.—See my sketch of the unfolding of the Roman Popes' pretensions to Christ's Vicariate on earth, as Peter's successors and representatives, at the beginning of Part iv. Ch. v. § 1; also in Ch. vi. my notice of the responsibility of the Western clergy to the Roman Pope, as doing all *coram Petro.*

[4] For Western examples see Gieseler, ii. 15: e. g. the Pope's Letter to King Pepin, written on the Lombards' invasion, about 750 A.D., in Peter's name; "Ego *Petrus* Apostolus, qui vos adoptivos habeo filios, &c.:" and to Charlemagne in 770; "Beatus *Petrus*, princeps Apostolorum,..... per nostram infelicitatem obtestatur."

[5] *Τον ἁγιον Πετρον, ὑν αἱ πασαι βασιλειαι της δυσεως Θεον επιγειον εχουσι.* Hard. iv. 12.

of truth. So in the anti-Nestorian Council of Ephesus, in support of its Mariolatrous tendencies.[1] So in Gregory's Letter to the Isaurian, in defence of image-worship. So yet again, somewhat later, in the 2nd Council of Nice, held A.D. 787 to decide the grand question of the lawfulness of image-worship, against which the Paulikians had raised so strong a remonstrance, the authority of *Peter's voice*, as spoken *from Rome*, was appealed to by the Council in favour of its decree; "It is with us that *Rome*, the illustrious seat of *Peter*, Prince of the apostles, sympathises and acts."[2]—Thus I conclude, and with scarce a doubt as to the correctness of my conclusion, that it was Peter *reigning* and *speaking at Rome* that the Paulikians meant as apostate from the faith in Christ: and that their asserted rejection of Peter's Epistles was a mere inference from their enemies' strange mistake on this head. With which view agrees their designation of the Greeks of the established image-worshipping Church as *Romans*, themselves, the Paulikians, as *Christians*:[3] also the fact that in the *West* the charge of rejecting Peter's Epistles was never, I believe, made against the Paulikian dissidents; but the charge of disregarding the *see of Peter*, as apostate from the Christian faith, was.[4]

2ndly, is it to be inferred respecting *the dualistic principle* charged on them, that they held *it*, though not in a *Manichean*, yet in some *unscriptural* and *heretical* point of view?—The more I have considered the charge the stronger is my persuasion that such was not the case: and that the Paulikian peculiarity of doctrine on this head had relation, not to *the original creation*, but to *the present constitution* of, and *present ruling authority* in, the world: and this in a sense altogether Scriptural, not unscriptural.

For the word αρχαι, let it be remembered, is used in the

[1] See my notice of the spirit of this Council, p. 332 infrà.

[2] Τις γαρ ὑμιν Ῥωμη, ὁ του κυρυφαιου Πετρου μεγαλωνυμος θωκος, επ' αθετησει της του Χριστου σεπτης εικονος, συνεπνευσεν; Ἡμιν, επι τῃ ταυτης τιμῃ, συμποιει και συνηδεται. Such was the Catholics' triumphant appeal to the iconoclasts, in the χρησεις of the 2nd Nicene Council; Bibl. Patr. i. 731. (Ed. 1624.)

[3] P. S. 12. As *Christians* is a *religious* designative, so *Romans* must also be here used in a religious sense.

[4] So the Cologne Paulikians. See p. 288 suprà. Compare Berenger's views, p. 281.

sense of *governments*, or *governing principles* or *powers*,[1] quite as much as in that of *originating* or *creative principles:* and that it was in the former that the Paulikians chiefly meant it, in their recorded differences with the Greek Catholics, appears probable even from the form and wording of the charge itself. Thus, though Petrus and Photius speak of it as a Paulikian doctrine, that the Evil One is the *maker* or *demiurge* of this world, yet, 1st, of the details of any such original cosmogony, (details such as occupy a prominent place in the various Manichæan or Gnostic systems,) we shall find in the hostile sketches of Paulikianism, if I mistake not, precisely nothing. 2. Wherever the alleged Paulikian notion of the Evil God's having *made* the world is spoken of, it is almost uniformly stated in association with their idea of the Evil One being the *ruling authority* in this world. 3. And this too, very generally, with an application distinctly restricted to the *present age*, or *world;* in contrast with the *world* or *age to come*, in which, they said, the good God was to have the αρχη; as if a question rather of *time* than *place*.[2]—Hence, I conceive, the Paulikians can only have called the Evil God the ποιητης of the world in the sense of his having been the originator of its present evil constitution, and being the εξουσιαστης over it during its present subjection to vanity. And, so understood, the whole dualistic system of the Paulikians assumes, to my own mind, the form of nothing more nor less than the dualistic system of inspired Scripture.

For, let me ask, has not Scripture its own dualistic system of two αρχαι? To whom, as its originator, does Scripture ascribe the present evil in the world, both natural and moral? Is not this one of "the works of the Devil?"[3]

[1] Let me illustrate from Polybius, lib. vi. c. 47, when speaking of the Roman constitution and government, in comparison with others. Εγω γαρ ειμαι δυο αρχας ειναι πασης πολιτειας, δι' ων αιρετας η φευκτας συμβαινει γιγνεσθαι τας τε δυναμεις αυτων και τας συστασεις· αυται δ' εισιν εθη και νομοι.

[2] So Petrus, p. 12: Αλλον Θεον λεγουσιν ειναι τον του κοσμου ποιητην, (p. 11, ποιητην τε και εξουσιαστην,) και ετερον Θεον, ον και Πατερα επουρανιον λεγουσι, μη εχοντα δε εξουσιαν εν τωδε τω κοσμω, αλλ' εν τω μελλοντι αιωνι.

And Photius: Φασιν ετερον μεν ειναι Θεον, τον επουρανιον πατερα, ον και της τουδε του παντος εξουσιας υπεροριζουσι, του μελλοντος μονον το κρατος αυτω εγχειριζοντες· ετερον δε τον δημιουργον του κοσμου, ω και το κυρος του παροντος αιωνος χαριζονται. i. 17. Compare too his B. ii. 181, 196, 210, iii. 63, 85, &c. In one of which places (ii. 210) he says that the Paulikian system το κρατος της του Θεου βασιλειας εις αρχας αντικειμενας σχιζει.

[3] 1 John iii. 8.

Mediately or immediately we must regard him, according to Scripture, as the agent through whom this mundane creation was made subject to vanity, and to the bondage of corruption:[1] for it was he who tempted man; and so brought death into the world, and all our woes.—Again, respecting his *ruling* in this present world, as *usurper*,—not indeed of God's *providential* government, but of that *spiritual kingdom* which of right appertains to the Lord Jesus,—we read of his being the Prince, yea the God of this world;[2] of the whole world lying under the Wicked One;[3] and of the men of this world being those whom he hath blinded, and leadeth captive at his will:[4]—expressions these of fearfully large import; since none but the little number of God's *real* children are depicted as delivered from out of this kingdom and rule of Satan. Nay, even as regards the *visible* grandeur and glory of empire, which attracts men's eyes and admiration in this world, Scripture represents it as given into Satan's hands for the present. We read of his declaring to Christ, (and not being contradicted in the assertion,) after showing Him the kingdoms of the world and their glory, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt worship me; for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it:"[5] and, yet again, in the Apocalypse, of his raising up, and governing in, the dominant Roman Empire, under its later pseudo-christian, as before under its earlier Pagan form: and giving it his seat, and power, and great authority; in opposition to the kingdom and servants, the so far deprest kingdom and servants, of Christ Jesus.[6]—So as to the present age and world. But it holds out another and better world to come, (the αιων ὁ μελλων, or κοσμος ὁ μελλων,) to the hopes and prayers of Christians, as that in which all is to be changed: when the Evil One's dominion and kingdom shall for ever pass

[1] δια τον ὑποταξαντα. Rom. viii. 20. Some Commentators explain this of *God*; so Macknight: some of *Adam*; so Whitby: some of *Satan*; so Hammond. In any case the *ultimate* causal agent of the thing is undoubtedly *the Devil*.

[2] John xiv. 30, 2 Cor. iv. 4. With reference to which latter passage see Suicer on αιων. [3] 1 John v. 19.

[4] 2 Cor. iv. 4, 2 Tim. ii. 26. Compare in the Ep. of the Pseudo-Barnabas the statement following: "Seeing that the days are exceeding evil, and the adversary has the power of this present world." ch. 2. [5] Matt. iv. 9, Luke iv. 6.

[6] *Christ's* witnesses were to prophesy *in sackcloth*; while the Dragon gave to the ten-horned beast, the *Antichrist*, great authority. Apoc. xiii. 2, &c.

away; and, in fulfilment of the never-ceasing prayer of the Church,[1] the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ.[2]

Such are the views held out to us by Holy Scripture respecting the Evil Principle and the Good; the present supremacy of *the one*, and the future of *the other*. Nor, I feel persuaded, can any other unscriptural, or really heretical views on this point, be proved against the Paulikian sectaries, *on consistent evidence*, even out of the hostile historians themselves.—Thus, is it asserted that the Paulikians' two αρχαι, meaning Gods, the good and the evil, in contradiction to the Scriptural view of the two αρχαι, were each alike *eternal* and *self-existent*,[3] we have a direct negative to the assertion in the Paulikian woman's recorded statement about the heavenly God, as "the *only* living and immortal God."[4]—Is it asserted that at least *matter* was believed by them to be eternal,[5] this seems inconsistent with the belief held by them, as just stated, about the only living and immortal God; and, if I mistake not, the charge to be found neither in Petrus Siculus nor Photius.[6]—Is it asserted against them, that whensoever and howsoever originating, the evil God was supposed by the Paulikians to have had part in man's first creation, and to have made his *body*, the source of all evil in him, while the good God made the *soul*, the source of all good,—the charge, if exprest or implied by Photius in one or two places,[7] is by half-implication contradicted in others; more especially (not to urge other anti-Manichæan indications, which will be noticed in my Appendix) by his implied admission that they believed in *the body's resurrection*.[8]—Is it asserted again, so as by Petrus and Photius in one place, that the Paulikians held so unscriptural a dualism, as to believe that both the Good God and the Evil One were each confined ex-

[1] "After this manner pray ye; . . May thy kingdom come!" Matt. vi. 10.
[2] Apoc. xi. 15.
[3] The usual Manichæan doctrine.
[4] See p. 259 suprà. Photius (i. 105) reports the woman's words as Τον μονον ζωντα και αθανατον Θεον.
[5] So Dr. Gieseler in the Stud. und Krit.
[6] See Photius' argument, i. 147, et seq.
[7] So Phot. ii. 142. Again the ὑλη, or matter of Christ's human body, is spoken of by Photius, B. iii. p. 31, as in the Paulikian belief furnished by the evil God. A self-confuting passage that I shall have again to refer to under my 3rd head.
[8] In various passages Photius argues with the Paulikians from the fact of a future resurrection, as if not denied by them. So iii. 10—12, 77, 78; &c.

clusively to his own kingdom, so that the heavenly Father had just as little power in this world, as the Demiurge, or Evil God, in heaven,[1] the direct contradiction to this is supplied us in the narrations of these selfsame historians. For it appears from them that the Paulikians believed the Good God to have his earnest desires directed towards the saving of all men from their otherwise lost estate:[2] that for this, in their opinion, he had sent them teachers like Constantine, so acting in this world as the God of *Providence;*[3] for this acted as the χορηγος of actions (good actions evidently) in men;[4] and also by his *Spirit* energized in the hearts of the faithful, as the source of light, life, and peace.[5]—So does every charge break down, which would make the Paulikian dualism different from the Scriptural. In fact in Gegnæsius' time it seems to have been a charge unheard of against the sect.

But why then such disagreement with them in this matter on the part of the Greek Catholics; nor disagreement only, but bitterness and enmity against them for their doctrine? It was the Paulikian *application* of the doctrine, I doubt not, that caused both the one and the other. For the *Church*-question here, as on other points that will soon come before us, became quite a barrier of separation between the two parties. As members of Christ's orthodox visible Church the Greek Catholics considered that they were altogether emancipated from the kingdom of Satan, and in very deed participants of the life and salvation in Christ's kingdom.[6] As members, bigotted members, of an

[1] So Dr. Gieseler, as from Photius; but without noting the exact passage. Photius' primary statement, i. 17, is rather less strong and full: ὁν (sc. the heavenly Father) της τουδε του παντος εξουσιας ὑπεροριζουσι.

[2] So the Paulikian woman. See p. 257 suprà.

[3] So Pet. Sic. p. 33.

[4] So Photius ii. 151, of *some* Paulikians: τον αγαθον Θεον χορηγον ειναι τοις ανθρωποις πραξεων.

[5] "The God of peace be with you!" So (see p. 263) ends one of Sergius' Letters. A simple sentence which speaks much on this point.—In the histories of Paul's two sons, and of Zacharias and Joseph, disputes arose as to who had received the *Spirit*. So P. S. 38, of the two latter; θατερου ἑαυτον ψηφιζομενου την χαριν ειληφεναι του Πνευματος· and Photius i. 85, 86; also, of Gegnæsius and Theodore, disputing about την του πατρος ανωθεν απεσταλμενην χαριν, P. S. 36. Phot. i. 76. Dr. Gieseler, with reference to these cases among others, says that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was much developed in the Paulikian system.

[6] Compare Pilichdorf, Chs. 14, 15, arguing against the Waldenses on the same point; and Reiner against the Paterini, (in reference to 2 Cor. iv. 4,) B. P. M. xxv. 281, 272.

idolatrous apostate Church, the Paulikians regarded and spoke of them as on the road to perdition;[1] and, like the Jews of old that denied Christ, as children of their father the Devil.[2]—Listen to Petrus Siculus' own account of the professing Church and Christendom. He says that by Christ's death and resurrection the Devil's head was so bruised, and power overthrown, that he could no longer act out his flagitious purposes against man openly as before; but only secretly circumvent and seduce the minds of a certain few, (i. e. heretics evidently,) speaking lies in hypocrisy, and having consciences seared as with a hot iron:[3] while the whole Church of Christians is strengthened so as that the gates of hell may not prevail against it; the true knowledge of God covers the whole earth as a flood; the virtue of heavenly spirits has made its inhabitation on earth, and men invoking God vie in virtue with angels.[4] The earth he speaks of must of course be limited to Christendom. But on *it* he evidently supposes Isaiah's prophecies of the latter day to be already fulfilled, or fulfilling.[5] What then when it was urged against them that in the world, or age then existing, the *Evil One* was dominant, not the *Heavenly One;* yea, dominant in the so-called *Church Catholic* itself, as in fact a Church apostate? What, when *the children of the kingdom*, that would at the last be cast out, were by the Paulikian woman, and others of the sect, declared to mean the members, and very specially the priestly members, of the then professing Church: even as those to whom Christ's heavenly kingdom had been indeed offered, and by them professedly accepted at baptism, but whom Christ would reject at the last, as having never really be-

[1] So Sergius, p. 260 suprà. [2] John viii. 44. [3] P. S. p. 9.

[4] So p. 8; *θεογνωσια δε αληθης πασαν την γην ὡσπερ ὑδωρ πολυ κατεκαλυψει. Εντευθεν ἡ των ουρανιων επι γης αρετη πολιτευεται, και τοις αγγελοις ταις αρεταις θεοκλυτουμενοι συναμιλλωνται οἱ ανθρωποι.* Mr. Arnold in the Brit. Mag. for September 1847, admitting that this is hyperbolical, expresses an opinion that Petrus would readily have allowed it to be so; and confest that in reality few acted up to their Christian privileges. But I must beg to think him mistaken. For Petrus distinctly restricts Satan's power to heretics *outside* the Church's pale: and defines the persons cast out at the last judgment to be, not the mere professing and insincere members of the Church Catholic; but only such as used magical arts, &c., and heretics. See my reply to Mr. A. on this point in the Brit. Mag. for October, 1847, p. 426.

[5] Compare what I have said of the origin of such views in my Vol. i. pp. 256, 257, 266.

longed to it?[1] It is easy to see that this would be doctrine as abominable and strange to the Greeks of the age of Petrus Siculus, as to the Western Romans afterwards; insomuch indeed as readily to provoke against the preachers of it the charge of heresy. Even now, when carried out in clear and personal application, the preacher who urges it is not seldom deemed severe, and a bigot. But was it not that which *they* at least *must* have urged, who had to sustain the part of *Christ's witnesses*, according to the Apocalyptic prophecy: when the *heathen*, under the name of *Christians*, had come into Christ's temple; and saying, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are *we*,"[2] occupied, and defiled it?

The length at which I have discussed this charge as affecting the *Eastern* Paulikians, leaves me no time to speak of the Paulikians of the *West*. Let me simply observe that it was only against those of Turin and Orleans that any charge at all of this nature was made; and in either case with internal evidence of the falsehood of the charge.[3] At Arras, Cologne, Lombers, Oxford, we hear nothing of it.

3. Next, is there reason to suppose that the imputed error really attached to them of *denying Christ's true incarnation*, and *birth from the Virgin Mary?*—To see the *nature* as well as *origin* of this charge, it will, as before, be instructive to look to the examination of Gegnæsius.[4] The question was then put simply to him, "Why dost thou not worship and adore the Virgin Mother of God?"[5] Here was the *germ* of the future accusation; and which in the time of Petrus Siculus and Photius had been expanded into that which has been already set before the reader: viz. "They reject with hatred the Mother of God, always a Virgin: honour her with no place among the blessed: and *speak not of Christ as born of her*, but as having brought down a body with him from heaven."[6] Surely

[1] See my abstract of the conversation in p. 258 suprà.
[2] Jer. vii. 4. [3] See my notice of these cases in the Appendix.
[4] See the Tabular View.
[5] Δια τι ου σεβῃ και προσκυνεις την ἁγιαν Θεοτοκον. P. S. 37, Phot. i. 79.
[6] P. S. 12, Phot. i. 20, 21. Compare, as before, the Tabular View.

both the late date, and the wording of the charge, might suffice to show the improbability of its truth: and to make us suspect that the jealousy of the accusers was not for *Christ*, but for the *Virgin Mary;* and that the charge of disbelieving Christ's incarnation was affixed as a mere rider and corollary to that of dishonouring the Virgin Mother of God.—Nor is the charge indeed, even as given, consistent in itself. Let that remarkable clause be observed by the reader, which follows immediately on what I have just quoted from Petrus,—a statement again elsewhere made by him, and also found in Photius; "and that *after the parturition of Christ* she had *other sons* by Joseph."[1] Can we well believe persons to have so used the word *parturition*, if believing that it was no real *birth* from the Virgin; or to have said *other sons*, when believing Christ not to have been her son at all?—But we have yet other and equally decisive proof at hand, in refutation. In his 3rd Book against the Paulikians, Photius himself as good as admits the falsehood of the charge against the main body of the Sectaries. For he there thus speaks: "There is a *portion* of the apostatizers, and that not a small one, that madly argue against the *incarnate* manifestation of the Word:"[2] thus distinctly implying that even he could only say this against a *certain fraction* of the Paulikians. I beg the reader's particular attention to this last disproof: both as being so decisive; as having been strangely overlooked hitherto; and as powerfully bearing, not on this point only, but on the whole controversy.—We must be now indeed strangely prejudiced, I think, not to allow that the charge was, as the Paulikians ever contended it was, altogether unfounded.

[1] Την πανυμνητον και αειπαρθενον θεοτοκον μηδε κἀν εν ψιλῃ των αγαθων ανθρωπων τατταειν απεχθως απαριθμησει· μηδε εξ αυτης γεννηθηναι τον Κυριον, αλλ' ουρανοθεν το σωμα κατενεγκειν· και ὁτι, μετα τον τον Κυριου τοκον, και αλλους, φασιν, ὑιους εγεννησεν εκ του Ιωσηφ. So P. S. p. 12, and 7. Also Photius i. 21: Βλασφημουντες δε την ὑπεραγιαν δεσποιναν ἡμιν θεοτοκον, ἁ μητε γραφῃ μητε ακοῃ θεμιτον παραδουναι, ου πεφρικασι οἱ τρις ουκ απαξ απολωλεναι δικαιοι, λεγοντες . . . . και ταυτην την ασπιλον και καθαραν παρθενον, μετα τον Σωτηριον τοκον, ἑτερους ὑιους εκ του Ιωσηφ παιδοποιησαι. A belief derived, no doubt, from our Lord's *brethren* being spoken of in the Gospels.

[2] Εστι γαρ, εστι, τις της αποστασιας ταυτης ουκ ολιγη μοιρα και ταυτην την λυσσαν κατα της ενσαρκου του Λογου παρουσιας προφερουσα· i. e. the λυσσα, or mad theory, of Christ's having appeared κατα σχηματισμον και ὑποκρισιν, not εν αληθειᾳ και ὑπαρξει. B. iii. pp. 19, 20.

To myself it seems always the more clear, the more I reflect on the subject, that the real point of dispute and difference between the Paulikian sectaries, and their accusers of the Greek Church, was not so much this, but *the identity*, or *exact similarity, of Christ's human nature* with that of *his Virgin Mother*.—On which point it surely needs but little reflection to see the difficulties which he must plunge into who would be wise above what is written.[1] We know that Christ's human nature was subject to feelings, wants, sufferings, sympathies, like our own. But we know also that it was in one respect *unlike* to ours; it was *without sin*. "He was made in the *likeness* only of *sinful flesh*:"[2] and whereas "the first man was of the earth earthy," the second man [even in regard of his sinless human nature] was "the Lord from heaven."[3]

Now the perpetual tendency of the Church, from the third century downwards, to aggrandize the Virgin Mary, —a tendency which, notwithstanding Epiphanius' temporary opposition to it,[4] stopped little short of her *deification*, regarding her as one whom prophecy[5] had delighted in its

[1] E. g. See the revolting speculations of Ildephonzo, Bishop of Toledo from 658 to 679. (B. P. M. xii. 568.) He was thus a *Western* contemporary of Constantine, the first founder of the Paulikian sect. [2] Rom. viii. 3, *εν ὁμοιωματι σαρκος ἁμαρτιας*.

[3] 1 Cor. xv. 47. Some manuscripts omit the words, *ὁ Κυριος*, "The Lord."

[4] See his attack on the Collyridians in the De Hæres.

[5] E. g. besides the well-known and really applicable prophecy in Isaiah, "Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son," &c., Petrus Siculus, after a general declaration that the law and all the prophets had from of old foretold and presignified her glory, particularizes the *gate shut*, and preserved for God to open, of Ezekiel xliv. 2; the *fountain sealed* of Cant. iv. 12; and the root of Jesse, i. e. the Virgin, from which root Christ the branch was to spring, of Isa. xi. 1.

Similar misapplications of prophecy and profanities, may be seen in Hesychius' Homily on the Virgin Mary, Andreas Cretensis in Mariæ Nativitatem, St. Germanus, and other Greek Fathers of the 7th and 8th Centuries.—As this Germanus (if Combefis be correct)* was the Constantinopolitan Patriarch early in Leo the Isaurian's reign, near about the time when Gegnæsius came into the Patriarchal Court † for examination, and it is most important, nay *essential*, in order to a right judgment

* Dupin, vi. 90, prefers to regard these Homilies as written by another Constantinopolitan Patriarch of the same name Germanus, and of the xiith century. But he does not give any reasons. And, as the heading of the Homilies ascribes them to a Germanus *εν ἁγιοις, among the saints*, not to the *ἁγιωτατος Γερμανος*, and the Patriarch of the viith century was the only Germanus *sainted*, I prefer to regard the Homilies as his. In any case they give a most correct specimen of the religion in vogue in the Greek empire, except as the iconoclastic emperors interfered with it, from as early as the 7th even to the 15th century. See for the 8th century the above specified Treatises of Andreas and Hesychius, Bishops respectively of Crete and Jerusalem, as given in the B. P. of 1624 in *Greek*, and in *Latin* in the B. P. M. Tom. x and xii; for the later centuries my illustrations Vol. i. pp. 486, 487.

† But not, I think, exactly then in office. See p. 255 Note [2] suprà.

figures to typify, and to whom (witness the exemplifica-

on the whole Paulikian subject, that the reader should be thoroughly aware of the religion of the then Greek established Church, I have determined to subjoin a specimen of this Patriarch's Mariolatrous religion and faith.*

I find him then, in full sympathy with Petrus Siculus, declaring the Virgin Mary to be "the most illustrious fulfilment of all prophecy," and that there is no part of divinely inspired Scripture where we may not find scattered figures and types of her. Accordingly he proceeds to speak of her as designated under the figures of "the holy temple, the second tabernacle, the altar, the propitiatory, the golden censer, the holy of holies, the cherubim of glory, &c.:" and then again as being, in the mystical sense of prophecy, the burning bush seen by Moses that was not consumed; the holy ground that Moses' shoes might not tread upon; the stone cut out without hands, that became a great mountain; the temple-gate entered by the Lord God, and which man might never open; the root of Jesse, and rod that was to come out of its roots; the garden enclosed, and fountain sealed; the city of God, of which glorious things were spoken; the queen and bride, of the Psalmist and the Song of Solomon;† . . . . in short, one of whom it might be said, in St. Paul's words, that in her "dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."‡—Marvellous are the things too that he tells us of her birth, education, assumption: born of Anna in a manner somewhat supernatural, after long sterility: brought at three years old into the temple, and there in the holy of holies nourished by an angel, till her maturity, on ambrosial food, and given to drink of the divine nectar;§ and then at length, instead of subjection to death,—as it could not be that the body which had received God within it should experience corruption,—taken up alive to heaven, the empty tomb witnessing to the fact.‖

With all these feelings and impressions about her, and with the further full belief moreover of what had long before Germanus' time been received as undoubted truth in the Greek Church, and was soon after solemnly laid down in the Acts of the second Nicene Council, viz. that the departed saints, the Virgin Mary most especially, were not only intercessors and mediators before God in behalf of the suppliants that addressed them, but also the communicators and agents of Divine Providence for their good,¶—it could scarcely be but that Germanus should look to her much more than to Christ, as his Saviour. I here give literally, except that here and there a clause or two are omitted for the sake of abbreviation, the appeal to the Virgin with which he concludes one of his panegyrics. And I pray the reader well to mark it, as the fairest possible specimen of the *antichristian* character of the religion, that was taught and enforced by the highest authorities in the Greek Church, at the time of the Paulikian separation, throughout the seventh and eighth centuries.

"And, O Mistress, Mother of God! grant to all who celebrate this thy festival, thy help, shelter, and patronage; ever saving them, through thy intercessions, from all necessity and dangers, from noxious diseases, from all kinds of calamities, and from the future threatening of thy Son:** and, as the Lord's Mother, do thou establish them in the palace of delight, where there is light and peace, and the fullest communication of all that can be desired. And may the deceitful lips which speak against thee become dumb. . . . For thou only, Mother of God, art most high

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* From the Bib. P. ii. 452. (Paris, 1624.)

† Ib. 453, 454.

‡ Ib. 452. The above is in the Sermon on the Virgin's Nativity.

§ This is in the sermon on the Virgin Mary's presentation, at three years old, in the temple. Ib. pp. 445—450. Of the latter singular clause it may be well to give the original, p. 448. *Εμεινεν δε αυτη λοιπον εις τα των ἁγιων ενδοτερα ἁγια, αμβροσιῳ τροφῃ δι' αγγελου τρεφομενη, και του θειου νεκταρος ποτιζομενη, μεχρι δευτερας μεθηλικιωσεως.*

‖ Ib. 463. From the Sermon on the Virgin's *κοιμησις*, occupying pp. 459—463.

¶ So in the *Χρησεις περι των σεπτων εικονων*, approved in the 2nd Nicene Council. *Των ἁγιων τας πρεσβειας εξαιτουμεν· ζωσι γαρ εν Θεῳ, και ενεργουσιν εν αυτῳ, και τοις προστρεχουσι, και δεομενοις, επικουρειν και βοηθειν τῃ ενουσῃ αυτοις παρα Θεου δυναμει και χαριτι δυνανται.* B. P. i. 730.

** Mark here the view of Christ, as compared with the Virgin Mary:—Christ the awful severe judge; Mary the mother of grace and mercy.

tions in Petrus Siculus and Photius themselves)[1] prayer ought to be addressed,—I say this tendency to aggrandize her led to new views, or at least new statements, respecting the great doctrine of the incarnation. The *Nestorian* controversy revealed this in the broad day-light. The Christian world, as it was called, was agitated to its centre with indignation against him, who, preferring a more scriptural phraseology[2] to the phraseology and definitions of man, would call her the *Mother of Christ*, and not the *Mother of God*.[3] It was not zeal for Christ, or for the right representation of that union in Christ's nature of God and man, which was essential to his fulfilling the great character of man's Saviour, that stirred them in the controversy; but, as it has been justly said,[4] zeal for the Vir-

over all the earth; and thee, O bride of the Divinity, we bless in faith, we honour with longing after thee, and worship with fear, ever magnifying and calling thee blessed.... And, O my Mistress! thou that art alone the conductress of my soul, sent forth from God, the divine dew to my inward parchings, ... the most brilliant lamp to my dark soul, the director of my course, the strength of my weakness, the clothing of my nakedness, the riches of my poverty, the cure of my wounds (otherwise) incurable, ... the alleviation of my pains, the loosening of my bonds, the hope of my salvation,—hear thou my prayers, compassionate my groanings, receive my lamentations!... And, fulfilling the craving desire of my soul, unite me to my sister and fellow-servant, in the land of the meek, the tabernacles of the just, the choir of the saints. And count me worthy, I pray thee, O Patroness of all, and joy of all, to have part with her in the inexpressible joy of the God and King that was born of thee, in his incorruptible bride-chamber, in delights unceasing, and the kingdom that knows no evening, and will never end. Even so, O Mistress! my refuge, my life, my succour, my armour, my boast, my strength!"

Such was the real character of the Mariolatrous religion then professed by the highest of the dignitaries of the Greek Church, and generally enforced.—My critic, the Rev. T. K. Arnold, has strongly protested against my designation of the Greek Catholic Church as at this time *apostate*. Let the reader now judge whether, or not, it was apostate; supposing *apostasy* to consist in setting Christ aside, in all his saving offices: and whether, or not, it was such as absolutely to require that an enlightened Christian should secede from, and witness against it.

[1] Wishing the eternal remembrance of the emperor Basil and his sons, *Petrus Siculus* thus writes; *ὧν ανεπιλησος .. ἡ μνημη .. διαφυλαχθειη ευχαις και πρεσβειαις της ὑπεραγιας ἡμων θεοτοκου και αειπαρθενου Μαριας.* P. S. 2.—In the same spirit *Photius* supplicates her, as his *refuge* and *propitiation*, to present her adorers free from all taint of sin. *Αλλα συ, ω παρθενε και μητερ του Λογου, το εμον ἱλαστηριον και προσφυγιον, τον σον ὑιον και Θεον ἡμων διαπρεσβευομενη και μαντευουσα, τους σους ὑμνητας παντος ῥυτου και παντος αποσμηξαμενους μολυσματος, των ουρανιον νυμφωνος αξιους αναδειξον.* On the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Bib. P. Vol. iv. col. 1603. (Paris, 1648.)

[2] The proper Scripture phraseology was the Mother of *Jesus*.

[3] Χριστοτοκος, not Θεοτοκος.

[4] "The opinion which Nestorius undertook to protect was at variance with the popular enthusiasm, that had already set in the opposite direction: and it was easily urged on, and roused into a tempest, when an insult was represented to have been offered to the dignity and holiness of the Virgin." Waddington, i. 348. He adds in a note:—"It seems probable that if Nestorius had abstained from all mention of the Virgin Mary, or merely avoided the imprudence of interfering with the title of a being

gin Mary. The title of *Mother of God* was one that seemed to ascribe more of the divine to her, than that which styled her simply *Mother of Christ.* And Nestorius, for preferring the latter, was inveighed against, first as an *enemy to the Virgin*,[1] and ultimately as a *Manichean.*[2]—Nor did it end here. About the time of the founding of Paulikianism by Constantine, the *sinlessness* of *Christ's* human soul and nature had begun to be reflected back on that of his *Virgin Mother.* If *his* human nature were free from sin, how so unless that of *the Virgin, from whom alone he derived it*, was sinless also? Such was the bearing, as we have seen, of the views of the Patriarch Germanus;[3] such of those of Andreas of Crete;[4] and of Paschase Radbert's, about the year 870, most explicitly:[5] a view and doctrine which ceased not its working in Christendom, until the authoritative recognition by one Papal decree, in the 15th century, consummated by another quite lately in the 19th, of the freedom of the Virgin Mary from all taint of original sin.[6]—All which being so, how could it be but that the Paulikians, if real witnesses for Christ, should bear their protest against the rising error? Their alleged quotation of such texts

who was already becoming the object of superstition, the controversy would not have taken place at all."

[1] In Moschi Pratum Spirituale, ch. 46, we find, *Εγνων αυτον* (i. e. Nestorius) *ειναι τον της δεσποινας ἡμετερης ἁγιας Θεοτοκον τον εχθρον.*—Compare the R. C. Archbishop M'Hale's charge against the Anglican Church, when denouncing the Protestant school of the Rev. Mr. Moore, Aug. 23, 1849: "It is a Church that robs God of his glory: a Church that despises God's Virgin Mother, and deprives her of her honour. How can they honour the Son, when they despise the Mother?"—Evening Mail.

[2] In the Catalogus Hæreticorum, subjoined to Reiner's Treatise in the original MS., but of which it seems doubtful whether he is the author, and given after Reiner in the B. P. M. xxv. 277, the following occurs: "Dicere Christum non doluisse in passione est dicere quod Christus non fuerit homo, nisi phantasma; et hæc hæresis *Nestorii* et *Eutychis*:" and again; "Est error *Manichæi* et *Nestorii*, qui dicunt Christum non fuisse verè passum." [3] See pp. 330, 331 suprà.

[4] Let the following example from Andreas' Sermons on the V. M. suffice. "*Agnam* te *immaculatam*, quæ sola de tuo utero lanam Christo, *humanam* nimirum *substantiam*, contulisti." B. P. M. x. 686. Cave dates Andreas as flourishing from 635 to 680 A. D.

[5] In his De Virginitate Mariæ this writer thus argues:—"Si caro ejus (Mariæ) de massâ primæ prævaricationis venit, quomodo Christus Verbum caro sine peccato fuit, qui de carne peccati carnem assumpsit?" And elsewhere: "Maria Virgo non sic est nata sicut solent pueri vel puellæ nasci. Sed de Annâ sterili et patre jam sene, extra consuetudinem mulierum, post refrigescentem calorem, . . et omnem amorum libidinis discessum, mundo corde et corpore ab omni pollutione carnali orta est." In Nativ. Mariæ, B. P. M. xii. 566, 590. Given as Ildefonzo's in the B. P. M. On the real author see p. 330 Note [1] suprà. [6] See p. 25 suprà.

as, "The second man is the Lord from heaven," is surely explainable on the hypothesis of their urging them to show, not merely the miraculous nature of the conception, but also (as already hinted) that Scripture did not represent Christ's sinless human soul and nature as *altogether* from the Virgin,[1] so as to be of *one* and the *same* character with hers.[2] An argument this however, which, reducing the Virgin as it did to her own real level of one of the fallen children of Adam, might be deemed, and in fact was deemed, little less than blasphemy.[3]

Ere concluding my disproof the anti-Paulikian charge of *phantastic* views about Christ's *human nature*, I must not omit referring to one particular and most important branch of the accusation; viz. as regards Christ's *crucifixion* and *death*.—Now that the Paulikians believed in Christ's *real*, not *phantastic crucifixion* and *suffering on the cross*, is a point that follows of course immediately and necessarily from their believing his true incarnation. But, besides this, there occur other and distinct disproofs of the charge. Thus in one place, speaking of the sun's being darkened and rocks convulsed at Christ's crucifixion, Photius argues that, according to the Paulikian (supposed) demiurgic dogma, of the present visible world being the Evil God's creation, the world ought rather to have manifested marks of joy at *his* suffering such tortures, who had come to overthrow its Maker.[4] And elsewhere, again, he exclaims against the abominable absurdity, as well as impiety, of the secta-

[1] Mr. Arnold has objected to this, as an erroneous statement about Christ's human nature; but I believe altogether without reason. See the attack and defence in the British Magazine for August and October, 1847, pp. 192 and 428.

[2] Compare Augustin De Gen. ad Lit. x. 35:—"Christus *visibilem* carnis substantiam de carne Virginis sumpsit; ratio vero conceptionis ejus non à semine virili, sed longè aliter et *desuper* venit." While what was *visible* of Christ's human nature came from the Virgin, its *moral sinlessness* was from the heavenly principle overshadowing from above.

[3] It is still so in Popish countries: e. g. the case of Maria Joachima Alves, condemned in 1847 at Madeira, after that interesting work of conversion there which will be ever associated with the memory of Hewitson. The real ground of her condemnation was her Scriptural Protestantism. The pretended ground was "for maintaining that veneration should not be given to images, denying the real existence of Christ in the sacred Host, and *blasphemy against the most holy Virgin, the mother of God*." For this she was condemned to death, but escaped to Trinidad.

[4] Τις γαρ κοινωνια, η συμπαθεια, πονηρου πλασματος και δεσποτικου παθους; Εχρην γαρ μαλλον, οσον επι τω των ασεβων δογματι, λαμπρυνεσθαι τε, και κοσμον περιβαλλεσθαι μειζονα τε και περιφανεστερον, εφ' ω τον καθελειν παραγεγονοτα τον πλαστην αυτων τηλικουτον π α θ ο ς εβλεπον ὑφισταμενον. B. ii. p. 197.

ries, in supposing the *flesh and blood,* by the shedding and breaking of which the world was to be redeemed from the enemy, to have been *matter* furnished by the enemy himself.[1] To the same effect is what we read of their "reviling the *wooden cross,* as an *accursed instrument;*" indeed, (so Photius says,) "as the *instrument of punishment used by wicked men:*"[2] and their adoring what *they* called the cross, viz. "*Christ,* who *with his arms extended* formed it;" an act equally meaningless, except on the same supposition.—Besides that, after this his crucifixion and death, they are declared to have regarded Him as their *forerunner* into the heavenly Jerusalem;[3] an office which, except as one still of real human nature like our own, He could surely not have been supposed to sustain.

As to the *Western* Paulikians the charge on this head is but feebly made against them, in comparison. "They answered *rightly* respecting the *substance* of the heavenly Physician," was the report about the heretics at Oxford.[4] And both the Petrobrussians' exprest hatred of the cross, as the instrument of Christ's torture and cruel death,[5] and the Cologne heretics' saying about their life of poverty and trial being a following of Christ's footsteps,[6] statements alike unmeaning, except on the hypothesis of their believing Christ to have really suffered, and so had a real human body, concur to the same effect. Nor indeed, I conceive,

[1] Αλλ' ὁρα το φρικτον της θεομαχιας επι πλεον και καταπτυστον. Ει ὁ Θεος δια του αἱματος αυτου ελυτρωσατο τον κοσμον εκ της δουλειας του εχθρου, το δε αἱμα και ἡ σαρξ . . (αλλα φριττων και τους λογισμους, και την γλωσσαν, τοις θεομαχοις λεγειν αφιημι το ἑαυτων,) πως δια τοιουτου πλασματος το γενος ἡμων ἡρπασεν εκ της δουλειας του εχθρου;—Photius' αποσιωπησις before the parenthesis is evidently to be supplied thus; . . . "and the body and the blood were in these heretics' opinion the creation of the evil Demiurge." iii. 31. He adds: Πολλης γαρ αν ἁμα χαριτος και τιμης ἀξιος ην ὁ εχθρος ἡμων, ει παρειχεν ὑλην αυτος δι' ἡς αν απαλλαγειημεν της τυραννιδος αυτου.

[2] κακουργων ὁργανον, και ὑπο αραν κειμενον. Photius i. 23; and also Cedrenus. Where mark the κακουργων ὁργανον. Mr. Arnold (Brit. Mag. ib. 195) cites Gieseler, translating it "an instrument *for the execution of malefactors.*" But the Greek does not admit of this. Moreover from Constantine's time it had been disused in the Roman empire, as an instrument of punishing malefactors. Sozomen i. 8.

[3] Phot. i. 21, P. S. 37.

[4] See p. 292 suprà.

[5] See p. 284 suprà: and compare Peter de Clugny's statement respecting these Petrobrussians: "Cùm certum teneatis in morte Christi, quæ per crucem acta est, vitam universorum consistere, dum crucem de medio auferre vultis, vitæ omnium invidetis." B. P. M. xxii. 1053.

Compare Lucas Tudensis' report of a common Albigensian argument, in the form of a story about the cross, in the xiiith century; B. P. M. xxv. 242:—A cross being met by two travellers, one adored it, because by it Christ saved the world; the other [more reasonably] stoned it, because on it the Jews killed Christ.

[6] See p. 286.

if the charge be abandoned perforce as against the *Eastern* Paulikians, will any one of their adversaries think it worth while to urge it against the *Western*.

4. Once more, (for it needs not that I enter on the charge made against them of *rejecting the worship of the cross*, it being one on the propriety of which all Protestants will agree with them,[1]) it remains that we consider whether the Paulikians were really tainted, as asserted, with heresy on the *sacraments*.—Respecting the *one* sacrament it was said, "They detest baptism, pretending to value it greatly: whereas, instead of it, they mean Christ; who, they say, said, 'I am the living water.'"[2] Respecting the *other*; "They reject the communion of the body and blood of Christ:" or, to use Petrus' expression, "They turn away from the divine and awful participation of the holy mysteries of the body and blood of our Lord God:"[3] and this, as the formula of Abjuration adds, "feigning to receive it; whereas they mean, instead, the words of the doctrine of Christ, which he spoke when communicating to the Apostles."[4]—Now that they did not *renounce* the sacraments appears probable, both from their repeated disclaimers, and from the recorded fact of their sometimes receiving both the one sacrament and the other, at the hands of certain priests of the Greek Church. For I see not for what interested object they could have so done: the priests of the Greek Church thus made use of being, as Photius states it, themselves captives in the Paulikians' hands, whether at Argas or Tephrice.[5] So of their acting in the *East*.—Nor was evidence

[1] The following, from Photius and Cedrenus, must not be overlooked. "Yet some of them in time of severe sickness, or suffering, lay the cross upon themselves; but, when recovered, . . break it." (Phot. i. 29, Cedrenus ap. Dowling, p. 20.) But surely this is a mere perversion of their speaking of themselves as then *bearing the cross*. (See Matt. xvi. 24.) Photius' idea of its being valued by them as a bodily *charm*, seems really absurd. The whole tendency of Paulikianism runs counter to any such notion.

[2] So Photius, P. S., and the Formula of Abjuration.

[3] P. S. p. 12. Cited p. 337, Note [5].

[4] So too Photius i. 22. See the Tabular View in my Appendix.

[5] Τους παιδας αυτων υπο των της εκκλησιας πρεσβυτερων, αιχμαλωσιας λογῳ πολλακις παρ' αυτοις κατεχομενων, τῳ σωτηριῳ αξιουσι φωτισθηναι φωτισματι. So i. 30. Also that "not a few of them" partook του τιμιου σωματος και αιματος Χριστου του Θεου ἡμων. Ibid.

It is said by Photius that they did so in order the better to deceive. But, where the separation was so decided as it was, the Paulikians living very much as a distinct people, it seems to me that it would have been as useless as insufficient a method of concealing their own character.

to the same effect wanting in the history of the probable Paulikian offshoots in *Western* Europe. Let me remind the reader of what is recorded by Evervinus about the *Cologne* heretics, "that, *besides water-baptism,*" they had what they called a "baptizing with the Holy Ghost, and with fire;"[1] and that "they contended that the elect among them might *consecrate the body and blood of Christ at their meals:*"—also of the case of the *Petrobrussians;* among whom the apophthegm was current, "Nec propria fides *sine baptismo,*" as well as "nec baptismus sine fide:"[2]—and of that too of the accused at *Lombers:* where the only questioned or suspected point on *baptism* was, not as to the propriety of water-baptism itself, but as to their belief in the efficacy of *pædo-baptism;*[3] and, on the *Lord's Supper,* as to the *recipients* to be benefited, and the *persons* by whom the consecration was to be performed.[4]

That there was however some prominently marked and constant difference respecting *the sacraments,* between them and the churches established in Greek and Roman Christendom, is plain on the face of the records. For it is noted in almost every extant account of Paulikian doctrine, from the examination of Gegnæsius down to the Council at Lombers; including the intervening notices of the Sect by Petrus and Photius, and those of the later reputed heretics at Orleans, Arras, Vezelai, Cologne, Oxford. And what was it?—Respecting the *eucharist* it might seem probable, from Petrus's own wording of the charge,[5] that one thing the Paulikians in word and act objected to, and turned away from, was a partaking of the ordinance in a church which regarded the elements as *transubstantiated:*—a superstitious doctrine this long insinu-

[1] See p. 287 suprà.—So too Ermengard, about 1200 A.D. ap. Facts and Doc. p. 381; "Some say that the sacrament of *water-baptism*, without their imposition of hands, does not profit the recipients, whether children or adults, as to their obtaining eternal salvation."

Compare, on this their rite of *imposition of hands*, the *apostolic* practice described Acts viii. 17, &c., the *Waldensian* practice, and the *English* rite of *Confirmation:* also, on the Paulikians' recognition of the need of *the Holy Spirit's influence*, Note [2], p. 340 infrà.

[2] See p. 282.

[3] See p. 295 suprà: also, more generally, Ermengard ibid.

[4] p. 295.

[5] Τριτον το την θειαν και φρικτην των ἁγιων μυστηριων του σωματος και αἱματος του Κυριου και Θεου ἡμων μεταληψιν αποτρεψαι. p. 12. Why θειαν and φρικτην, *divine* and *dreadful*, unless the elements were supposed to be transubstantiated? A change in them, of course, only to be effected by priests of the *Catholic* Church.

ated,[1] and now generally received, in the Eastern or Greek Church, as well as in the Roman; though in neither indeed authoritatively enjoined till some time after: and against which the Paulikian protest, if begun thus early in the East, was kept up continuously in the West afterwards, even to the time of Petrus Valdensis. So at *Orleans*, and at *Arras*, very expressly;[2] so by *Berenger*;[3] so afterwards.[4]

As regards *baptism* it seems to me evident that what the Paulikians objected to, and protested against, was the received doctrine of its efficacy *by itself, ex opere operato*, to the spiritual purification, quickening, and salvation of those to whom it was administered. In Gegnæsius' examination, as Photius reports it, the Greek Patriarch's question on this head was whether he thought baptism "*a purification* of *souls*, and *of the soul's defilements*;"[5] as well as "a laver of the remission of sins:" this being evidently that on which the Paulikian views were supposed heretical. Which statement I regard as nothing less than the key to the whole truth in the matter. He expresses it elsewhere thus;—that while thinking baptism might be profitable to the body, the Paulikians believed that its virtue went no further, to the purification of the soul.[6]—So against the Orleanists the charge is thus framed by one of the chroniclers; "They denied the *grace* of baptism:"[7] by another; "That there was no *washing away of sins* in baptism."[8] At Arras the sectaries are reported to have said, "that there was no sacrament by which [i. e. *of itself*] men might attain salvation."[9] The Petrobrussians were accused of "denying the efficacy

[1] In Gregory Nyssen's Catechetical Discourse, as translated in the B. P. M. xix. 215, 216, I observe the following. "Rectè nunc Dei verbo sanctificatum panem in Dei Verbi corpus credimus immutari. . . . . Ideo cunctis credentibus gratiæ dispensatione se ipsum impertit per carnem quæ ex vino et pane constituitur; et fidelium corporibus conjungitur, ut eâ conjunctione cum immortali homo etiam immortalitatis particeps fiat." Cited, and adopted, by the Greek Monk Euthymius Zigabenus.

[2] See p. 271 and p. 275. [3] p. 279 suprà.

[4] The reader will see this, on referring to the historical extracts at pp. 281, 282, 285, 293, suprà.

[5] *Καθαρσιον των ψυχων και ψυχικων μολυσματων.* i. 81.

[6] *Λυσιτελειν τῳ σωματι· μη μεντοιγε διαβαινειν την του βαπτισματος ενεργειαν εις ψυχης καθαρσιν.* i. 30.

[7] So John of Fleury. See p. 269.

[8] "Me nullam in baptismo promereri veniam peccatorum." Arefaste's Report in the Chartulary.—Compare Rodulphus Glaber's; "Omne Christianorum opus, pietatis duntaxat et justitiæ, quod æstimatur pretium remunerationis æternæ, laborem superfluum judicabant esse." See p. 271 suprà: also Maitland's Letter to Mill, pp. 46, 48, 50.—On the same principle justification through works of merit would naturally be protested against by them, as baptismal justification.

[9] p. 275, Note [6].

of baptism *without faith:*"[1] and those at Oxford, (though allowed to have rightly confessed the nature of the heavenly Physician,) yet "of denying those *remedies* wherewith," it was said, "He deigneth to *heal man's moral infirmity:* i. e. *the divine sacraments,*" confided to *the Catholic Church.*[2] And so too at Cologne and Vezelai.[3]

Thus the fair inference from all these statements seems to me to be this;—that, instead of *heresy* respecting the sacraments, the Paulikian doctrine and practice was in reality rather a protest against the *superstitious abuse of the sacraments:* i. e. against that substitution of the sacramental *form* for the *spirit*, the *outward* for the *inward*, and the work of the *officiating minister* for that of God's own life-giving *Spirit*, which we long since considered to be allusively noted in the Sealing Vision, as the *first symptom* and *cause* of the *instealing ecclesiastical apostasy*, at the close of the 4th Century;[4] a principle this by which, as sacraments could not have efficacy to save without a regular priest's consecration, salvation was vested absolutely in the priest's hands.[5] Perhaps as it was the *first*, so it might be considered as of all other errors the *most subtle*, in the apostatic system. Yet, subtle as it was, against *it*, as well as against all the *grosser errors* of the apostasy already noted,[6] this remarkable line of dissentients were taught and enabled, if my inferences be just, to keep up, through the five centuries comprehended in our review, a continuous testimony.—And what I would further beg the reader to mark, ere passing from this subject, is the fact that they

[1] p. 282 suprà. [2] pp. 292, 293.

[3] See pp. 287, 291.—To much the same effect is Mariana's statement, in his account of the Albigensian heresies, at the *close* of the xiith century. "Sacerdotibus remittendi peccata potestatem detrahebant: et, quod majoribus inauditum erat, neque *aquam baptismi ad expianda peccata vim habere* putabant, neque in *eucharistiæ sacramento Christi corpus* esse." B. P. M. xxv. 190.

[4] See my Vol. i. pp. 288, &c.

[5] "In sacramentis, tanquam in vasis cœlestibus, salutis remedia continentur." So Hard. vii. 293. And the Catech. of the C. of Trent, ii. 1. 9; "Illa (sacramenta) tanquam remedia, ut scribit S. Ambrosius, atque evangelici Samaritani medicamenta, ad animarum sanitatem recuperandam vel tuendam;" (19) "*ministrorum officio.*"

With which compare our own great Hooker's statement. "The grand question between us and Rome is about the matter of justifying righteousness.... We disagree about the nature and essence of the *medicine* whereby Christ cureth our disease; about the manner of applying it; and about the number and the power of the means which God requireth in us for the effectual applying thereof to our souls' comfort... This is the mystery of the man of sin."—Disc. on Justification, § 3—5.

[6] See p. 298 &c., suprà.

did not merely protest against the unscriptural and false mode of justification and life, but declared the true also. It was for substituting their priesthood in the place of "the *life-giving* and *immortal Lord*," that the Paulikian woman inveighed against the Greek Catholics.[1] It was the *Holy Spirit's* influence that they recognised as the one grand qualification for the Christian ministry.[2] It was *Christ*, "the living water," that they looked to for true baptism. At Arras the heretics, speaking of the *sacraments* as that which *of themselves* could not purify, are stated to have also set forth, in the way of contrast, "*a certain justification*,"[3] whereby men *might* be cleansed and purified. The Petrobrussians, when protesting against the saving efficacy of baptism *without* faith, implied its saving efficacy *with* faith. The Cologne declaration, "that fastings and penances are not necessary as undertaken for sin," was followed by another statement, "because that at what time soever the sinner repents of his sins they are all forgiven him."[4]—From all which, it seems to me, we are warranted in concluding that the cardinal truth of *justification from sin* by Christ's free grace through faith, (though not indeed in the strict *forensic* view of the phrase,) and with life and salvation imparted by Him as its accompaniment, was from the beginning, and throughout, the doctrine of the Paulikians; in opposition to the doctrine, embraced and taught in apostate Christendom, of justification, purification, and life, through the *opus operatum* of the *priest-made sacraments*.

[1] *ουϛ σεβη ὡϛ Θεουϛ, εγκαταλειψαϛ τον ζωντα και αθανατον Κυριον*. p. 259 suprà. With which *ζωντα*, and its contrast, compare the passage in Apoc. vii, "having the seal of the *living* or *life-giving* God," and its contrast. See Vol. i. p. 275—283.

[2] Compare what is said of the disputes between the two sons of Paul of Episparis, and afterwards between Zacharias and Joseph, as to which of the two had been *called by the Holy Spirit* to the chief ministerial office in the Paulikian body; *Θατερον ἑαυτον ψηφιζομενον την χαριν ειληφεναι του Πνευματοϛ*. P. S. 38.

I have already noticed this at p. 326, Note [5]: and also how, in reference to it, Gieseler observes in his Essay that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was strikingly developed in the Paulikian System.—It is when making this observation, that he also exemplifies in what seems to have been a current invocation of blessing on each other, "May the prayer of the Holy Spirit compassionate you!" *Η ευχη του ἁγιου Πνευματοϛ ελεησει ὑμαϛ*. An expression drawn, as he observes, from what St. Paul says of the Spirit's intercession for us, in Rom. viii. 26: though most grossly perverted against the Paulikians by Photius; as if they meant *Sergius* by the Holy Spirit!

[3] "Quandam justitiam præferentes." See Note [6] p. 275, and Note [1] p. 277 suprà.

[4] See pp. 288, 289.

And this leads me to conclude my long argument respecting these Paulikians with an observation which, on the whole review of the matter, strikes me very forcibly. It was stated by St. John in his Epistles, as a general characteristic of the heresies which had up to that time appeared, that they were all in character *anti-christian;* "Even now there are many *Antichrists.*" The true meaning of which word *anti-christian* denotes, as before shown, rather *that which usurps Christ's place,*[1] (and this specially in a *professedly* Christian Church or body,[2]) than that which is simply *against Christ;* though the latter sense must of course apply to all that is anti-christian in the former. Now it will only need to look with attention on the grand heresies that are recorded in ecclesiastical history, to see that this is a characteristic essentially attaching to them all. Whether it be the Gnostic or the Manichean, the Arian or the great Greek and Roman apostasy,—in every case Christ will be found to have been practically set aside by the heretical system, in respect of his chief offices, and something substituted in his place. It was Satan's grand object. On the other hand there appears in the record of the Paulikian asserted heresies, albeit given by enemies, a marked and constant tendency *to* Christ, not *from* Christ. "They denied baptism," is one of the charges made, as we have seen, "professing to value it; but meaning *Christ,* of whom it was said, I am the living water." They denied the eucharist, "feigning to receive it, but meaning *Christ's doctrine.*" "They reviled the cross, pretending to honour it; but meaning thereby *Christ crucified,* who with his arms extended formed it."[3] Again they called themselves the *body of Christ,*[4] implying that he was their *chief* and their *head:* and spoke of Christ as Him whose footsteps they wished to follow in this world;[5] Him who was their *forerunner* to the heavenly Jerusalem;[6] Him who marked

[1] See my Vol. i. p. 65.
[2] Such as were the Gnostics.
[3] See *generally* my preceding citations.
[4] See the 5th Extract from Sergius' Letter, given p. 263 suprà; and the account of the Cologne heretics, p. 287; also Eckbert, quoted in the Facts and Documents, p. 355, and St. Bernard Serm. lxvi. 8, in Cant. &c.
[5] So at Cologne; p. 287, &c.
[6] See p. 335 Note [3].

them even now from his mediatorial throne in heaven;[1] and would soon, as their King and Judge, admit them to partake its joys.[2] Once more, as the great object of their hopes, they looked, as we have before seen, to his introduction of *the age to come:* in which age the Usurper should have no more authority; but all the power, and all the authority, be with the Lord Christ.

Was not all this precisely according to the character I have ascribed to them, of *Christ's Witnesses?*

In the mean while in this world their feeling must have been eminently that of *pilgrims.* The Paulikian ministers were styled συνεκδημοι, *missionary fellow-pilgrims;* in the sense of *absentees,* we may perhaps think, from a *heavenly* as well as *earthly* home.[3] For they were not of the world, if

[1] So at Orleans. [2] So ibid. and by the Paulikian Woman.

[3] In Petrus' time the *ministers* were thus styled. At p. 265, Note [3], I have just noticed this appellation; and also passages in the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles in which the word, simple or compounded with συν, occurs. In two of them, Acts xix. 29 and 2 Cor. viii. 19, it is used *literally* of those who were absentees, while travelling with the apostle, from *earthly* homes.* In 2 Cor. v. 6 we find it used *spiritually,* of *absence from the Lord;* "When at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord:" ενδημουντες εν τω σωματι, εκδημουμεν απο του Κυριου. In the next verses St. Paul dwells on the idea: "We walk by faith, not by sight; and we are willing rather to be absent from the body, and present with the Lord:" εκδημησαι απο του σωματος, και ενδημησαι προς τον Κυριον.

It must have been in one of these two senses, I conceive, that we must explain the term. And perhaps the sense of absentees from earthly homes, commissioned to missionary work, may seem to some in itself the real and whole sense of the appellation. But let it be considered that it was given, not alone to the *few* specially sent out from the body as missionaries, so as in 2 Cor. viii. 19; but to the ministers generally. For it appears from Petrus Siculus' narrative that some of Sergius' συνεκδημοι were living at home at Tephrice, on his visiting it. Hence I may perhaps be permitted to combine with the former the latter sense also; especially as being so suited to the prominency of the Paulikian views about Christ as their forerunner, and the heavenly Jerusalem as their home.

Let me suggest that we may perhaps have in this word the true explanation of the meaning of one of the appellatives by which the Paulikians were known in Western Europe, and on which there has been various conjecturing;—I mean *Passagini,* or *Passagii.* Dr. Maitland, (Facts and Doc. p. 449,) after noticing the unsatisfactoriness of previous explanations, suggests that the name may have arisen from the connexion of some of their body with the *passagia,* or *crusades;* they having joined the returning pilgrims and soldiers. But, in this sense it would suit the Crusaders, not them; and moreover we have *no authority* for it. Again Dr. Gilly, in his Waldens. Researches, p. 61, explains the word as *inhabitants of the passes.* But the term attached to them when they were not so located. On the other hand the explanation of the term as meaning *pilgrims,* in both the spiritual and missionary sense of the word, would be but the translation of their recognised Greek appellation εκδημοι, and a title as distinctive as beautiful.†

* So Pope Martin (Hard. iii. 639) speaks of Stephen, Bishop of Dora, a town in Palestine, who had come to Rome (ib. 710) as deputy from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius (then suffering from the Saracens), and of his companions come with him, as των συνεκδημων αυτω γενομενων.

† *Ducange,* I may observe, gives the word without any explanation.

I have rightly judged them, (I mean the really *faithful* of the body,) even as Christ was not of the world. Though resting for comfort whilst on this earth on the God of peace, the realization of his presence, and hope in his gracious promises, yet the *home* they looked for was only in *the world to come*.[1]—And thus it was that the world hated them; and showed its hate, not only by other persecutions,—persecutions too generally even unto blood,—but by blasphemies such as we have been inquiring into; and which not we only, but even some more candid of their enemies, have adjudged to be false.[2]—Let us however remember that one result followed which was little foreseen, or intended. These blasphemies were but an additional badge of their being really what we suppose them to have been. The sacred and unerring word of prophecy declared both generally that Christ's witnesses would have to prophesy *in sackcloth;* and specifically, as one cause of the sackcloth-robing, that the wild-beast from the sea and the abyss would open his mouth in *blasphemies* against them:[3]—it being their appointed honour, in this as in other respects, to tread not only in their fellow-disciples',[4] but, as they

Compare the *apostolic*, or *missionary* profession, of the Cologne sectaries and others; pp. 286, 287, 300, suprà: also the Waldensic *pilgrim* views, noted infrà.

[1] Compare the dying words of the sectaries at Orleans, p. 274.

[2] *Popliniere*, about A.D. 1580, on the ground of the *Acts of a Disputation* then extant between a Romish Bishop and the Albigenses, and also of certain ancient Tablets, engraved with an Albigensian Confession of Faith at Albi, asserts that their tenets resembled those of the Protestants of his time.

Vignier, a contemporary of *Popliniere*, and Historiographer of France, on the authority of one of their Confessions, written in the ancient Basque language, and presented to the Chancellier de l'Hôpital, affirms that there was no trace of Manicheism in them; that the tenets professed were like those of the Waldenses; [so also *Mariana*, B. P. M. xxv. 190;] that they received the *Old* Testament as well as the *New*, rejecting all doctrine that was not founded on them; and that on *this* account they condemned the ceremonies, traditions, and ordinances of the Romish Church; saying that she was a den of thieves, and the Harlot of the Apocalypse.

Serranus, another learned and contemporary French Author, though condemning them strongly for their separation from Rome, yet declares that he had seen an ancient manuscript, which gave reasons for their separation just similar to those which had been revived afterwards by Wicliff and Luther.

So too *Paradin* and *Girard;* the former ascribing the charges made against them to the malice of their enemies, whose vices they exposed.

These authorities are given by Usher, De Success. and Basnage; and have been lately copied from them by Faber, pp. 246, 247, 255, 256; King, against Maitland, pp. 53—56; and others.

[3] Apoc. xiii. 6.

[4] To similar blasphemies against the *early Christians* I have already alluded, pp. 304, 308. Similar blasphemies, we shall soon see, were spoken against the *Waldenses* also. Afterwards charges still similar were made against the *Wicliffites* and *Huss-*

most desired, in their Master's own footsteps.[1] So that in fact it completed in them the prefigured characteristics of the Witnesses.—And following as it does on all that mass of favourable evidence that we have extracted from hostile records,—the only records now extant of them,—it enables us to conclude with yet the more confidence, that they were indeed, according to the tenor of the Apocalyptic prefiguration, *a line of true* WITNESSES *for the* LORD JESUS.

§ 6.—WALDENSIAN EPOCH AND ORIGIN.

Who has not heard of the WALDENSES?—It is with reference to them that the history and epoch of the Lyonnese merchant, generally known under the name of *Peter Waldo*, (a name incorrect, however, as will soon appear,) has become almost more notable than even on his own account; eminent as he was among Christ's witnesses. For about the year 1170, having sold all he had,[2] and distributed to the poor, he became head to certain missionary bands, known thenceforward under the name of *Waldenses*, as well as *Poor men of Lyons:* that soon drew on themselves the public attention and persecution in various countries of Western Europe; and, from before the close of the next century, were well known as sectaries that had an intimate local connexion with the *Alpine valleys* of *Piedmont* and *Dauphiny*. And the question has long been agitated, as one of the most interesting to Christians in the history of the middle age, whence and when the first origin of these sectaries; it being allowed on all hands that they had no *Eastern* or *Paulikian* original. By the Romanists, and many Protest-

ites. E. g. in the Council of Constance the following questions for examination are pointed against them: (Hard. viii. 914, 915.)

"Utrum credat quòd contemnens ritus ecclesiæ, cæremonias exorcismi, [et] aquæ *baptismatis* consecratæ, peccet mortaliter.

"Utrum credat quòd Christianus contemnens susceptionem sacramentorum confirmationis, vel extremæ unctionis, aut solemnizationis *matrimonii*, peccet mortaliter."

Thus it was insinuated against the Hussites and Wicliffites, that they too were opposed to the sacraments of *baptism* and *marriage*. Afterwards, we shall see, the appellative of *Manichæan* was also sometimes given to them.

[1] So Matt. x. 25; "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more those of the household!"

[2] A fuller notice of him will be given in my next Section.

ants too, it has been contended that it was simply from *Peter Waldo* that they derived their origin and appellation; and that as to the Alpine valleys of Piedmont, their habitation in them dates but from the xiiith century.—While, on the contrary, others assert that their origin was of far higher antiquity:—that they were a sect of separatists who, having retired to those Alpine valleys on the first development of the corruptions of the Church of Rome, had there ever after kept alive through successive ages the lamp of Christian truth: and that, as to the appellation of *Valdenses*, it was but a corruption, or metonymy, for *Vallenses, Men of the Valleys;* Peter Waldo having derived his name from them, not they from him.—The controversy, which in past ages exercised the master-minds of the learned *Archbishop Usher*, on the one side, and *Bossuet* on the other,[1] has in our own times, and in our own country, been revived by *Dr. S. R. Maitland* and *Messrs. Faber* and *Gilly*.[2] As an Apocalyptic commentator, I have felt myself obliged not to pass lightly over the investigation. And this remains my impression, after careful consideration of the evidence and arguments on either side:—viz. that, though there exists no probable proof of any secession of protesting sectaries and separatists to the Vaudois valleys before the æra of the great Gothic invasions, nor of any fixt establishment of them there even from after the time of Claude, the Protestant Bishop of Turin, yet that a succession of separatists similar in spirit was perpetuated from that latter epoch, however feebly, in the Piedmont Campagna, as well as in Lombardy, Dauphiny, and elsewhere: who, as the Papal Apostasy was advancing to its acme, remained separatists in spirit, if not always openly in act; and were thus

[1] See Usher de Success. and Bossuet's Hist. des Variations.

[2] See Maitland's Facts and Documents, and also his smaller controversial Pamphlets; Faber's Sacred Calendar, and book on the Albigenses and Waldenses; also Gilly's Waldensian Researches, and more recent publication of the Romaunt Version of St. John, with its learned and valuable Introduction.—Let me add that various ministers of the Vaudois have taken their part in the controversy. So Leger and Gilles in former times; and M. Muston and M. Monastier, writers still or lately living. To M. Muston there has been a reply, entitled "Recherches Historiques sur la veritable origine des Vaudois;" Paris 1836. It is anonymous; but written, I understand, by M. Charvaz, then Bishop of Pinerol; and subsequently made Archbishop of Sebaste, and Consulter to the Holy Congregation for extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. So the "Tablet" of May 18, 1850.

prepared to commingle with the sectaries of Lyonnese origin, immigrating from the West, of whom I have now to speak; and with them to form a united body, under the thenceforth *common* name of *Waldenses*.

Let me here first, and preliminarily, consider the argument connected with the Lyonnese Peter's own *Valdic name, or appellation;* then sketch the *Lyonnese Valdensic sect's earliest distinctive history*, as bearing on our present question, up to the first establishment of one important branch of it in Italy: next state, and consider, *the traditions of a more ancient ancestry* even then ascribed to it; and, in fine, the argument to a similar effect from *certain Waldensian documents then written*, and still extant.

1. As to the *name* of the devout Lyonnese merchant, it is curious that either side in the controversy, acquiescing in the correctness of the name as usually written in modern times, *Peter Waldo*, should have argued from it as making in their favour. Thus Beza; "He was named *Valdo*, because he was one of the most eminent of the *Vaudois*."[1] And so too Faber, in his Sacred Calendar.[2] On the other hand Dr. Maitland replies somewhat characteristically; "I believe that Peter of Lyons was called Waldo *because that was his name;* and for no other reason whatever:"—adding; "Why were other people called Waldo?" and appending, by way of corroboration, in prominent capitals, a list of nine bishops, abbots, &c., of the same name, from documents of the middle ages.[3] Which point so settled, the corollary would follow with more appearance of reason, that the Waldensian sectaries, that acquiesced afterwards in his sentiments, derived their name from him.

I confess that when I read this in Dr. Maitland, it approved itself to my mind as the dictate of good common sense; and so doubtless it has done to many other readers of the Facts and Documents. On looking however into the earliest authorities,[4] (those selfsame that make the sec-

[1] "Jean [i. q. alii *Petrus* de Lyons] a été ainsi surnommé (Valdo), parce qu'il étoit des premiers entre les Vaudois." Quoted in Leger, Part i. p. 16.

[2] Sacr. Cal. iii. 20, 25. (2nd Ed.) [3] Facts and Doc. pp. 107, 108.

[4] As we are entering on a subject of great interest, and one too in which there will be needed much discrimination in our judgment of the historical authorities that speak

taries to have originated from Peter of Lyons,) I found, what I think should have been noted more prominently

of it, I think it may be useful to prefix to our discussion a brief notice of the chief authors to whom we may have to refer.

1. *Bernard*, Abbot of the monastery of *Font Chaud*, near St. Pons in Languedoc, 30 miles N.N.W. of Narbonne, wrote about A.D. 1200.—He appears to have taken part in a discussion between certain Waldenses and Catholics at Narbonne, ("quidve iis *à nobis Catholicis* responsum sit,") during the Popedom of Lucius III,* and therefore about the year 1182. He wrote a Treatise against the Waldenses, answering the arguments they had urged in the discussion; which is given in the B. P. M. xxiv. 1585—1602. Facts and Doc. 372—377.

2. *Walter Mapes.* An Englishman of some renown for his wit and knowledge:† somewhile Chaplain to Henry II; and also Canon of Salisbury, and then Archdeacon of Oxford. "Claruit, A.D. 1210," says Cave; but perhaps 1190, or 1200, would be more correct. He visited Rome about the time of the 3rd Lateran Council in 1179; when, and where, he saw certain Waldensian deputies. He also there and then saw, and afterwards satirized, (notwithstanding his preferments, says Dupin,) the manners and the vices of Pope, Cardinals, and Bishops. Faber extracts from him; Vall. p. 471.

3. *Chronicon Laudunense:* a contemporary chronicle by a monk of Laon. Gilly, Pref. to Romaunt St. John, p. xc. An interesting extract will be given in my next Section, taken from Dr. Gilly.

4. *Stephen de Borbonne, or Bellavilla;* a Dominican and Inquisitor, who settled at Lyons in 1225; (so Gieseler ii. 377, 395;) and there and then, probably, formed acquaintance with Stephanus de Ansa and Bernard Ydros, the translator and scribe employed some fifty years before, "cum juvenis esset Ydros," by Peter Valdes. It is in his Treatise "De Septem Donis Spiritûs Sancti" that he notices Valdes and his Sect. This extract is given by Le Long, from Echard's Sancti Thomæ Summa; and copied also by Gieseler ii. 377, Maitland Facts and Doc. p. 438, 484, and Gilly, ibid. —Le Long dates his death in 1261.

5. *Conrad of Lichtenau;* a German of noble family: ordained priest A.D. 1202, became a Præmonstratensian monk in 1207, and in 1215 Abbot of the Monastery of Ursperg, on the Mindel near Augsburg; in which Abbacy he continued till his death in 1240. He wrote a Chronicle of the world, from Belus to A.D. 1229. So Cave and Dupin. His notice of the Waldenses is in the B. P. M. xxv. 256; and Hard. vi. ii. 1692, on the 3rd Lat. Council.

6. *Ebrard of Bethune.* Usual date, 1212, doubtful. (See p. 361 infrà.) His anti-Vallensic Treatise is given in the B. P. M. xxiv. 1525—1585.

7. *Peter of Vaux Sernay*, a Cistercian Monastery in the Diocese of Paris; wrote about 1218. (Maitland, 391.) By order of the Pope he accompanied his Abbot Guy, afterwards Bishop of Carcassone, to the Albigensian war in 1209; (he being one of twelve Abbots thereto appointed by Innocent III;) and, by the Pope's order, wrote a history of the Albigensian Crusade. Dupin.

8. *William of Puy Laurens*, a town some 30 miles East of Toulouse. He was a contemporary of the Peter last mentioned; and, like him, wrote also a Chronicon of the Albigensian War. So Dupin. He is cited by Gieseler ib. 396.

9. *Alanus de Insulis;* a native of Flanders: became Theological Professor in the University of Paris, was there celebrated for his science as the Universal Doctor, and taught through a considerable part of the 13th century. Cave says that he disputed in the 4th Lateran Council A.D. 1215 against disciples of Almeric (or Amauri) of Chartres. Among his Treatises is one against the Waldenses and Albigenses. (He is not to be confounded with Alan, Bishop of Auxerre in the preceding century.) See Cave and Dupin.

10. *Lucas Tudensis:*—first Deacon of Tuy, to the south of Corunna, in Spain; then, after a voyage to Italy, Greece, and Palestine, made Bishop of the same town. He wrote three books of controversy against the Albigenses, given in the B. P. M.

* So in the Preface to his Treatise. Dupin (ix. 179) says he dedicated his Treatise to Pope Lucius. But I do not see any such dedication.

† Was it of him *primarily* that the Cambridge witticism was spoken, Πολλα τε ηδυ Μαψ; "De quo multa referuntur jocunda," says Trivett of him. Faber. ib. 473.

than it has been, that in not one of them is the Lyonnese merchant called by the name of *Waldo;* but either *Valdes, Valdesius, Valdensis, Valdius,* or *Valdus:* [1]—the three for-

xxv. 193—251: also a Chronicle of Spain; which being brought down to 1236 seems to fix his date, when writing it. He lived some time after. Dupin, x. 65; Gieseler ib.

11. *Moneta;* originally Professor of Philosophy at Bologna: in which situation A. D. 1218, hearing a Sermon by a celebrated Dominican, named Reginald, he was induced to become a Dominican himself. So M. Charvaz, Bishop of Pinerol, in his Reply to Muston, p. 50; adding that he dedicated the rest of his life to the conversion of the Waldensian and Catharist heretics. He wrote a Treatise adv. Catharos et Valdenses, which was published by Ricchini at Rome, A.D. 1743. It is alluded to in the B. P. M. xxv. 261. Gieseler (ii. 395) dates the writing about 1240.

12. *Reiner*, or *Rainerî Sacchoni*, (as Giesecler writes the word,) a Dominican Inquisitor in Lombardy, died A.D. 1259. He says of himself; "Ego frater Reinerius, olim hæresiarcha, nunc Dei gratiâ sacerdos in Ord. F. Prædicatorum, .. xvii annis conversatus sum cum eis (sc. Catharis)." He was driven from Milan, shortly before his death, by the Prince Palavicini; who would not allow of his exercising his inquisitorial office there. Of his Summa de Catharis et Leonistis there are two editions: one older and more concise; the second enlarged, and published by Gretser, with the incorrect title "Contrà Waldenses," B. P. M. xxv. 262—277.—I here copy, or abstract, from Gieseler's Notes, Vol. ii. p. 395.

13. *Yvonet:* the author given by Martene in his Anecdot. as anonymous, who wrote a "Tractatus de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno;" and whom D'Argentrè, says Gieseler, ibid., discovered to be the Dominican Yvonetus. He is dated about 1278 by Gieseler.*

14. *Guido de Perpiniano.* A Catalan by nation, he studied in the University of Paris, there took his Doctor's Degree, became General of the Carmelite Monks, and an Inquisitor, in 1318; in 1321 Bishop of Majorca; and in fine, Bishop of Perpignan. The date of his time of *flourishing* given by both Cave and Ducange, (by the latter in his Index Auctorum,) viz. A.D. 1330, seems to me a little too late. That year is given by one writer, Alegre, as the year of his death at Avignon. See Cave.

15. *Pilichdorf.* A German writer of the close of the 14th Century. His Treatise against the Waldenses is in B. P. M. xxv. 277—309. He gives 1395 himself as its date. "Jam sicut scribitur A.D. MCCCXCV, mille trecenti sexaginta duo anni, vel circiter, elapsi sunt postquam Christus passus est pro nobis." B. P. M. xxv. 295.†

[1] *Walter Mapes*, writing of the sectaries seen at Rome in 1179, calls him Valdes: "*Valdesios* à Primate eorum *Valde* dictos, qui fuerat civis Lugduni super Rhodanum."—The *Chronicon* of *Laon* similarly calls him Valdesius; "*Valdesium* amplexatus est Papa." Gilly, ib. xc. So too *Moneta* of *Bologna*, in his *Summa contrà Catharos*, about the year 1240; "Non multum temporis est quòd esse cœperunt: quoniam, sicut patet, à *Valdesio*, sive Lugdunensi, exordium acceperunt; qui hanc viam incepit non sunt plures quàm octoginta anni."—Also, some ninety years later, *Guido* of *Perpignan*, in his *Summa de Hæres.* "Secta Waldensium incepit circà ann. 1170. Fuit *Waldesius*

* On the authorship of this Tract see Maitland's Remarks in answer to King, p. 45; and Charvaz, p. 69. *Martene*, from whose collection it is taken, had ascribed it to *Stephen de Borbonne*, the same writer that I have already noted.

† This being the case, and the date unimpeachable, it seems to me strange that, with Pilichdorf's Treatise before him, Mr. Faber should have expressed doubt as to its real date; assigned it, notwithstanding that he had Bossuet's different date before him, to the xiiith not the xivth Century, on the meagre authority of the incorrect chronological Table prefixed to the Bibliotheca; and indeed reasoned on the thence inferred nearness of Pilichdorf to Peter Valdes' time. See Faber's Waldenses, pp. 275, 304. Even independently of the particular chronological statement that I have quoted, the subject of Pilichdorf's 31st Chapter fixes the date of the work to the latter half of the xivth Century. For its subject is the Jubilean Pilgrimage each 50th year to Rome. And the first example of this *bicentary* jubilee was in the year 1350.—M. Charvaz, p. 62, has also overlooked these decisive indications of the real date; wavering, as he does, between the xiiith and xivth Century.

mer evidently distinct appellatives from *Waldo ;* and even the last scarce explainable, I believe, as its tantamount *Latin* rendering.[1]—Hence a measure of doubtfulness at least on Dr. Maitland's idea of the derivation of the name of these sectaries, simply and primarily, from that of the merchant of Lyons. For it seems hardly likely that Valdensis, in the sense of *Valdensian*, as a *patronymic*, should have been derived from Valdensis ; Valdes or Vaudes from Valdes ; Valdesius from Valdesius ; the *derivative* from a *primitive* identical with itself.[2]—As to the origin and intent of this

civis Lugdunensis, qui divitias reliquit ut pauper fieret, et Christum sequeretur," &c. Hard. vi. ii. 1692.

Again, *Stephanus de Borbonne* calls him *Waldensis.* "Waldenses dicti sunt à primo hujus hæresis auctore, qui nominatus fuit *Waldensis.* . . . Amicus fratrum nostrorum qui dictus fuit Bernardus Ydros, cùm esset juvenis et scriptor, scripsit dicto *Waldensi* libros," &c. And so too *Moneta ;* (besides the other appellation *Valdesius ;*) "quòd sua via ante *Valdensem* fuit." Also *Ivonet ;* "Civi Lugdunensi cui nomen erat *Valdensis.*"—Under which same name, *Valdensis*, he is further designated by *Piliehdorf*, at the close of the fourteenth century, and by *Claude Seyssel*, Archbishop of Turin, and the Inquisitor *Eymeric*, of the sixteenth ; "*Valdensis*, ut aiunt, appellabatur ;" "Valdensius seu Valdensis."

Once more *Peter of Vaux Sernai* speaks of the "Hæretici qui Waldenses dicebantur à quodam *Waldio*, nomine, Lugdunensi :" and *Alanus*, his contemporary, in one place, "Qui *Valdius* dicebatur ;"* in another, "Hæresiarcha qui vocabatur *Valdius.*"

[1] It is as a *Latin* rendering that M. Charvaz explains it, p. 118 : saying ; "On a commencé a latiniser les noms propres dés la fin du 12me siècle, et même avant." But in all the *Latin* documents in which I have seen the name, it stands simply *Waldo ;* just as *Hugo*, *Guido*, *Otho*, and other names of the same termination : and follows the usual declension of such nouns in the oblique cases. So Dacher i. 431, 691 ; "Atto [gen. *Attonis*, ibid.] Domno *Valdoni :*" "*Valdonis*, abbatis." Similarly the one and only writer that M. Charvaz cites, who gives Peter of Lyons the name of *Valdo*, viz. the monk Theodore Belvidere, of date as late as the 17th century, the word is declined in the same way : "qui à Petro *Valdone* . . exorti." †

Can Dr. Maitland show a single one of all his nine WALDOS, or any other *Waldo*, (our Lyonnese sectary alone excepted,) to have been called in Latin *Valdes*, *Valdesius*, or *Valdensis ?—Valdus* is indeed a more natural Latin form of it ; and is by one writer, the monk Belvidere last mentioned, interchanged with *Waldo*. But only in the Lyonnese Peter's case.

[2] I am aware that in ancient Greek the patronymic is sometimes used for its primitive. But not I think in Latin, at least ecclesiastical Latin. Among all the multitude of hereties that Augustine in his De Hæres. recites to us, I observe only *one* in which the original author and the disciples had the same appellation : the exception I allude to being that of *Manes*, who was called *Manichæus*, the general designative of a Manichæan sectary.‡ But in this case the derivative *Manichæus* was, as usual, formed from *Manes :* and Manes' own name was afterwards changed by his disciples into that of the derivative Manichæus, in order to avoid the δυσφημια of his proper name, which signified in the Greek *a madman*. So Augustine informs us, in his Lib. de Hæres. c. 46 ; "Manichæi à quodam Persâ extiterunt, qui vocabatur *Manes :*

* For my citations see the B. P. M., Faber (from Usher), Maitland, Gilly, Gieseler, or Charvaz. † Mr. Faber somewhat strangely calls him "Peter *the* Waldo."

‡ I do not include the cases of proper names ending in *anus*, where the adjective derived may properly be the same as the noun primitive : e. g. Tatianus from Tatianus ; just as Domitianus, the adjective, from *Domitianus* the noun, noted by me in the Appendix to my Vol. i. p. 542.

cognomen of *Valdensis* to Peter of Lyons himself, it is obvious that the appellation, even though allowed not to be *personal*, need not necessarily to have been a *religious sectarian* designation. In fact we have no evidence of its having been an *heretical* title so early.[1] It might possibly have attached to him, (indeed such is the bearing of the reports of certain old, though not the oldest, writers on the subject,) as a *provincial* or *local*, rather than as a *religious* appellative.[2] And it deserves observation, although *these writers* do not so define the locality, or at all otherwise satisfactorily explain it, that *Valdensis* (and consequently *Valdes*, its Romaunt equivalent, as also *Valdesius*, the Latin of Valdes,) was all through the middle ages just such a *local* appellative: inasmuch as it answered to that of *Vaudois* now;[3] I mean as designating an inhabitant of the *Pays de Vaud*, in Switzerland.[4] To which

quamvis et ipsum . . *Manichæum* discipuli ejus appellare maluerunt, devitantes nomen insaniæ." He notes the same thing in two or three other passages.

[1] That *Valdesius*, and also *Valdensis*, was in 1179 a *sectarian* appellative, appears from the above-cited passage from Walter Mapes:—that *Valdes* was so, appears from its being the original Romaunt of which *Valdesius* is but the Latinized form; as also from that notable line in the Noble Lesson, of which I shall have to speak again,

Ilh dion qu'es *Vaudes*, e degne de punir. Line 372.

But the date of the former testimony was after the rise of Peter of Lyons: that of the Noble Lesson doubtful; but probably, we shall see, *later* than Peter.

[2] So Pilichdorf; "In civitate *Valden*, quæ in finibus Franciæ sita est, fuit quidam civis," &c.:—Pilichdorf's Continuator; "E regione *Valdis* Petrus nominatus:" (B. P. M. xxv. 300:)—the Magd. Centuriators' authority; "*Valdensis* ab oppido *Valdis*, sito in Marchiâ Galliæ, unde erat oriundus:"—Masson, Pref. to Alanus contrà Waldenses; "Natus in vico qui dictus est *Vaudra:*"—and an anonymous Inquisitor, quoted by Allix; "Pauperes de Lugduno, quos vulgus Valdenses appellat; dictos à *Valde* cive Lugdunensi, in loco dicto vulgariter *Val Grant* moram faciente." (Faber on Wald. 453, 520.)

[3] So in a Diploma of A.D. 886, in which Charles the Fat gives to Adelgise, Vassal of the Margrave Rodolph, "quasdam res proprietatis suæ in pago *Valdensi*." Again a Charter of the date of 1192 has "Comes Genevensium et *Valdensium:*" and, on the year 1224, we read of the Chevalier de Hautrive as in the "*Comitatu Valdensi*," for the *Comté de Vaud*. I copy from Müller's History of Switzerland, French Edit. i. 289, ii. 81, iii. 93. So again "in Comitatu Valdensi," in a grant by Rodulph King of Burgundy, made A. D. 888, as cited by Gieseler ii. 120. In another historical document that Müller gives, of date earlier than 800, if I remember right, there is also mention of "*Valdensium* usque mare Rhodani."

Let me add that the same Valley of the Rhone, higher up, bore the name of *Vallesia*, hodiè *Le Vallais;* and its capital, Sion, that of *Sedunum Vallesiæ*. Thus the *Valdenses* and *Vallesii* were in juxtà-position.*

[4] Since the above was written, I have seen in *Muston* (pp. 82, 113) a notice of this *local* derivation of the *sectarian* appellative *Valdensis*, as one suggested by Mr. Sharon

* The *Vallesii*, however, of the Papal excommunication quoted by Faber in his Appendix, p. 595, and about whom he requests inquiry, were evidently a very different class of people; being heretics known by that name among the *Greeks*, not of the most reputable character; the same of whom Augustine speaks, De Hæres. 37.

let me add that,—supposing the *valley of the Drome*, on which *Die* (the ancient *Dia*) in Dauphiny is situated, to have taken for a certain space the name, so as was often elsewhere the case, of that its chief town,[1]—then a resident there too might have been named, as from the *Vale of Die*, *Valdiensis*, *Valdensis*, or *Valdius*.[2] Thus, I say, might either of these two localities, (each one adjacent to the *boundary Marches* of Gaul, specified by the chroniclers,[3]) have given the title to Peter, if ever previously a resident in them: the first, in such case, certainly; the second possibly. Besides them I do not think of any other likely locality, near the Lyonnese district.[4]—But, even supposing the word to have been thus originally a *local* appellative, the circumstance of remarkable religious movements having occurred in each of these very localities, just before Peter's time, might possibly have caused the *local* appellative to be a *religious* appellative also; precisely like that of *Albigensis* from the town *Albi*, and others, soon afterwards. For it is to be remembered, (let me just for a moment look back to notice it,) that *Peter de Bruys* ministered a little previously in the one district,—that of *Die* in *Dauphiny;* and *Henry*, the successor of Peter de Bruys, at *Lausanne*, in the other:[5] so as in both the one case, and the other, to have connected a *Valdensic* locality with

Turner; but which Muston considers undeserving of serious regard. His statement, however, that the *Vaud* (or *Vald*) in the Pays de Vaud is derived not from *vallis*, but from the Keltic *Wale*,—the Germans designating *Gaul* by the name of *Wale*, and the *Pays de Vaud* by that of *Welsch-land*,—even if correct * is no argument at all against the etymology; and he offers no other.

[1] So the Vale of Aylesbury, &c.

[2] *Deensis*, or *Diensis*, is the constant adjectival designation of the Bishops of *Dia*, or *Die*, in the middle age. *Dius* might also be formed from *Dia*, I presume, as *Macedonius* from *Macedonia*.

[3] "*Valdcn in finibus Franciæ;*" "*Valdis in Marchiâ Galliæ.*" See p. 350, Note [2].

[4] In more distant countries, and such with which a Lyonnese citizen could scarcely at that time be supposed to have had connexion, other localities also gave the appellation of *Waldensis* to their inhabitants. "Petrus Henham, *monachus Waldensis*, cl. anno 1224; scripsit Anglorum Chronicon." So the Magdeb. Centur. xiii. 10, p. 1223, from Bale.—Again, we have a book still extant of *Thomas Waldensis*, a Carmelite Monk, about A.D. 1400, named so from Saffron *Walden* in Essex. Giesceler iii. 259.—Mr. Blair, on the Waldenses, i. 276, speaks of a Waldensian colony settled between 1182 and 1197 near Darent † in Kent. These, I suppose, were of the Lyonnese sect.

[5] See pp. 282, 284 suprà.

* *Leger*, on the contrary, derives the name of the Swiss Pays de Vaud from *Vallis;* "Le Païs s'appelle *Païs de Vaux* parceque c'est un tissu de collines et vallons." i. 17.—On either supposition Mr. Maitland's question recurs, "Whence the *d?*" For the name is not *Pays de Vaux*, but *Vaud*.

† or Dartford.

religious innovation and sectarianism. And whereas, considered as a mere *local* designative of Peter of Lyons, its application to his disciples would seem strange and unlikely, its transfer as a *religious* designative would be perfectly natural and easy.—Thus on the whole, while recognising the fact of the earliest chroniclers' testimony to the derivation of the Waldensic name, as well as sect, from Peter of Lyons, yet it must be with the cautionary recollection that the appellative they assign to him of *Valdensis*, *Valdes*, or *Valdesius*, may possibly have been a religious, not personal appellative, borne by him himself: a circumstance (if true) favouring the hypothesis of a sect of Waldensic principles having existed in those sub-Alpine districts, Swiss or French, of which we spoke, prior to Peter Valdes.

2. Next, as to *the early history of the Lyonnese sect;* with special reference to *the first localization of a branch of it in Piedmont, and its Alpine valleys.*

The Lyonnese merchant, Peter Valdes, is clearly noted, we have seen,[1] as its first founder. After his conversion to God, and renunciation of the world, the missionary duty soon opened before him. So he got translations made of the books of Scripture into the vulgar Gaulik; and circulated, and wrote, and taught about them. Then, many associates or disciples having joined him, he organized a missionary plan and body, for preaching and teaching the gospel.[2] So the Sect arose; and in 1179, as we have seen, some of its members presented themselves, with their translated books, at the 3rd Lateran Council at Rome.

As to its subsequent history we read as follows. It seems that whatever favour or toleration may have been extended to the sectaries, on their first presenting themselves and their books in 1179 to Pope Alexander III,[3] it soon passed

[1] See p. 344 suprà.

[2] Himself probably so acting. So Moneta vi. 4. "Quidam dixerunt quòd Valdesius ordinem habuit ab universitate fratrum suorum. Eorum autem qui hoc dixerunt principalis auctor fuit quidam hæresiarcha Pauperum Lombardorum." Ap. Muston i. 12.

[3] W. Mapes says, that on asking permission to preach, they were laughed at, and repulsed. "Hi multâ petebant instantiâ prædicationis auctoritatem sibi confirmari, quia periti sibi videbantur, cum vix essent scioli: . . et ab omnibus multiplici sunt clamore derisi, confusique recesserunt." On the other hand the Chronicon Lauduneuse,

away; and was succeeded by a decree of condemnation and anathema against them in 1184, by his successor Pope Lucius.[1] How could preaching by unauthorized persons be tolerated? Forthwith persecution arose against them. And, having been expelled by its Archbishop from the city and diocese of Lyons, we have evidence of their having wandered forth, in different missionary bands, (ever multiplying and taking root as they went,) alike Northward, Southward, Westward, and Eastward: more especially to Provence, Languedoc, and Arragon in the South-West; and to Dauphiny and Lombardy in the South-East. So e. g. Stephen of Borbonne tells us;[2] whose narrative I shall have again to make reference to, when speaking of the translated books of these sectaries.[3] And there are still extant various indisputable historic monuments, especially of decrees of Popes, Princes, and Bishops against them, by which they may be traced in these their various early migrations.—Thus to the Northward their progress is marked by an anti-Valdensic synodal statute of the Bishop of *Toul*, a town some 30 miles SSW from Metz, in the year 1192:[4] followed soon after, in 1199, by a requisition to Pope Innocent III from the Bishop of *Metz* itself, against both themselves, and their Scripture translations and other books in the vulgar tongue,

speaking of the same Lateran Council in 1179, says that the Pope "Valdesium amplexatus est," in approbation of his proposed life of voluntary poverty; only forbidding his preaching. At any rate in that Council's canon against heretics, the Waldenses, or Pauperes de Lugduno, are not mentioned.—So that I think with Gieseler (ii. 378,) and Dr. Gilly (Romaunt Version of St. John, pp. xc., xciii., xciv.), their first Papal condemnation was by Lucius III, in 1183 or 1184.

[1] "In primis ergo Catharos, et Patarinos, et eos qui se Humiliatos vel Pauperes de Lugduno falso nomine mentiuntur, Passaginos, Josepinos, Arnaldistas, perpetuo decernimus anathemate subjacere."—Pope Lucius' added condemnation of all and any that preached, except by authority from the Bishop, corroborates both W. Mapes' statement of the Waldensic sectaries' earnest request in 1179 for permission to *preach;* and that of Stephen of Borbonne, as to their doing so (in spite of Papal inhibition) being the cause of their condemnation afterwards. "Ii ergo, Valdensis scilicet et sui, primo ex præsumptione, et officii Apostolici usurpatione, ceciderunt in inobedientiam, dein in contumaciam, demum in excommunicationis sententiam." Gilly, ibid.

[2] "Post expulsi ab illâ terrâ, ad Concilium quod fuit Romæ ante Lateranense * vocati, et pertinaces, schismatici sunt judicati. Postea in *Provinciæ* terrâ et *Lombardiâ*, &c." ap. Gilly and Gieseler, ib.

[3] See p. 375 infrà.

[4] "De Hæreticis autem qui vocantur *Wadoys* omnibus fidelibus . . præcipimus, ut quicumque eos invenerint vinculis astrictos teneant, et ad Sedem Tullensem puniendos adducant." Statut. Synodal. Odonis Episc. Tullensis A.D. 1192. Gieseler ibid. p. 379, from Martene Anecdot. iv. 1182.

* That before the 4th or Great Lateran Council. So Gieseler, ibid.—I conceive that Stephen must have meant some call to Rome about 1183, under Lucius III; who afterwards excommunicated them at the Council of Verona, as stated in Note [1].

of which also more in the sequel.[1] Again to the South-West, about A.D. 1190, we read of a public discussion between certain Valdenses and Catholics near *Narbonne:*[2] and in 1194 of a Decree of Alphonzo the 2nd of Arragon against them; betokening their presence at that time as far South as the *Spanish* side of the *Pyrenees*.[3]—Near about the same time we hear of others of the sect as in the *Dauphinese Alps*, and in *Piedmont*. A Decree of the Emperor Otho, issued in 1198, when on his way to Rome for coronation, tells the one tale. It was promulgated at the request of the then Bishop of Turin, and is in tenor as follows. "Otho, by the grace of God, emperor, &c., to his well-beloved and faithful Bishop of Turin. By the authority of these presents we command you, in regard of the heretical *Waldenses*, and of all those who sow the tares of falsehood in the Diocese of Turin, and who attack the Catholic faith, that you expel them from the Diocese of Turin, relying on the support of the imperial authority."[4] This seems to mark the æra of the first entrance of the Lyonnese Valdensic sectaries into the Piedmontese territory, perhaps into Italy. And, as in 1199 a Letter of Innocent III to the Archbishop of *Embrun*, among others, tells of their then abounding in that sub-alpine Diocese,[5] it seems reasonable to suppose, with various later historians, that it was from the

[1] See Innocent's Letter ap. Gieseler ii. 379.—Alberic's Chronicle seems to show that the persons here named were Waldenses. "In Urbe Metensi, pullulante sectâ quæ dicitur *Waldensium*, directi sunt quidam Abbates ad prædicandum; qui quosdam libros de Latino in Romanum versos combusserunt." ap. Gilly ib. xx.* And so indeed Innocent's own *Valdensie* description of the parties written against.

[2] So Bernard of Font Chaud. B. P. M. xxiv. 1585. Gieseler, ib. 381, fixes the approximate date.

[3] "*Waldenses* sive *Insabbatatos*, qui alio nomine se vocant *Pauperes de Lugduno*, . . ab omni regno nostro, tanquam inimicos crucis Christi, . . et regni publicos hostes, exire ac fugere præcipimus." And: "Si quis ab hâc die, et deinceps, prædictos *Waldenses* et *Insappatatos* † . . in domibus suis recipere, vel horum funestam prædicationem aliquo loco audire, vel his cibum vel aliud aliquid beneficium largiri præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, et nostram, se noverit incurrisse; bonisque suis absque appellationis remedio confiscandis, se tanquam reum criminis læsæ majestatis puniendum." B. P. M. xxv. 190.

[4] Given by Monastier i. 151; from Spondanus ad ann. 1198.

[5] The Decretal Epistle was addressed to the Prelates of Aix, Narbonne, Vienne, Arles, *Embrun*, Tarascon, Lyons: "We have heard that in that Province certain persons who are called *Valdenses*, &c., have pullulated to a vast extent." Faber 519.

* I presume this is the Almeric, who was a Monk of the Cistercian Monastery of the Three Fountains in the diocese of Chalons in Champagne; and wrote a Chronicon from the Creation to A.D. 1241. So Moreri.

† As wearing *open sandals*. See Gieseler ib. 378, 381; 398, 400.

Dauphinese valleys that some of them had just crost the Alps, whilst others remained in Dauphiny;[1] the former having perhaps past into Piedmont in part by the selfsame valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and Pragela, that became afterwards so famous through association with their name.[2]—That however there had been as yet no distinct Valdensic colonization of those particular valleys, appears pretty clear from the entire absence of all historical record in testimony to it. And let me mention, as that which seems to me strongly corroborative of the fact, that in the "Genealogical Tree" of the Counts of Lucerna, who in the xiith and xiiith centuries were lords of the soil in those valleys, there occur notices from the year 1158, for above a century downwards, of transactions with neighbouring abbots and monasteries, which evince unequivocally the continued close connexion of the Counts, in sympathy and religion, with the Roman Church; and sometimes too a mention of some of the valleys, or towns in the valleys; but never any notice of heretical or sectarian settlements existing there.[3] A fact this latter so extraordinary, had it exist-

[1] So Thuanus, ap. Faber, 512; also Rorenco, of the xvith century, ap. Charvaz, 485.

[2] The valleys of Dauphiny and Piedmont were connected from early times by the great road of Mount Genevre; which is called by Ammianus Marcellinus (xv. 10) "media, compendiaria, magisque celebris," by comparison with the two other Alpine roads connecting the South of France and Italy. See Gilly's Wald. Researches, pp. 49—60. Dr. G. notes the early Councils at Arles, Milan, &c., on either side of the Cottian Alps; the attendant Bishops at which from the other side must probably have crossed by Mount Genevre: and he also suggests that in much earlier times it was probably *Irenæus'* road from Lyons to Rome.—The road from Geneva into Piedmont traversed by Charlemagne would be North of this.

[3] The document I allude to hangs up in the hall of the old Manor House of the Counts of Lucerna; and I took the opportunity of inspecting it, during a passing visit to the Valleys in the summer of 1848. The interest of the locality may excuse my presenting an extract or two; especially as a matter of evidence hitherto unnoticed.—It is headed Albero Genealogico; and begins thus:—

Enrico di Luserna.

Gulielmo. Beatrice.

1159, Aprile; Instrumento in cui, "Dominus Gulielmus di Lucerna dedit, tradidit, vendidit, mancipavit, omnibus Dominis de Monasterio de Stapharda totum quod habet et habebat in valle Guichardi,* pro remedio animæ suæ et suorum parentum, et pro 25 libris denariorum bonorum Secusiensium; et pro hac valle Guichardi donat monasterium Staphardi pro fictu [tribute] 40 caseos . . per annum."

1159, 12 Aprile, Instrumento in cui; "Quum Dominus Gulielmus de Lucerna plenus esset Dominus vallis infrà scriptæ, et pleno jure spectaret ad ipsum, dedit inter vivos Deo, et Domino Ebono Abbati S. Mariæ, constructæ in loco qui dicitur Stapharda, et Conventui dicti loci, vallem Guizardi totam . . cum omnibus quæ

* One Val Guichard is in the High Alps; another so named in the way to Bobbio.

ed, that I think it could scarcely but have been noticed; together with the reclamations and actings of monks, bishops, and even Counts themselves, to expel them.—About 20 years after the Edict of Otho, a documentary record still extant tells of their beginning to make a stir in the near neighbourhood of Lucerna, at *Pinerol.* There is a Statute of Count Thomas and the magistrate of Pinerol, of the year 1220, thus ordaining;—that "if any one give hospitality to any Waldensian man or woman in the district of Pinerol, he being aware of their character, he shall for every such act pay a fine of ten solidi." [1]—At this time

suprà infrà vel intrà illam continentur, exceptâ argentariâ si qua inveniatur, et venatione; quam sibi pro se tantum, et hæredibus ex suâ progenie discendentibus, retinuit: pro quâ valle donat prædictum monasterium pro censu 40 caseos annuatios."

1163, 20 Nov. This is a Receipt for 20 lire "denariorum bonorum Secusianorum," from the Abbot of Stapharda, according to agreement.

1173, 7 Febbraji. Instrumento di transazione tra il detto Sign. Gulielmo di Luserna, e l'Abadessa del Monasterio di Caramagna,* pel fatto del fodro, e di alcuni altri dritti, che detto Gulielmo esigeva dagli uomini di Caramagna di Sommariva del bosco, spettanti al detto Monastero. Ivi "Dom. Vilielmus di Lucerna pro amore Dei, et pro mercede animæ suæ et suorum prædecessorum, et pro amore Dominæ Beatricis Sororis suæ, Abbatissæ ipsius Monasteri, &c."

Then, after a while, comes under date of

1197, A settlement of some dispute between the three brothers Henry of Lucerna, Herbert Abbot of Stapharda, and Peter de *Angrogna.*—Then, under the date

1229, Instrumento in cui Bonifacio, Vescovo d'Asti, conferma al Monastero di Casa Nova "quidquid ei evenit, vel evenerit, ab Henrico di Lucerna, et suo filio Villielmo, et a filiis Villielmi, sc. Henrico et Uberto atque Petro de Angrogna, et ab Abbatissâ de Caragnensia, &c."—Also;

1241, 11 Marzo, Instrumento in cui "Dom. Amedeus Comes Subaudiæ.. concedit et confirmat donationem illam, sive donum, sive venditionem, quam quondam fecerat Dom. Gulielmus de Lucerna Abbati et Monasterio de Stapharda, &c."

1251, Compromesso fatto dal Consortile di Lucerna.. pel fatto dei confini della Torre, di Rora, d'Angrogna, et di Chienzia, &c.".. And

1256, the Lord Manfred of Lucerna becomes surety to the Abbot of Susa.

Leger's idea (i. 157), and Monastier's (i. 92), of the Lucernese Counts having favoured the Vaudois colonists in the xiith Century seems thus to me unmaintainable.

[1] "Statuta et ordinamenta facta per Illustris. D. Thomam Comitem,.. et Sapientes Pinarolii, currente millesimo ccxx, indictione viii. c. 84. Item statutum est quod si quis, vel si qua, hospitaretur aliquem vel aliquam Valdensem vel Valdensam, se sciente, in posse Pinarolii, dabit bacuum solidorum decem quotiescunque hospitaretur."

M. Charvaz, from whom I quote, (see his pp. 271, 490,) speaks of the largeness of this fine, under the idea of their being *gold* solidi; as equivalent "à la somme de 300 liv. de notre temps." But how could such a fine be laid on persons often of the lower orders? There were *silver* solidi, as well as gold. See Ducange on the word. It is the former I conceive that are meant.

* Caramagna is six leagues lower than Cavour; Stapharda between Cavour and Saluze. It is in Monastier's map; and seems to answer to the modern Carmagnole, 15 or 20 miles S. E. of Turin.

however it is evident that this was by no manner of means the *main* body of the Lyonnese Waldenses in Northern Italy. They had now spread over the whole of Lombardy, and made Milan especially very much of a central point of operation and refuge: there, as in Provence and elsewhere, *uniting freely with certain heretics of different name*,[1] but eschewing others.[2] A point this of the greatest consequence in our inquiry; and to which I shall take occasion, a little later in the Section, to call the reader's special attention. There are extant Letters of Pope Innocent III, addrest about A.D. 1210 to a certain reconciled or recreant Waldensian, named Durand of Osca,[3] who had special commission from him for the reconversion of his former brethren: and letters also from the same Pope to the Archbishop of Milan, (as well as to the Archbishops of Narbonne, Nismes, Carcassone, Tarragona,) all about this Durand and his proceedings. They speak of a school there held by the Waldenses, in common with certain other heretics, in which to have their religious assemblies, and to preach: notify the hopes held out by Durand of the conversion of near 100 of the Waldenses at Milan; and state what measure of ecclesiastical irregularity might be allowed to Durand, in the progress of his work; "so, being crafty, to take them by guile."[4]—The mission however proved of little effect. And the terrible Decree of the 4th Lateran Council, in 1215, soon re-echoed more loudly the thunders of that of 1183 against the still unconverted Valdenses, or Lyonnese Poor Men, among other heretics.[5]

Such is a brief general view of the most authentic history of the Lyonnese Valdensic sectaries for the first half century after the rise of Peter Valdes; and specially of their introduction into Italy. As to the colonization of the Valdensic Piedmontese valleys, it seems probable that it took place *gradually*, as persecution in Lombardy and Piedmont

[1] "Postea in Provinciæ terrâ, et Lombardiæ, cum aliis hæreticis se admiscentes, et errorem eorum bibentes et serentes, hæretici sunt judicati." Stephen de Borbonne; in continuance of the citation Note [2] p. 353 suprà.

[2] "Waldenses contra alios (sc. Manichæos et Arianos,)" it is said by William of Puy Laurens, "acutissimè disputabant." Charvaz, p. 473, Gieseler ii. 379.

[3] Now *Huesca*.

[4] See Gieseler's very interesting citations, ii. 398, 399. Also M'Crie's Reform, in Spain, p. 37.

[5] I shall notice it again infrà.

became fiercer,[1] from about the middle of the xiiith century:—a *mixed* colonization, as before observed, by united *Lyonnese* and other like-minded heretics of *native* origin. The Savoy Statutes speak in 1682 of Treaties 400 years old between the Waldensian colonists and Dukes of Savoy; so indicating a colonization at least as early as 1282.[2] In 1332 a Bull of John XXII reports both their numbers and organization there.[3] In the Chatelain Delphinal Account of Receipts and Payments we find, A.D. 1315, "Payment to Inquisitors, for exercising their functions in the *Val Clusone*, 93 Livres Tournois; A.D. 1345, Inquisitors of Pragela for pursuing, torturing, and burning heretics . . . the product of confiscation of heretics' goods."[4]—Meanwhile from early in the xiiith century, both while they were more extended, and while they were gradually receding here and there to the Alpine refuges, persecution tracked them: the recently founded order of Dominicans making them ever one chief object of their inquisition. Among whom was Reiner.

3. And now then what *the tradition of the Waldensic Sectarians* at that time, on the main question under consideration; as reported to us by Reiner, and another contemporary writer, against the sect? What too the opinions exprest about it, by certain of those early Romish anti-Valdensic writers and actors themselves?

[1] So Ricchini, ap. Faber 529.

[2] Gilly, Wald. p. 75.—Compare the evidence of Count Thomas' statute (p. 356 suprà), showing that some of the heretics were busy teaching at *Pinerol* in 1220; not to speak of Otho's decree in 1198 (see p. 354), which only notices them as in the Turin diocese generally.—About 1250, let me add, Reiner does not speak of the Waldenses as an heretical body then *concentrated in the Valleys*.

In their Treaties with the Dukes of Savoy Muston (i. 351) declares that the Vaudois asserted their inhabitation of the Valleys before Savoy held Piedmont. An epoch this before the middle of the 11th century; as it occurred on the marriage of Odo, Prince of Savoy, with Adelaide of Suza. (So Charvaz, p. 271.)—Again, in one of Morland's later Waldensian manuscripts, to the question, "How long have the Valdenses inhabited the valleys?" the answer returned is, "On the *actual authority of many histories*, about 500 years; (i. e. says Leger, from 1587;) but according to *our belief*, from the time of the apostles." (Leger i. 162.) But these statements must be taken a little loosely.—As to Muston's *Treaties*, so speaking, they could only be Treaties of late date.

[3] "In Vallibus Lucernæ, Perusiæ, &c., creverunt et multiplicati sunt hæretici Valdenses, quòd frequentes congregationes per modum Capituli facere præsumunt." ap. Leger ii. 21; from Rorenco.

[4] Israel of Alps, pp. 234, 235.—What was said by the Waldenses of the Alpine valleys of Dauphiny, in their Memorial to the French King Francis I. in the year 1542, well accords with this. They speak of having come there from Piedmont some 200 years before. See Muston 350; Faber 288, 433.

As to the *former*, then, we find *Moneta* about 1240 thus intimating the tradition; "If their way was before P. Valdo, let them show it by some testimony."[1] And *Reiner*, A.D. 1250, on Heresies;[2] "Some say," (some evidently of the Leonist Waldenses themselves,) "that it, the sect of the Leonists, has lasted from the time of Sylvester, others from that of the apostles."—Later reports of the tradition are less important. But they show that it continued. "The sons of iniquity say falsely, . . . that their sect has endured from the time of Pope Sylvester, when the Church began to appropriate to itself possessions."[3] So *Pilichdorf* in 1395:—a statement thus amplified by *Claude Seyssel* afterwards:[4] "Some of the heretics pretend that the sect originated in the times of Constantine the Great, from one Leo, a most religious man; who execrating the avarice of the then Roman Pope Sylvester, preferred to follow poverty in the simplicity of faith: also that all who thought rightly of the Christian religion adhered to him, living under the Apostolic rule; and thus transmitted downwards to posterity the principles of true religion."[5]

Nor was an admission wanting on the part of one at least of *the early anti-Valdensic inquisitors and writers* themselves, as to the high antiquity of the Waldenses. I refer to *Reiner*. Although afterwards saying that the *Leonist* Sectaries had their origin from the Lyonnese merchant, Peter Valdes, yet he first speaks of the sect's formidableness from *its superior antiquity* to all other sects then existing; whether Manichæans, Arians, or Runcarians.[6] It

[1] Monastier i. 96.

[2] "Aliqui enim dicunt quod duraverit à tempore Sylvestri; aliqui à tempore apostolorum." B. P. M. xxv. 264.—This Treatise of Reiner is also given by Dr. Maitland in the Appendix to his Facts and Doc. and copious extracts from it by Charvaz and others.

[3] "Iniquitatis filii coram simplicibus mentiuntur, dicentes sectam eorum durasse à temporibus Sylvestri Papæ, quando videlicet Ecclesia cœpit habere proprias possessiones." B. P. M. xxv. 278.

[4] Claude Seyssel was in 1515 translated from the Bishoprick of Marseilles to the Archbishoprick of Turin, where he died in 1520. So Charvaz, p. 187.

[5] Gilly's Wald. 78, Faber, 282. See the Latin original in Charvaz, p. 476.—Similarly to Œcolampadius, Vaudois sectaries, then living, declared in 1530 that they had endured as a little people for more than 400 years;—yea, from the time of the apostles.

[6] Ch. 4 of his Tract on Hæresis. "Sectæ hæreticorum fuerunt plures quam LXX: quæ omnes per Dei gratiam deletæ sunt, præter sectas Manichæorum, Arianorum, Runcariorum, et Leonistarum, quæ Alemaniam infecerunt. Inter omnes has sectas non est perniciosior ecclesiæ quàm Leonistarum. Et hoc tribus de causis. Primo quia est diuturnior. Aliqui enim dicunt, &c." (See Note [2] above.) B. P. M. xxv. 264.

may be said that by the Manichæans, &c., he may have only meant the so-called *novi Manichæi*,[1] that had made themselves conspicuous in comparatively modern times in Western Christendom. Yet, even so, it is scarce credible but that, inquisitor as he was, and a brother of the Dominican order, he must have known alike from the famous anti-Albigensian writings of St. Bernard, from sundry Chronicles of the preceding age, and from the Acts of the Councils of Orleans, Arras, Charroux, Rheims, Oxford, &c., particularized in a preceding Section, that heretics had been condemned as Manichæans in the xith and first half of the xiith century. Hence his statement, even though thus understood and limited, must be regarded as referring back the origin of the sect at least to the commencement of the xith century.—It has been urged by some,[2] in order to reconcile this statement by Reiner with his counter-statement immediately following about the recent *Lyonnese* origin of the Sect, that he is here only reporting the Valdensians' own assertion. But I cannot admit the explanation. His words, notwithstanding the context subsequent, seem too precise; "Primo quia *est* diuturnior."[3]—But in what sense? His own statements, and those of history generally, preclude the idea of his ascribing an earlier *external* origin to the Lyonnese Valdensic sect, than P. Valdes. It seems to me that Giesler's is the only fair explanation; viz. that "he must have meant the Waldensian [Protestant] *principles:*"[4] it being however understood that, in order to their perpetuation, there must needs have been *some succession of persons*, similarly thinking, to perpetuate them: some consequently, even though of other sectarian denominations, before P. Valdes.[5]

[1] So Maitland, Second Reply to King, pp. 27, 28.
[2] e. g. Gretser. [3] So Charvaz, p. 172. [4] Vol. ii. p. 377.
[5] To Reiner's admission above cited there was added in my three first editions *Rorenco's* later testimony, as decidedly to the same effect: he, when Prior of St. Roch in Turin in 1630 or 1640, having been commissioned to make inquiries into the history and opinions of the Waldenses; and the result, according to Muston and others, such as I stated. Mr. Faber had previously done the same, trusting to Muston. See his pp. 327, 328.—By M. Charvaz (pp. 483, 484,) the extracts from Rorenco are given more fully than by Leger or Muston. And I regret to find from them, that the case is another of the many partial misrepresentations printed on the Waldensian subject. By Leger and Muston he is made to say that the Vaudois sect was not a new sect in the 9th and 10th centuries. Whereas what he really says is that the various

As to any *primitive Piedmontese Alpine origin* to the mixt Lyonnese and Piedmontese later colonists of the valleys, all early tradition, as before said, whether Valdensic or anti-Valdensic, seems to me wanting. Yet there is one chronicler who, early in the xiiith century, reports at least an *Italian* origin to those Lyonnese sectaries. I allude not here to Ebrard's notice of their calling themselves *Vallenses:*[1] because Ebrard's age (though said to be 1212) seems doubtful;[2] and the appellation is distinctly stated

preceding heresies continued in the 9th and 10th centuries, and that there arose not then any new sect or new heresiarch. Let me cite him.

Having mentioned the *Iconomaehi* of the 8th century, he adds; "Nel nono e decimo secolo continuarono le eresie antecedenti; e non si scoperse nuova setta, ne nuovo eresiarcha; e pero non fu fatto ne celebrato alcun concilio." Again: "Nell, ottavo secolo vennero i Cristiani *Cathegori*, quali adoravano come Dio le imagine di Cristo, e della Vergine santissima, e degli angeli. Poi gl' *Iconomaehi* nemici delle sacre imagini. . . Furono condamnati tutti nella Sinodo generale (viz. the seventh.) Nel nono secolo continuarono le narrate eresie; ne si scoprì nuova setta, ne nuovo heresiarca: ma si bene nuovo fomentatore delle antecedenti; fra quali fu Claudio Vescovo di Torino." Breve Narraz. p. 16: and Memorie Istoriche, pp. 3, 4.

In the extracts by Muston and Faber, the *non si scoperse*, and *ne si scopri*, are changed into *non era, non fu;* the nominative *i Valdesi* supplied; and so the meaning made to result; "*They* [the *Valdenses*] were even then not a new Sect." Yet mark the reference to *Claude of Turin.*

Rorenco's testimony, considering its lateness of date, was only important on the supposition of its having resulted from examination of ancient records in the hands of the Piedmont Government, not generally accessible.

[1] This occurs in his 25th chapter, (B. P. Max. xxiv. 1572,) headed "Contrà eos qui dicuntur *Xabatati;*" an appellative, as we saw, from some peculiarity in their shoes or sandals, of the disciples of Peter Valdes. In it he says; "*Vallenses* se appellant, eo quòd in valle lachrymarum maneant:" and again, "Omnia ista vobis objiciuntur à Salomone, O *Vallenses.*"—He *elsewhere* uses the word *Waldenses*, apparently of *other* heretics: evincing in his description that he knew but little about them.—Bernard of Fontcaud's pun on the word *Valdenses*, "quasi à valle densâ," *the dark vale of error*, (B. P. M. xxiv. 1585,) will not much help the hypothesis.

[2] Dr. Maitland, Facts and Doc. p. 99, expresses his belief that "the only authority on the point is the distich following, respecting a certain *Grammarian* of the same name and place;

Anno milleno centeno bis duodeno,
Condidit Ebrardus Græcismum Bethuniensis."

And he argues that the *bis* refers to the *duodeno*, not the *centeno*, making the date 1124, not 1212; so proving, what might otherwise have been suspected, that the Grammarian was a different person from the anti-Waldensian writer.—That Dr. M. is correct in his construction of the *bis* will appear probable from the two following versicular dates of similar character, quoted by Waddington, ii. 224, 225, from Pagi:—the first respecting the foundation of the *Cistercian* order, A.D. 1098;

Anno milleno centeno bis minus uno,
Pontifice Urbano, Francorum rege Philippo,
Sub Patre Roberto cæpit Cistercius ordo:

—the second respecting the *Præmonstratensian* Order, (founded in 1120, Giesceler ii. 281,) under Norbert, a friend of Pope Innocent II, who died A. D. 1144;

Anno milleno centeno bis quoque deno
Sub Patre Norberto Præmonstratensis viget ordo.

That the Ebrard, however, who thus notices the *Vallenses*, was of Bethune in Flanders, appears in the title of the work as given in the B. P. M.

by him to have been meant by the vagrant sectarian bands he alludes to, in a figurative, not a literal sense: with reference to this world as a valley of tears; not to the valleys of Piedmont, or any other mountain valleys.[1] But I allude to *Conrad of Lichtenau*, abbot of *Ursperg:* who, writing about 1225 of the then recent institution of the Franciscan and Dominican Friars, observes incidentally that the occasion of it may have been the previous existence of the two separatist sects of *Humiliati* and *Poor Men of Lyons:*[2] "which sects," says he, "having arisen some considerable time before *in Italy*, still continue."[3] Was it Conrad's idea that the Lyonnese Valdensic doctrine was but in main points that of Arnold of Brescia,[4] or of Henry,[5] or of Claude of Turin; and that, having set out from Italy in the ixth or xiith century, it had revived, or returned thither, at the opening of the xiiith?

4. Next comes the argument (an argument that will detain us somewhat longer) from certain of the *Waldensian Documents* still extant.[6]—The manuscripts, as is well

[1] See Note [1], p. 361.

[2] Dr. Maitland gives the extract from Conrad at p. 398 of his Facts and Documents; but ascribes the notice of having seen the Lyonnese Pauperes at Rome not to Conrad himself, though speaking of it in the first person, but to some anonymous writer quoted by him. His reason is that he supposes the transaction described to have taken place at Rome under Pope *Lucius III*, in the year 1183; a time when Conrad (who did not become a priest till 1202) would probably have been too young to be present.

In my three first editions I expressed a difference of opinion from Dr. Maitland; supposing Conrad to have meant the 4th Lateran Council under Innocent III, as that at which he was present: because the Tractatus of Ivonet in Martene (given by Charvaz, p. 462—464) spoke of the Waldenses as then applying to Innocent III for authorization. But, on reconsideration, I think that Ivonet must have meant Alexander III, and written Innocent III by a mere slip of the pen. All the history of the Sect shows this. And, as Dr. M. observes, Conrad could hardly have been at the 3rd Lateran Council under Alexander in 1179. Dr. M. observes, from Vossius, that Conrad quotes other writers in the first person, without marking citation.

[3] "Quia olim duæ Sectæ in Italiâ exortæ adhuc perdurant: quarum alii *Humiliatos*, alii *Pauperes de Lugduno* se nominabant."

In Ivonet, ap. Martene it is said that the Sect was doubly divided, into the Ultra-montane or Gallic Pauperes, and the Lombard Pauperes.

[4] On the abounding of heretics in *Brescia* (Arnold's city), in 1225, see Pope Honorius' Letter, ap. Gieseler ii. 395. About Arnold see B. P. M. xxv. 255.

[5] Henry was an *Italian* originally: though better known after he had been to *Lausanne*, and then gone to Le Mans and Toulouse. See my p. 284 suprà; also Mosheim xii. 2. 5. 8.

[6] The account of his collecting them, as given by *Sir S. Morland*, is too illustrative of the subject, as well as too interesting, to omit. "Some days," he says, "before my setting out for Savoy," (i. e. as ambassador for Cromwell about the year A.D. 1650,) "the late Lord Primate of Ireland, Archbishop Usher, sent for me

known, were collected in the Piedmontese valleys by Sir S. Morland, ambassador from Cromwell in 1650 to Savoy; by him brought to England; and in August 1658 (so Morland himself states) deposited in the Cambridge University Library. They were then bound in 21 volumes; but of these the seven first are now missing.[1] Of some, however, of the missing Treatises copies remain in the works of Morland and Leger: and of the most valuable of all, *the Noble Lesson*, there exists an ancient manuscript copy in the Library of Geneva;[2] though less ancient, it is supposed, than that of Morland.[3]

It is with the *Noble Lesson* alone that I have to do for the present.—Objections have been made by Maitland, after Bossuet, to the assigned *dates* and even *genuineness* of other of the manuscripts; more especially of one entitled a *Confession of Faith*, another a *Catechism*, and another a *Treatise on Antichrist*.[4] And, as against *the dates assigned*

to his chamber; and there gave me a serious charge to use my uttermost diligence in the inquiry after, and to spare no cost in the purchase of, all those manuscripts and authentic pieces, which might give any light into the ancient doctrine and discipline of those [the Waldensian] Churches:—adding, there was nothing in the world he was more curious and impatient to know, as being a point of exceeding great weight and moment for stopping the mouths of our Popish adversaries, and discovering the footsteps of our religion in those dark intervals of the 8th, 9th, and 10th centuries. This serious injunction of that reverend and worthy man, together with my own real inclinations, caused me to leave no stone unturned, nor to lose any opportunity during my abode in those parts, for the real effecting this thing. And, although the Pope's emissaries had already gathered the more choice clusters and ripe fruits, yet I met at least with the grape-gleanings of the vintage:—I mean divers pieces of antiquity: some whereof had been a long time buried under dust and rubbish; others had been scattered about in the valleys, some here, some there, in desert and obscure places; and without a singular providence had never come to light." Waldensian Researches, p. 136.

[1] Inquiry having been made as to the time and manner of the loss, no account it seems can be given. All that is known is that Allix, who published his work on the Waldenses in 1690, speaks of having seen, and quotes from, one of the missing and now not extant volumes; also that a catalogue of the Library, made in 1753, mentions only the fourteen volumes yet remaining, numbered from H to W. The necessary conclusion is that between the years 1690 and 1753 these seven volumes, numbered from A to G, were abstracted;—how, or by whom, is a matter of conjecture. Wald. Res. pp. 153, 447.

[2] Both Gilly and Muston give *fac-similes* of the six first lines of the Poem, as written in the Geneva Manuscript: also M. Charvaz, in his reply to Muston, p. 254. —A translation of much of the poem will be given later, in my 7th Section; the Poem itself in my Appendix.

[3] So *Raynouard* the learned author of the *Poesies des Troubadours;* Vol. ii. p. cxlii. "Je suis porté à croire que le manuscript de Cambridge avoit été fait sur un exemplaire plus ancien que celui de Geneve." ap. Muston 146.

[4] Bossuet Variat. xi. § 126—130; Maitland's Facts and Doc. p. 114, and Second Answer to King, p. 55.

Dr. Maitland in the passage last referred to thus expresses himself. "It seems to

by Morland's collector,[1] or by *previous copyists* of the manuscripts, his objections have weight and reason; though not so as to affect the genuineness of the documents. For the dates do not appear to have been in any case (excepting the Noble Lesson) a component part of the work: and they might well have been added, (incorrectly added,) by the *collector* or *copyist*, and even other alterations introduced also,—without affecting the genuineness of the original manuscript.[2] Is the Treatise of Pilichdorf a forgery, because its Editors in the B. P. M. falsely assign to it the date of the xiiith century?[3] Or William of Newbury's notice of the Oxford Council of 1160, because Harduin[4] anachronistically heads it as "contrà *Waldensium* seu Publicanorum dogma"? Or the Canons of the Council of Tours, held A. D. 1163, because "the word *Albigenses* (a name not used so early) occurs in the title of the Canons?"[5] On this Dr. Maitland simply argues; "It was probably prefixed at a later period." And so we all explain the generally incorrect *subscriptions*, appended early to many of the Canonical Epistles. Why then reason differently here?

But, as I said, it is alone with the *Noble Lesson* that I am concerned at present. And certainly, if ever there were document that might be said to bear on its face the stamp

me that if I have succeeded in throwing *just* suspicion on the *Confession*, I have thrown just suspicion on *all* [the Waldensian MSS.]." An opinion this surely the most unreasonable. Dr. Maitland seems to reason as if the date assigned by the collector were *in each case* part and parcel of the document itself: which it is not, save and except only in the *Nobla Leycon*. And of it, as we shall see, notwithstanding Dr. M.'s insinuated suspicion of its being a *forgery*, (Facts and Doc. p. 133, Letter to King, p. 61,) the genuineness is irrefragable.

What if a discoverer of a set of ancient manuscript Codices at Pompeii were to assign a wrong date to some of them, and perhaps affix that wrong date in recopying: and a critic, on discovering and exposing the error, were to argue that *therefore* grave suspicion attached to the date, and even genuineness, of another codex, which in the very body of the work gave its own date, as written under Augustus or Nero?

Has Dr. Maitland fully considered the difficulty of a successful forgery of the antique? The case of Chatterton is a memorable modern example of its being no easy matter of execution.

[1] "It (The *Confession of Faith*) was packed, with sundry other Documents of less moment, [including the *Treatise on Antichrist*,] in one parcel; to the *envelope* of which the *Collector* had affixed the general date of the year 1120... I do not suppose that there was any intentional imposition on the part of him who affixed the date: but the action must, I think, be viewed as purely arbitrary, and altogether unauthoritative." Faber, 370, 372.

[2] See on this point the remarks of M. Monastier, Vol. i. p. 111—113.

[3] Index Alph. See my notice of Pilichdorf in the list of authors, p. 348.

[4] vi. ii. 1583.

[5] Dr. Maitland's words. Facts and Doc. p. 138.

of genuineness, such seems to me the case here. For there is a spirit of primitive simplicity and piety breathing all through it,[1] that forbids the idea of fraud or forgery: and also an absence of that point and fulness on the subject of Romish vices and errors, which, had it been forged to make out the case of the Waldenses as witnesses against Rome, we might surely have expected.[2]—Besides which there are certain more purely *literary criteria* by which it may be tested; and on all of which, having been tried, it has well stood the test. The reader must understand that it is in rhythmical verse; somewhat like the Provençal Romances of the Troubadours: and that the date of 1100 years from the epoch when it was said, "We are in the last times," is incorporated into the very verse itself, and as a part of the Poem:

> Ben ha mil e cent ancz compli entieramen
> Que fo scripta l' ora, car sen al derier temp:

i. e. "Well have a thousand and a hundred years been fully accomplished, since the hour was written of, that we are in the last times."[3] Now the date thus noted must needs be somewhere between A.D. 1100 and 1200. (I shall presently recur to the subject, in order to infer the epoch more exactly.) And thus it is open to the critic to investigate the accordance of the Poem with that self-attached date, in respect of *language, versification*, &c., as well as in respect of *sentiment* and *historical fact*. The former kind of testing has been carried out by *M. Raynouard*, author of the work on the Poetry of the Troubadours; a man of all others the best qualified for the undertaking.[4] And his report is that, after having accurately examined into the dialect, style, form of verse, agreement and disagree-

[1] Muston, p. 144, quotes *Neander*, writing of "le calme et l'onction avec la quelle Traité est écrit."

[2] So M'Crie: "The *Nobla Leycon*, and other religious Poems of the Vaudois, which are among the earliest and the rarest of Provençal poetry, contain few of those *satirical* reflections on the Clergy, which abound in the writings of their contemporaries who remained in the Romish Church." Reform. in Italy, p. 15.

[3] Raynouard translates, "Que fut ecrite l'heure, que nous sommes au dernier temps." In 1 John ii. 18 the Greek is, εσχατη ὡρα εστιν· "it is the last *hour*."

[4] "An indisputably (Faber 385) competent judge," says Mr. Hallam. See too Schlegel's testimony to M. Raynouard in Mr. G. Cornewall Lewis' Treatise on the Romaunt, and also Mr. Lewis' own.

ment of the Cambridge and Geneva Manuscripts,[1] &c.,—he can on every account, and without reserve, affirm the genuineness of the document, and its freedom from interpolation.[2] Mr. Hallam, our own eminent living author, after reference to Raynouard, expresses his entire agreement with him; observing that "any doubts as to the authenticity of the Poem are totally unreasonable." [3]

But what the more exact date of the Poem? Whence its 1100 years to be computed?—Not merely Morland, Leger, Allix, Muston, Monastier, Faber, and others, that might by some be thought more or less prejudiced partizans of the pre-Lyonnistic Waldensian theory, agree in regarding it as tantamount to the year 1100 of the Christian æra; but even M. Raynouard himself fixes it at A. D.1100, or thereabouts.[4] To myself however it seems most natural and reasonable, prior to the consideration of other criteria, to calculate the 1100 years (according to the simpler meaning of the passage cited) from *the time when those words were written*, "We are in the last times:" [5] i. e. from the date of St. John's first Epistle, where, and where alone, the passage referred to occurs.[6] And, as the

[1] Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours; Vol. ii. Introd. p. cxxxvii—cxliii. "J'ai conferé," he says, "le texte du Manuscrit de Geneve avec celui du Manuscrit de Cambridge publié par S. Morland. Les successeurs des anciens Vaudois, ni les dissidens de l'Eglise Romaine, qui auraient voulu s'autoriser des opinions contenues dans ce Poeme, n'auraient eu aucun interêt à faire des changemens; et, s'ils avaient osé en faire, ces changemens auraient bien moins porté sur la date du Poeme, que sur le fond des matières qu'il traite, pour les accommoder à leurs propres systèmes dogmatiques.—Enfin le style même de l'ouvrage, la forme des vers, la concordance même des deux manuscrits, le genre des variantes qu'ils présentent, tout se réunit en faveur de l'authenticité de ces poésies."

[2] "Les personnes qui l'examineront avec attention jugeront que le Manuscrit n'a pas été interpolé." Ibid.

[3] Literat. of Middle Ages, i. 37, 38.—Contrast Dr. Maitland's strange innuendo, referred to p. 363 Note [4], against the *Noble Lesson*, as not improbably a forgery!

[4] "Le poeme de la Nobla Leycon porte la date de l'an 1100." And again; "La date de l'an 1100, qu'on lit dans ce poeme, merite toute confiance." Ibid.

[5] Such is Gieseler's View, Vol. ii. p. 380.—The example of Melania, as narrated by Palladius in his Lausiac History, (a passage cited in my Vol. i. p. 397. Note [1], induces me to speak less strongly on this point than in my three former Editions. Παιδια, προ τετρακοσιων ετων εγραφη, ὁτι εσχατη ὡρα εστι. This being said by Melania about A.D. 400; and so the computation dated from the beginning of the Christian Æra.

[6] "Little children, it is the last time. And, as ye have heard that Antichrist cometh, even now there are many Antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time." ii. 18.—Some have suggested the alternative of dating the 1100 years from the time described in the Acts of the Apostles, because of the days then present being there spoken of as the last days: e. g. Acts ii. 17, "It shall come to pass in the last days." But the *quotation* in the Noble Lesson is evidently the above passage from

composer of the Noble Lesson, though unendowed with the critical accuracy and learning of modern scholars,[1] must yet, on the more general and obvious evidence of Scripture history, have seen reason to date that Epistle some 30, 40, or 60 years after Christ's death, it follows that he must have regarded the 1100 years, measured therefrom, as elapsed *somewhere between* A.D. 1160 *and* 1190.—And when, with reference to this disputed point of the Poem's date, we turn to a critical examination of the Poem itself, we shall find, I believe, no chronological indication inconsistent with the date just stated; and some strongly, if not decisively, corroborative.

Thus, as regards the Romaunt *phraseological terms* used in it, not only will such words as *baron* for men of nobility, *fellon* for a wicked man, *hostel* for palace or house,[2] but also *cavalier* for soldier, and *Saracens* for heathens, in contradistinction to Jews and Christians, (the two latter words urged by Mr. Faber in proof of the earlier date of 1100,)[3] be found to suit the close, as well as the com-

St. John; and it is one again referred to at the close of the Poem: "We ought to be well advised when Antichrist shall come; but, according to Scripture, there are now many Antichrists."

Compare Joachim Abbas' statement:—"Maximè cum sint transacti amplius quàm mille anni ex quo dixit beatus Joannes, Filioli, novissima hora est." See my notice of Joachim in the History of Apoc. Interpretation, Vol. iv. Appendix.

[1] Michaelis dates St. John's first Epistle A.D. 70, Lardner about 80, Mill and Le Clerc about 91, Beausobre, L'Enfant, and Dupin at the end of the first century. The larger number of Commentators agree most nearly with Michaelis; considering that there is evidence in the Epistle of having been written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and thus A.D. 68, 69, or 70. So Grotius, Whitby, Macknight, A. Clarke, Horne, &c.

[2] 1. *Baron.* So l. 224 of the three wise men; "E en Orient aparec una stella a li trey baron."—2. *Fellon.* So l. 103 of those drowned in the deluge; "Ce lei dulivi vene, et detruis li fellon." Also l. 133.—3. *Hostel.* So l. 134 of Lot's house: "Ço fo Loth, e aquilli de son hostal que l'angel en gitte:" and l. 47 of God's palace in heaven; "Que a la fin nos alberge al seo glorios hostal."

See Ducange on the words *baro, fello, hospitale.*

[3] 1. *Cavalier.* So l. 315; "Car un de li cavalier vent e li uberc la costa."

In proof that a similar use of the word *Cavalier* to that in the Poem continued beyond the end of the xiith century, I may refer to the *Fragment du Mystere* on the Resurrection; a piece given in Michel's Theatre Français au Moyen Age: the date of which is fixed, on decisive evidence, to be as late as the end of the xiith, or beginning of the xiiith century. In the versified Preface to this very curious Piece, the dramatis Personæ, scenic paintings, and arrangements to be followed in the acting, are described. Among others there occur the verses following; (p. 11;)

Primes Pilate od ces vassals
Sis u set *chivaliers* aura.

Afterwards one of these *chevaliers* is represented as piercing Christ's side. (p. 14.)

2. *Saragins.* So l. 341; "Mot for li perseguian Judios e Saragins."

mencement, of the xiith century.—Nor again does the expectation of the world's being near its end, exprest in the Poem,[1] (another point urged by Mr. Faber,[2]) much better suit the one than the other.—But there are other indications which strongly tend to the later date; and pretty much fix it between the years 1183 and 1200. 1st, among the various notices in the Poem respecting the persecutions to which good men were subject, who wished to follow and to teach "the way of Jesus Christ," we find fine, imprisonment, and death mentioned as punishments: and this as inflicted specifically on *Vaudes*.[3] Now it was not till Lucius

A reader at all versed in European history must be aware that the *Saracens* were pre-eminently *Paynims*, or *Pagans*, in the mind of crusading Christendom, just as much in the time of Richard Cœur de Lion and Saladin, at the end of the xiith century, as of Godfrey of Bouillon, a century earlier. And, as to the conjunction of their name and that of the Jews, as under a similar opprobrium, it occurs frequently as late, and later than, the close of the xiith century. So, for example, in the heading of the xxvith Canon of the 3rd Lateran Council, held A.D. 1179; "Ne Christiani habitent cum *Judæis* vel *Saracenis*." Shortly after which the phrase "more *Paganorum*" occurs, with evident reference to the Saracens. (Hard. vi. ii. 1683, 1684.)—Mr. Faber argues from the former word at p. 398 of his Book; from the latter at p. 395.

[1] So lines 3, 5, 9—13, 461, &c. "The world is near its end. The world approaches its termination."—"Daily we see the signs coming to their accomplishment, in the increase of evil and the decrease of good. These are the perils that.. St. Paul mentions; so that no man who lives can know his end." Also; "Many signs and wonders shall be wrought from this time forward to the day of judgment," &c.

[2] Agreeably with this, says Mr. Faber, p. 389, was the expectation, begun long before, A.D. 1000, [see my Vol. i. p. 470,] but partially revived in 1100, that the end of the world was at hand. In illustration, he cites from William of Malmsbury (ii. 34) a legend of Edward the Confessor's vision of the seven sleepers, seen shortly before his death, A.D. 1066; whence the prognostication was drawn that in seventy-four years the end would come.—He might also have exemplified in the prediction of a Florentine Bishop, to the effect that in the year 1105 Antichrist would be born. Op. Bernardi, i. p. 846. (Paris, 1839.)

But the same expectation of the world's speedy ending was revived from time to time throughout the xiith century. Thus from a letter of St. Bernard, written in the year 1128, we learn that it had just then been the subject of serious conversation between himself and one Norbert, a man of much eminence in Bernard's judgment; and that it was Norbert's full and solemn conviction that before the generation then living past away, Antichrist would be revealed, and the last affliction of the church begin.* (i. 202.) In proof that the expectation was entertained at the close of the xiith century, it may suffice to mention the name of Joachim Abbas.†

[3] So lines 54, 55, 354, 360—363, 372—374. "They suffer not good people to keep God's commandments; but rather hinder, according to their power." "These greatly wish to show the way of Jesus Christ; but they are so *persecuted*, that they can do only little. So are the false Christians blinded by error: much the most they

* Bernard adds that he was himself not convinced by Norbert's reasons. "Cùm eandem certitudinem unde haberet scisciantì mihi exponere vellet, audito quod respondit, non me illud pro certo credere debere putavi." Ep. 56. And it will be well to remember that there was certainly then no such *general* expectation as that which existed at the commencement of the preceding century.

† It was about A.D. 1200 that this Joachim of Calabria prophesied that within sixty years Antichrist would appear. See my Sketch of Joachim Abbas' Apocalyptic Commentary, in the Appendix to my Vol. iv.

the third's Decree of 1183 that the *Lyonnese Poor Men*, or *Valdenses*, were marked out at all as objects for punishment.[1] And, as they were placed by it under the terrible Papal Anathema, and, on conviction by the ecclesiastical tribunals, abandoned to the secular power, to be dealt with as it might think fit, of course *death*, as well as *fine* and *imprisonment*, was thenceforth one of the penalties contemplated.[2]—2ndly, and in connexion with the same point of the persecutions of the Vaudois sectaries, there is a peculiar expression in one line of the Poem about the persecutors, which seems to me to point to the *inquisition* after heretics, ordered in that same Decree of Pope Lucius. Says the Noble Lesson, respecting the persecutors of the apostles and early Christians; "Like to those who *now seek out matter of accusation*, and persecute so much." [3]—And thus, accordantly, speaks the Decree of Pope Lucius:—"Every

that should be pastors: seeing that they *persecute* and *kill* * those that are better." "They say that such an one (viz. who will not lie, swear, defraud, &c.) is a *Vaudes*, and worthy of punishment: and they find occasion, through lies and deceit, *to take from him that which he possesses*." "The *saints* did not persecute, nor *put in prison*."

[1] See pp. 353, 354 suprà. Also Harduin vi. ii. 1878; and Maitland's Facts and Doc. pp. 176, 496.—"We lay under a perpetual anathema the Cathari, Patarini, and those who falsely call themselves *Humiliati*, or *Poor Men of Lyons*, &c." So the Lucian Decree begins: and it then adjudges that these and their abettors, if pertinacious, should be *given up to the secular power*; whether for execution or milder punishment; and their goods confiscated to the Church. It is stated, at the head of the Decree, that it was issued with the sanction of the Emperor Frederic, (i. e. Frederic the 1st, Emp. A.D. 1152—1190,) and of a Council of Patriarchs, Archbishops, &c., assembled from various parts of the world.

After this, anti-heretical decrees multiplied, as we have seen, and specifically against the heretics called *Vaudois*. In 1192 the *Wadois* were ordered to be seized, chained, and brought up for punishment in the diocese of Toul. In 1194 there was issued the expatriating Decree of Alphonso, king of Arragon, against the *Waldenses*, &c.; then in 1215 the 4th Lateran Decree; then others.

A few years afterwards, this was said in a Council of Narbonne, held A.D. 1235. "What stranger even is there who knows not of the condemnation of heretics and *Waldenses* for many years past; so justly decreed, so notorious, so public, so preached about, . . and so firmly sealed by the death of so many unbelievers, solemnly condemned, and publicly executed!" Harduin vii. 257.—In the case of Henry the Petrobrussian we had an example of imprisonment, as perhaps the only punishment inflicted. (See p. 285 suprà.) This was in 1147. Also in the case of Peter of Lyons himself, and his earlier followers, the persecution was one not unto death.

[2] So Gretser, speaking of Frederic the 2nd's Constitution, (Emp. A.D. 1212—1250,) says; "Ut hæretici ab ecclesiâ damnati, et seculari judici assignati debitâ animadversione, hoc est *mortis supplicio*, puniantur." B. P. M. xxv. 256.

[3] "Coma d'aquilh que *queron ara caison*, e que perseguon tant:" rendered by Raynouard; "Qui *cherchent ores accusation*," l. 350. Compare l. 373; "E li *troban cayson* en meczonja e engan;" i. e. against the Vaudois.

* In my three first editions I overlooked this word; having only had Faber's translation at the time before me; who, as stated p. 392 infrà, has strangely mistranslated it.

Archbishop or Bishop, by himself or his archdeacon, or by other trustworthy and fit persons, shall twice, or once in the year, go round any parish in which it shall have been reported that heretics reside; and there call on three or more persons of good credit, or if it seem fit on the whole neighbourhood, to take an oath that, if any one shall know that there are heretics in the place, or any persons holding secret conventicles, or differing in life and manners from the common conversation of the faithful, he will make it his business to point them out to the Bishop or Archdeacon." This Decree, Dr. Maitland observes, "seems to have laid the foundation, and marked out the plan of the *Inquisition*."[1]—3. In the Noble Lesson it is said; "If we wish to love Christ, and follow his doctrine, we must watch and *read the Scripture*."[2] On which it has been justly asked by Dr. Maitland, "how it could have come into any man's head to give such an exhortation in the year 1100:"[3] meaning evidently, at a time when no translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue would seem to have existed. It was through Peter Valdes' instrumentality, some time between 1170 and 1179, that the first known translation of the entire New Testament Scriptures was made into the vulgar Gaulik or Romaunt;[4] a translation of which more presently.[5] Hence the Noble Lesson would seem to have been written after 1179.[6]—4thly, there occurs in the Poem an incidental notice of the then Vaudois creed respecting *Antichrist;* showing that at that time the Sect had not absolutely given up the thought of him as an *individual*, whose coming was still *future:* albeit with half intimated suspicions of his having come already, in them (the Roman Popes and Bishops evidently) that exhibited a marked *contrast* to Christ.[7] Whereas from very early in the opening of the 13th century it had come to be a

[1] Facts and Doc. p. 176. [2] l. 287. [3] Ib. p. 134.

[4] See Gilly's Romaunt Version of St. John; p. x. et seq.

[5] See p. 374 infrà.

[6] If made three or four years before, we must allow a little time for the copyings and circulation.

[7] l. 457—460. The passage is remarkable.

E esser mot avisa cant venre l'Antexrist,
Que nos non crean ni a son fait, ni a son dit:
Car, segont l'Escriptura, son ara fait moti Antexrist:
Car Antexrist son tuit aquilh que contrastan a Xrist.

direct article of the Vaudois creed that the Papacy and Church of Rome were to be regarded as the Apocalyptic Harlot, Babylon,[1] and by consequence Antichrist; and so continued unalterably ever afterwards.—5thly, we find a very characteristic notice in the Poem respecting *the neighbouring Romanists*, which represents them as at that time in the habit of deferring their *confession* to the priest *until their death-bed.*[2] A habit this that could scarcely have existed after the promulgation of the stringent decrees of Pope Innocent and the 4th Lateran Council, A.D. 1215: wherein *annual* confession, at the least, was enjoined on every individual; on pain of exclusion from the Church both in life and death.[3]—6thly, could the remark about the few that embraced voluntary poverty have been well written after the rise of the two mendicant orders, with

[1] This appears at least as early as the year 1207. There was then a public disputation held at Montreal between *Albigenses* on the one side, (including *Vaudois* sectaries settled near Albi,) and *Romanists* on the other: * (see my p. 357 Note [1] suprà:) the former being represented by Arnold, probably an early friend of Peter Valdes; (so Faber, pp. 504—514; †) the latter by Dominic and the Bishop of Oxuma. And one of the Theses asserted and defended by Arnold, was that Rome was Babylon and the Harlot of the Apocalypse; symbols interpreted, I believe, by nearly all previous prophetic expositors as prefigurations of a still future Antichrist's Church and Kingdom.‡—About 1250 *Reiner*, to the same effect, notes among the Waldensian heresies that of holding the Roman Church to be the Harlot of the Apocalypse, and the Pope the head of all errors.§—At length, and perhaps not very long after Reiner's Work, there was written the Vaudois *Treatise on Antichrist;* ‖ in the which the doctrine was, as we shall see hereafter, most strongly and fully asserted.—Leger (i. 156), from Thuanus, represents Peter Valdes himself as thus preaching against Rome and the Papacy. If so, this must have been at the more advanced period of his career.

Let me just add, with reference to the disputation at Montreal, that, though it occurred after the Papal Decrees of 1179 and 1183, yet the lords of the district still asserted independence, and even protected the heretics. The *immediate* consequence was the freedom of discussion; but the *next*, that Dominic, foiled in his arguments and object, reported at Rome the contumacy of the Albigensian nobles: whence followed the Albigensian Crusade with all its horrors, and at length the destruction of the Counts of Thoulouse.

[2] "When the mortal malady oppresses him, so that he is scarce able to speak, then he calls for the priest, and wishes to confess himself. But according to the Scripture he has delayed too long. For it says, that thou shouldest confess while in sound health, and not wait till the last." Contrast what is said in the Waldensian Treatise on Antichrist, ap. Monastier, pp. 359, 361.

[3] Canon xxi.: "All of either sex, arrived at years of discretion, shall faithfully confess all their sins in private to the priest, receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharist reverentially, at least at Easter, unless it shall appear to his own priest that there is

* The children of settlers, says Maitland, Facts and Doc. p. 95, who were both Albigenses and Waldenses; one by nation, the other by sect. † from Thuanus.

‡ On the partial exception of Joachim Abbas just previously, sc. about A.D. 1200, see my notice of Joachim in the Appendix to Vol. iv.

§ B. P. M. xxv. 265.

‖ See my notice of its probable date p. 395 infrà, as towards the end of the 13th century.

vows of poverty, in 1215; or at least after their universa diffusion and fame, within ten or fifteen years afterwards?[1]

Thus do these various notices, in precise accordance with the Poem's self-ascribed date, construed in its natural and simple meaning, unite to indicate its having been written some time between about 1183 and 1215 A.D.: at the same time that they furnish us with the strongest possible corroborative evidence of the *genuineness of the Poem*.

Try we, yet once more, another kind of evidence arising out of the Nobla Leycon; viz. that of *the dialect of the Romaunt* in which it is written.

It is to be remembered then, (a fact doubtless well known to most of my readers,) that on the irruption of the multitudinous Gothic barbarian hordes into the Western Roman empire, and their establishment in its several provinces in the 5th and 6th centuries, a change of the spoken language naturally and necessarily ensued. Says Sismondi; "From one end of Europe to the other the encounter of two mighty nations, and the mixture of two mother tongues, confounded all the dialects, and gave rise to new ones in their place."[2] The Latin, which had for some three centuries, or more, been the vernacular language of Gaul and Spain, as well as of Italy, underwent decomposition;[3] and a kind of barbarous jargon took its place, resulting from

sufficient reason to the contrary; on pain of exclusion from the Church while they live, and from Christian burial when they die." Hard. vii. 35. *

In illustration of what is said about paying the confessing priest for absolution, M. Monastier (i. 108) cites the following notice from the Benedictine *Histoire Litteraire de France*, T. vii. pp. 5, 6, on that crying scandal in the xith century. "Au moyen de quelque somme d'argent, les plus grands pécheurs trouvaient des prêtres qui leur donnaient aisement l'absolution."

[1] L. 278, 279. Giesecler, ii. 288—291, dates the Franciscan Mendicants' rise A.D. 1209, that of the Dominicans 1220.

[2] From the 5th to the 10th century the nations, he intimates, were almost "without a language." Literature of South of Europe.

[3] See on this Mr. Cornewall Lewis' Essay on the Romaunt Languages, p. 19: an Essay which I have generally had before me in writing on this topic.

* The Toulouse Council of A.D. 1129, as given in Harduin vi. ii. 1149, may seem in its own province to have long anticipated on this point the 4th Lateran General Council; requiring, as it does, confession three times a year. But in comparing the record of it with that of the Toulouse Council in 1229, given in Hard. vii. 175, it will be seen pretty clearly that the former document, through some copyist's mistake in writing 1129 for 1229, has been printed where it stands erroneously. The heading to either is; "Hæc sunt statuta in Concilio apud Tolosam promulgata per Dominum Romanum Sancti Angeli Diaconum Cardinalem, Apostolicæ sedis legatum, Anno Domini MCXXIX [or MCCXXIX] mense Novembri." And the Canons on discipline are the same in either; including one ordaining inquisitors, one forbidding the laity to have Scriptures in the vulgar tongue: both which in 1129 would have been anachronisms.—I see that of 1129 is omitted in Nicholas' copious list of Councils.

the necessity of the conquerors and the conquered understanding each other: of the which, in consequence of the vastly superior numbers of the conquered indigenous in the land, the Latin was still the base; and which from them, as of Roman political connexion before the irruption, was called *Romance* or *Romaunt*.[1] By degrees it settled down in each country into a language of certain rules and grammar: still improving from its ruder form under Charlemagne and his son Louis,[2] to its more polished form in the time of the Troubadours and the Noble Lesson, in the xith and xiith centuries. It is the theory of Raynouard, that a language resulted which was for a while pretty much uniform in Gaul, Spain, and Italy;[3] viz. until the formation out of it in each, or first tendencies to formation,

[1] See ibid. pp. 30, 31. Also Ducange ad verb. Romanum.—The change undergone by the Latin, as Mr. C. Lewis states it, "was threefold: viz. *a change of structure* affecting the terminations and inflexions of nouns, participles, and pronouns, and the conjugations of verbs; *a change of syntax*, including the introduction of new idioms; and *the introduction of numerous foreign terms*, relating in great part to military and political subjects." p. 25.

Let me add an extract from Schlegel, cited by Mr. Lewis, p. 29. "Les conquerans barbares . . . trouvant dans les pays conquis une population toute Latine, ou selon l'expression du temps, *Romaine*, furent en effet forcés d'apprendre aussi le Latin, pour se faire entendre: mais ils le parlaient en general fort incorrectement: surtout ils ne savaient pas manier ces inflexions savantes, sur lesquelles repose toute la construction Latine. Les Romains, c'est à dire les habitans des provinces, à force d'entendre mal parler leur langue, en oublierent à leur tour les regles, et imiterent le jargon de leurs nouveaux maitres. Les desinences variables, étant employées arbitrairement, ne servoient plus qu'à embrouiller les phrases. On finit donc par les supprimer, et par tronquer les mots . . Mais ces desinences supprimées servoient à marquer . . la construction des phrases, et la liaison des idées. Il falloit donc y substituer une autre methode; et c'est ce qui donna naissance à la grammaire analytique."

Meanwhile *Latin* continued the language of literature, the law, and the Church.

[2] Let me exemplify from the oath taken by Louis of Bavaria, in the year 842, at Strasburgh, on occasion of his alliance with his brother Charles the Bald, against Lothaire.

ORIGINAL.	TRANSLATION.
"Pro Deo amor, et pro Christian poblo, et nostro commun salvamento, dist in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, salvareio cist meon fradre Karlo, et in adjudha et in cadhuna cosa, si com om per dreit son fradre salvar dist ino quid illimi altre se faret. Et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meum fradre Karle in damno sit."	"Pour l'amour de Dieu, pour l'intêret du peuple Chretien, et pour notre commune sureté, dorenavant, autant que Dieu me donne de savoir et de pouvoir, je defendrai ce mien frere Charles; lui donnant aide et secours, dans chaque querelle où il se trouvera engagé, comme un homme par droit est obligé de defendre son frere dans les torts qu'un autre lui ferait. Et je ne ferai aucun traité avec Lothaire, qui puisse être prejudiciable à mon frere Charles."

I copy from Blanchard, Beautés de l'Histoire de France; p. 93. The oath is also given by Michelet, Hist. de France, ch. 3; and alluded to by Mr. Lewis, p. 32.

[3] "Une langue Romane primitive, qui, par la decomposition de la langue des Romains, et l'etablissement d'un nouveau systeme grammatical, a fourni le type commun d'après lequel se sont successivement modifiés les divers idiomes de l'Europe Latine." T. ii. Introd. p. cxxxvii.

of the modern French, Spanish, and Italian respectively.[1] He illustrates by the fact recorded, that an Italian priest in Charlemagne's time understood the language spoken by a Spanish pilgrim whom he met in Germany.[2] But this only implies similarity of language, not identity. And it seems more natural and reasonable to suppose with Schlegel, and with Mr. Cornewall Lewis, that from the first, and throughout, the mixt Patois that arose in each country had its distinct varieties:[3]—the language of the conquering Teutonic bribes, whether Goths, Vandals, or Lombards, itself varying; their proportion to the inhabitants of the conquered country (though always that of a minority) being also variable; and peculiarities of state and circumstances, such as affect language, existing in each.

So much by way of preliminary. Now as to the language of the *Noble Lesson*. And on this it is Mr. Raynouard's exprest opinion that it is a distinct Romaunt dialect; distinct, from its origin in much earlier times.[4] What he says as to the distinctiveness of the dialect is well illustrated by his own various and many selections from the different dialects of the Romaunt: for those compositions which he classes as Vaudois, stand alone among them all, and by themselves. Admitting which fact, and that it was a dialect ancient in the xiith century, as well as distinct, the question suggests itself, *how*, and *where*, it might probably have both arisen, and been also preserved, in this its idiomatic peculiarity.

Before answering which question it may be well to advert to the ancient Romaunt version of the New Testament in the same dialect, of which, as well as of certain other Romaunt versions also, long hid in obscurity, Dr. Gilly has recently published such very interesting and valuable specimens.[5] The accordance of these both with historic tradition about the early Valdensic Lyonnese sectaries, and also

[1] See Lewis, pp. 35, 37. So that, on this view, as it has been said, the Romaunt would be the *mother*, the Latin the *grandmother*, to the three modern languages. ib. 6.

[2] Ib. 34. [3] See ib. pp. 4, 5; 7, 31, 44, &c.

[4] "Le langage me parait d'une epoque deja eloignée de sa formation. On y remarque la suppression de quelques consonnes finales: ce qui annonce que les mots de la langue, parlée depuis long temps, avaient deja perdu quelque chose de leurs desinences primitives." Monumens de la Langue Romane, p. cxxxvii.; cited by Muston i. 361.

[5] In his Romaunt Version of St. John.

with the Nobla Leycon, can scarce fail of striking each intelligent inquirer. We read in the historic chronicles of the xiith and xiiith centuries notices of Romaunt versions of the Scriptures, made or circulated by Peter Valdes and other Valdensic sectaries, in three different parts of France, and of course in the vernacular idiom of each, within 30 or 40 years of Peter's first evangelic movement: (the earliest versions ever made in the vernacular languages of Western Romano-Gothic Christendom:[1]) at Lyons about 1175:[2] at Metz about 1199;[3] at Toulouse,[4] and in Arragon of

[1] The earliest of the entire N. T. So Gilly, Rom. Vers. pp. x.—xvii.

[2] Echard thus narrates the making of this version, in his Sancti Thomæ Summa (ap. Le Long, p. 540), "Stephanus de Borbonne, .. says; 'The sect began in this manner, according to what I have heard from many persons who have seen the earlier members of it, and from that Priest Bernardus Idros, held in much respect, and rich in the city of Lyons, and a friend of our Order;—who, when he was young, and a scribe, wrote the earlier books which they possessed for the said Waldensis, in the Romaunt language (in *Romano*), for money; a certain grammarian called Stephanus de Ansa translating and dictating, who afterwards held a benefice in the principal Church of Lyons, and came to a sudden death by falling from the upper chamber of a house which he was building, and whom I have often seen. A certain rich man of the above city, called *Waldensis*, hearing the gospels, and not being very learned, but desiring to understand what they said, made an agreement with the said Priests, that the one should translate into the vulgar tongue, and the other write what he dictated: which they did. And so they proceeded with many books of the Bible; and with many Treatises of holy men, arranged under Titles, which they called Sentences.'"—Quoted in the Facts and Doc. p. 128, with a little abbreviation; by Gilly, Rom. Version p. xci. more fully, and in the original Latin.—Ivonet (ap. Charvaz, p. 462) gives a very similar report.

W. Mapes speaks of the presentation of these books to the Pope in 1179. "Vidimus in Concilio Romano sub Alexandro Papâ III celebrato (A.D. 1179) Valdesios, homines idiotas illiteratos, a Primate ipsorum Valde dictos, qui fuerat civis Lugduni super Rhodanum; qui Librum Domino Papæ præsentaverunt, linguâ conscriptum *Gallicâ*, in quo textus et glossa Psalterii, plurimorumque Legis utriusque librorum, continebatur." * Quoted by Gilly, ibid. xc. from Usher's Eccles. Success. c. viii. p. 112.

[3] Pope Innocent's Letter, (Ep. 141,) is addressed, "Ad Universos Christianos, tàm in Urbe Metensi quàm ejus Diocœsi constitutos," A.D. 1199; and contains the following passage. "Significavit nobis venerabilis frater noster Metensis Episcopus per literas suas, quod tàm in Diocœsi quàm in urbe Metensi, laicorum et mulierum multitudo non modica, tracta quodammodo desiderio Scripturarum, Evangelia, Epistolas Pauli, Psalterium, Moralia Jobi, et plures alios libros, sibi fecit in *Gallico* sermone transferri." Cited by Gilly, p. xx.

In Alberic's Chronicle on the year 1200 is the following. "In urbe Metensi, pullulante sectâ quæ dicitur *Valdensium*, directi sunt quidam Abbates ad prædicandum: qui quosdam libros de Latino in *Romanum* versos combusserunt, et prædictam sectam extirpaverunt." (Gilly ib. and Muston i. 190.) A passage referable doubtless to the translated books noted by Innocent; and fixing on the Waldenses as the translators.—And so Richinius. "Tertia causa (propagationis *Waldensium*) est Veteris ac Novi Testamenti in *vulgarem linguam* ab ipsis facta translatio; quæ quidem edita est in urbe *Metensi*. Unde Innocentius III mandavit Episcopo et Capitulo Metensi, ut diligenter inquirerent quis fuerit auctor ejusdem translationis, quæ intentio transferentis, &c.: ut constat ex Libro secundo ejus Epistolarum." Richinii *Dissert. de Valdensibus;* prefixed to Moneta's *De Valdensium Progressu.*

[4] Hard. vii. 178; the Council's 14th Canon forbidding the laity to possess the Scripture in Gaulik.—Fleury, H. E. lxxix. 57, says; "C'est la premiere fois que je

* In my p. 21 Note [1] suprà, I have already alluded to this translation.

Spain, before A.D. 1229.[1] And behold we have now brought under our eyes specimens of just such various though cognate versions, stamped with the impress of a corresponding antiquity: and of which, fiercely warred against as they were from the very first, and ever after, by the Popedom, the exceeding few copies still extant may be considered to have been preserved to us almost as by miracle. —Of *one*, marked 8086 in the Paris Library, the language, says, M. Raynouard, is the Provencal of the xiith century; the same as that of the Life of Alexis, and other Provencal writings of the same æra:[2] the *manuscript*, or *writing itself*, being before the middle of the xiiith century.[3]—Of *another*, in dialect corresponding with that of the Noble Lesson, three several copies exist, (the manuscripts themselves being of the xiiith, xivth, and xvth centuries,) in the Grenoble, Zurich, and Dublin libraries respectively: all three evidently from the same prototype; though with slight variations, such as might be expected from different revisions or re-copyings, in the course of the three centuries from Peter Valdes to A.D. 1522, the copyist's own date in the latest, or Dublin transcription.[4] Of these the Grenoble manuscript seems, as Dr. Gilly observes, to be the same that was in the Library of Aix in Provence at the beginning of the last century:[5] of the which M. Thomassin de Mazaugue wrote to Le Long, that it was in a language

trouve cette defense:" and apologizes for it from the exacerbation of spirit, arising out of the heretical movements. He seems to have overlooked or forgotten the *burning* of the books previously, in 1199, at Metz.

Vaissette, Hist. de Langued. with reference to the year 1237, says; "On trouvo dans les informations, . . ou dans les jugemens, . . que les heretiques, nommés vulgairement *Vaudois* dans le pais, lisoient l'Evangile *en langue vulgaire.*"

[1] "Statuimus ne aliquis libros Veteris vel Novi Testamenti in Romanico habeat;" is the statute of James of *Arragon;* implying the same thing there. Le Long. Bib. S. i. 361.

In this and the preceding Note I copy from Dr. Gilly, ibid. p. xxi.

[2] So Gilly p. xxvi. "Raynouard calls this (Paris No. 8086) Romance Provencal; and represents the dialect to be the same as that of the Roman de Janfre, . . Lo Libre de Vieis e de Vertuz, and the Vida de San Alexi." Which Life of Alexis was sung in the streets of Lyons, as we shall see at the beginning of my next Section, and was instrumental to Peter Valdes' conversion. See too Gilly lxvi.

[3] It has no division into Chapters. Now this division was made by Hugo de St. Victor about the middle of the xiiith Century. Facts and Doc. p. 132; Gilly xlix.

[4] See on these Dr. Gilly, pp. xxxi. &c., xlvii.—lii. lv. lvi. I have myself verified the substantial identity of the three versions; and also the identity of their dialect with that of the Noble Lesson. See my notice on this point in the Appendix.

[5] Gilly xxv. xxvi. li. Dr. G. has ascertained that there is no such copy in the *Aix* Library now.

partly Piedmontese, partly Provencal; and Le Long himself that it had been evidently in use among the Waldenses; the version of the Lord's Prayer being almost identical with that given in Leger.[1] As to the Dublin manuscript, it is one of the famous Usher collection, and thus known to have been brought from the Valdensic settlement in the Piedmontese valleys:[2] the very fact of its preservation, use, and re-copying in which settlement, sufficiently proves that it was in the dialect there understood and spoken.[3]

On the whole the following inferences seem to me to re-

[1] "Codicem imperfectum Scripturarum in linguâ partim Pedemontanâ, partim Provinciali, quo antiquitus usi sunt Waldenses." So Mazauque, ap. Gilly xxvi.

[2] See my Note [6] p. 362 suprà; also Gilly ib. xxiii. xxiv.

[3] Another Paris MS., numbered 6833, is the N. T. in Catalan Romaunt. The copyist's own date is written, 1461 A.D. It is a transcription apparently from one much older, but with many alterations.—There is a curious agreement in it with a story in Reiner.* He says that the ignorant laymen among the heretics had translated *sui*, in John i. 11, as *sues:* so making the sense, "He came to swine (porcos)," instead of "He came to his own." So in this MS.; "En les *sues* propres coses vench, e los *sues* non raberan aquell." Of course *sucs* is only the proper Catalan Romaunt for the Latin *sui*, his own. It is a specimen of Reiner's misrepresentations.—Dr. Gilly, from whom I abstract, at p. lxx gives a Fac-simile; and at p. lxxv, judges that this was probably a version used by some of the Albigensian separatists. This seems doubtful.

Leger, i. 26, speaks of a copy of the *Noble Lesson*, as "written on parchment in *the old Gothic letter*." Dr. Gilly, in his Wald. Researches, seems at first, p. 59, to follow him in this point; afterwards, p. 138, he expresses doubt as to Leger's correctness; the Geneva copy, as he observes, being in quite a different character. Nor is there reason to suppose the character of the lost Cambridge copy of the Noble Lesson other than of the Genevese. Had it been *Gothic*, a *Spanish Catalan* local circulation of the Noble Lesson would be inferable: and also a new argument for the earlier antiquity of the Noble Lesson; the Gothic character having been for centuries used in Spain, but superseded at the *opening* of the xiith century (A.D. 1117) by the authoritative order of the Council of Toledo.†

As to the *Catalan* Romaunt *dialect*, its similarity not to the Provencal only, (a resemblance the more natural, as the South of France was for above a century ruled by *Visi-Gothic* kings,) but on many points even to the *Waldensian* Romaunt, struck me, on comparing that of the Noble Lesson with that of the Cronica del Rey en Pere, by B. D'Esclot, given in Buchon's Chroniques Etrangers, p. 566 et seq.; a Chronicle about events in which the writer bore a part, from 1207 to 1285, in the Old Castellan of the xiiith century. But on other points the distinction will appear.—Hence I do not see it needful to look so particularly to what may have been a *Catalan* version of the Scriptures, in my present inquiry. Suffice it to remember that the Waldensic missionaries had a Spanish version in Spain; as well as others in the vernacular languages of other districts where they preached or settled.

* Maitland notices this, Facts and Doc. 402.

† "*Gothica* littera, quæ et *Toletana*, . . quam Gulfilas Gothorum episcopus adinvenit; ut auctor est Jornandes de Reb. Getic. Isodorus in Chronico; 'Gulfilas Gothicas litteras adinvenit; et Scripturas sacras in eandem linguam convertit.' Hâc Hispani usi sunt, donec abrogata est à Bernardo Toletano Primate in Concilio Toletano A.D. 1117; in quo statutum ut *litteris Gallicis* uterentur." So Ducange on *Litera Gothica*.—Horne gives a specimen of the ancient Gothic character in the 2nd Vol. of his Introduction to the Scriptures; in a fac-simile from a Gothic Palimpsest of the New Testament, discovered by Cardinal Mai.

M'Crie dates the supercession of the *Gothic Missal* in Spain by the *Roman*, A.D. 1068. (Reform. in Spain, pp. 21—25.) And so Gilly, Wald. p. 60 from Mariana.—Compare Harduin vi. i. 1075; vi. ii. 1691—1694; and Mosh. xi. 2. 4. 1.

sult, bearing upon our present points of inquiry :—1st that the Paris manuscript 8086 may probably be the original primary Romaunt New Testament version, made under Peter Valdes' own direction at Lyons : its dialect being the Provencal *there* and *then* known and spoken ; and its writing almost correspondingly early, ere the midde of the xiiith century :[1]—2. that from *this*, as a common prototype, various other versions, in the various more or less differing dialects of the districts they travelled to, and stopt in, were made, not without careful revision and correction, by the Lyonnese missionaries that wandered Northward and Southward ; whether towards Metz in the one direction, or Toulouse and Arragon in another, or yet elsewhere :—3. that it was by some that stopt in the valleys of the Dauphinese Alps, and Dioceses of Aix and Embrun, as noted in Pope Innocent's Letter of 1199, that the version represented by the Grenoble, Zurich, and Dublin manuscripts was first made ;[2] the language of these manuscripts being a mixture of Provencal and Piedmontese, as if in a district such as Dauphiny, intermediate between Provence and Piedmont :—4. that the Noble Lesson was composed by some writer, or writers, of the same Lyonnese Valdensic missionary band, in the same sub-Alpine valleys of Dauphiny, very shortly after the New Testament translation last-mentioned, and ere the conclusion of the xiith century :—5. that copies both of this New Testament version, and of the Poem of the Noble Lesson, were carried across the Alps into Piedmont and Lombardy, by missionaries of the same sect travelling farther eastward ; and that they were still retained and used by them, both then and afterwards ; as being in a dialect spoken as well in the sub-Alpine districts of Piedmont as of Dauphiny :—6. that the comparative insulation and seclusion of the Alpine valleys of Dauphiny and Piedmont, may account both for the previous formation of a distinct Romaunt dialect there ; and also for its preservation, nearly unaltered, for some three centuries and more afterwards, in the Valdensic Pied-

[1] See my p. 376, Notes [2] and [3].

[2] Perhaps by P. Valdes himself: if Milner, p. 535, infers correctly from Thuanus that "he retired [for a while] into Dauphiny."—On Innocent's Letter see my p. 354.

montese settlements; settlements made, from soon after 1250, in the valleys beneath Mounts Viso and Genevre.

I believe that the various conditions of the case of the Nobla Leycon, and the several Scripture Romaunt manuscript versions now associated with it, will be thus accounted for; in strict accordance with all the best extant historical notices that bear upon the point.—As regards the *Lyonnese*-Valdensic authorship of the Noble Lesson, which is one of our inferences, we must not forget the obvious corroborative evidence in the poem itself, from its mention of *Vaudes* as the reproachful appellation given, at the time of its composition, to those who composed or accorded with it; which term of reproach, we have seen it stated in history, was given at precisely the same epoch to the *Lyonnese* Valdensic sectarians distinctively:[1]—also that of P. Valdes and his followers having been said to write Tracts in the Romaunt, (whether in prose or verse,) for distribution;[2] such as might be this. Besides that the views of religious life and doctrine exprest in the poem, are on various points strikingly accordant with what contemporary history ascribes to these same Valdensic Leonists.[3] Which subject however, as one that belongs rather to my next Section, on

[1] See p. 368.

[2] This is noted by Stephen of Borbonne; "In like manner Peter Valdes had translated many books of the Bible, and authorities of the Fathers, which they cal *Sentences:*" also by Innocent the Third, in his Letter, dated 1199, to the Christians of Metz: both before cited, p. 375. "Evangelia," he writes, "et *plures alios libros*, sibi fecit in Gallico sermone transferri."—So also Lucas de Tuy, in the Chapters headed, "Arnaldus hæreticus sanctorum Patrum scripta corrumpit;" and, "Hæretici schedas continentes hæresim in populum occultè spargunt." Lib. iii. ch. 17, 18. B. P. M. xxv. 247, 248. This last with reference to the xiiith century.*

[3] I will here only hint a few particulars in the Noble Lesson, resembling what is recorded of the Valdensic Lyonnese.

1. The praise of voluntary poverty, without any general or direct injunction of it, l. 277—279, &c.; accordantly with the division of the Lyonnese into the *Perfect*, or *Poor Men Proper*, devoted to voluntary poverty and a missionary life; and *the rest*, under no such obligation. So Ivonet, ap. Gieseler, 401.

2. The notice of virginity, as recommended in the new law; yet with praise also of marriage as a noble compact, l. 243, 88: just as by the missionaries of the Lyonnese the former state was often chosen in preference. So Reiner and Ivonet, ibid.

3. The notices of the charge on the apostles to preach to all nations; as if that which had devolved on a succession afterwards, whereof they, the sectaries of the Noble Lesson, formed part: (l. 355—360, &c.:) which notion of apostolic missionary duty is noted as a Lyonnese Valdensic characteristic from the Lateran Council of 1179 downwards. See Ivonet ibid.†

* I shall in my next Section give an extract from the report of Lucas de Tuy on this subject. The *Sentences* were, I suppose, for general circulation and reading.

† See too my next Section.

the *religious character* of the Waldenses, than to the present, I can here only glance at.

But is it the case then that the evidence to be found in the Nobla Leycon, on the points we have been inquiring into, circumscribes itself within the chronological æra dating from the rise of Peter Valdes; and offers no indication, accordantly with other evidence noticed in the preceding part of this Section, as to witnesses of cognate spirit for Christ and Christian truth, in contrast with Romish error, having taught before him? By no means. "After the Apostles," says our Poem, "were *certain teachers;* who showed *the way of Jesus Christ* our Saviour. And of these there are found some *even to the present time:* but they are manifest to very few persons. These would greatly wish to show the way of Jesus Christ; but they are so persecuted that they can scarcely do it. So much are false Christians blinded by error; most of all their pastors: &c." [1]—Now in this we have to remark, 1st, that there is no mention of Peter Valdes and the Lyonnese revival: though, surely, had his preaching of evangelic doctrine, in contrast with that of the Romish Church, been so complete a novelty, after an interval of ages, as Bossuet and Maitland would represent it, it is most unlikely that *so extraordinary a religious discovery and revival* would have been passed over in silence by the Noble Lesson.—Moreover, 2ndly, and instead of any such representation, it is implied in the quotation that there had been a continuous transmission of the same apostolic doctrine and life, that the Poem taught and enjoined, though by a line of but few teachers, and those persecuted for it, from the date of certain that had followed next after Christ's own Apostles, down to the time then present.—Further, 3rdly, it seems otherwise inferable

4. The repugnance to swearing, l. 369, and also the pure morals of the Noble Lesson; the same as of the Lyonnese, according to Reiner, &c.

5. Their common recognition of the Roman Church as false and corrupt. l. 398, 460.

6. The Poem's specification of Sylvester, l. 409, as the Pope under whom first the Romish corruptions began: just as the Lyonnese Valdensic sectaries spoke of him, according to Reiner, Pilichdorf, &c.*

[1] Lines 355—362.

* In the lines 14, 15, "Therefore we ought the more to fear, since we are not certain whether death will overtake us to-day or to-morrow," we may be reminded of Peter Valdes' own conversion, resulting in part from the sudden death of one of his friends. So Reiner reports it. See the beginning of my next Section.

from the Noble Lesson, that the very people addressed in it, (the same that, about the end of the xiith century, spoke its peculiar Alpine Romaunt dialect,) were with this evangelic and anti-Romish line not unconnected. For they are styled at the commencement of the Poem, *Brethren*:[1] their faults are spoken of in it as those, not of Romish error, but rather of religious lukewarmness and worldliness;[2] there being not a single exhortation to them to come out from Rome, and be separate: while, on the contrary, the Romanists are mentioned distinctly and contrastedly, as the evil race, given to idolatry, &c.[3]—Let me add that we may, perhaps, infer both from the character of the Poem, and its self-given title of a *Lesson* or *Lectio*, that it was written not merely as a manual for private perusal among these Dauphinese Alpine Christians, but for reading in their *church-assemblies*;[4]—assemblies in this case, we might presume, already prepared in the district for such readings.[5]

And here I bring my present argument and Section to a close. Each kind of evidence that we have consulted, *historical*, *traditionary*, *documentary*, connected with the origin and early Italian domiciliation of the Lyonnese sectaries, points to the same conclusion.—And this is, that

[1] "Hear, *Brethren*, a Noble Lesson!"

[2] "We Christians, unworthy the name of Christians, who have sinned and abandoned the law of Jesus Christ, (for we have neither fear, nor faith, nor charity,) ought to confess our sins without delay; amending ourselves with weeping and penitence, in respect to the offences which have been done through three mortal sins, viz. the lust of the eyes, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life; through which we have done ill." Lines 423 et seq.

[3] "Though the saying be hard to be received by the evil race, who love silver and gold; who despise the promises of God; who keep not his laws and commandments; nor suffer any good people to keep them, but rather hinder them according to their power." Line 50 et seq.

[4] So Sigebert. "Carolus Imperator per manum Pauli Diaconi sui decerpens optima quæque de scriptis Catholicorum Patrum, *Lectiones* unicuique Festivitati convenientes per circulum anni in Ecclesiâ legendas compilari fecit." Ap. Ducange ad verb. *Lectio*. See too Martene.—The term *Lection*, or *Church Lesson*, is still perpetuated in our own ritual. A word this of the same meaning originally as *legenda*, the word adopted for its Church readings by the Romanists. But, as there was not the same misuse of them by the Protestant, the word *Lesson* has not obtained the same ill fame as *Legend*. See p. 161 suprà

[5] The number of such Churches in Dauphiny and Italy, early in the xiiith century, is a point noticed in the Letters of Innocent III already referred to, p. 354, 357 suprà.

while, on the one hand, the idea of any Valdensic Sect, of primitive evangelic faith, having as a body from the times of Pope Sylvester, Pope Gregory, or even Claude of Turin, colonized the present Piedmontese Valdensic valleys, under Mounts Viso and Genevre, is a fond conceit, not supportable by any real trustworthy evidence,—yet, on the other hand, there exists good evidence in proof, that when the Lyonnese Valdensic sectaries came flying into Dauphiny, and then into Piedmont and Lombardy, towards the end of the xiith century,[1] they found there, just as in Languedoc also and Catalonia Westward, and in Northern France, Belgium, and Germany Northward, other sectaries prepared to receive, welcome, and unite with them:—dissidents of course of kindred spirit, though greatly needing the reviving help of the Lyonnese, fresh with their Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; and through the religious ancestors of which dissidents that line of apostolic missionaries, of which the Noble Lesson spoke, had been previously perpetuated.

Do we ask *which*, and *who?* Of course at this point our minds will turn back to the notices previously drawn out of witnessing bodies for Christian truth prior to Peter Valdes, in various parts of Italy, France, Belgium, Germany. More especially, with regard to *Languedoc* and *Dauphiny*, we shall remember *Henry of Lausanne*, (himself in a manner a Vaudois, by residence in that city,[2]) the chief of the *Henrician* sectaries in Southern France, about A.D. 1144; and *Peter de Bruys*, the head of the cognate *Petrobrussian* sect, in nearly the same parts, just before him:[3]

[1] ". . . . in Provinciæ terrâ, et Lombardiæ, *cùm aliis hæreticis se admiscentes*, et errorem eorum bibentes et serentes, hæretici sunt judicati." Stephen of Borbonne, cited before, p. 357.

"Lugduno fugientes ad ultimas Delphinatûs partes se transferentes in Ebredunensi et Taurinensi Diocæsibus, in Alpibus, et intrà concava montium accessu difficilia, plures ibi ex illis habitaverunt." Inquisitor Anon. De Valdens. ap. Allix, p. 324. A passage very illustrative on this point, and which will be found cited more fully p. 390 infrà.—So too Thuanus. (Faber, 512, 521.)

With which compare the Decretal Epistle of Innocent III, referred to p. 354 suprà, addressed in 1199 to the Prelates of Narbonne, Aix, Vienne, Arles, *Embrun*, Tarascon, and Lyons, with their several suffragans: "We have heard that in your province certain persons called Waldenses, Cathari, Patarini, and by other names, have pullulated to so vast an extent, as to entangle in the snare of their error an innumerable multitude of people." Ib. 519.

[2] He was originally an Italian, we saw, but stopt at Lausanne some considerable time before entering France. See my pp. 284, 362. So too Spondanus.

[3] The following notice of Dauphinese sectaries 20 years only before Peter Valdes

—each professing to be in connexion with Christ's *true* Church, contradistinctively to the Romish Church established; and as of an Apostolic line, traceable back to the Apostles.[1]—Also, with reference to *Lombardy* and *Piedmont*, we shall bethink us of sectaries of probably similar character, about A.D. 1030, near Turin.[2] And as the effect of the personal labours of Claude of Turin, the great Protestant of the 9th century, in separating a body of dissentients from the corruptions of the apostate Church in Piedmont, (as told of by his antagonist Dungal,)[3] could not in the nature of things have ended with that century, but must, humanly speaking, have had perpetuation in the 10th,[4]—we shall surely see reason to feel persuaded that among those Piedmontese that joined the Lyonnese missionary bands, at the close of the 12th century, there were some of the lineal religious descendants from Claude of Turin, four centuries before them: the intermediate disciples being indeed "manifest but to few persons," as the Noble Lesson says; but yet the line of perpetuation continuous, there, as well as elsewhere.[5]—Nor finally shall we fail to remember, as the histories of the Turin, Orleans, and Arras heretics pass retrospectively before us,[6] that there was help given towards

addressed to Pope Lucius II. A.D. 1144, will show how many must there have been prepared to receive him. The writer speaks in it of a religious community in Dauphiny, "which had its divers degrees, its neophytes, its priests, and even its bishops; and which maintained that sins are not remitted by the mere sprinkling of water in baptism; and that the eucharist and the imposition of hands, administered by the Romish clergy, availed nothing. Every part of France," it concludes, "is polluted by the poison issuing from this region." Given in Martene and Durand, Ampliss. Coll. Quoted by Gilly in his Life of Neff, p. 95.

M. Charvaz, p. 259, suggests that the Noble Lesson may have been the work of a Petrobrussian.

[1] So Peter of Clugny, as we saw, and Bernard of the Petrobrussians and Henricians. See pp. 282, 301 suprà.—In order to satisfaction as to the general agreement of the Petrobrussians and the Waldenses, it may be well to compare the charges by Peter of Clugny against the former, there abstracted by me, with those by Pilichdorf against the latter, in the B. P. M. xxv. 277—307.

[2] See pp. 245, 246 suprà, from Landulf.

[3] See p. 238, 239 suprà. Jonas notes the fact of the poison of his doctrine having extended to *Germans* and *Gauls*, as well as *Italians*. Ibid.

[4] The Prior Rorenco's testimony goes thus far at least. See p. 360 Note [5] suprà.

[5] So, very much, the Marquis Costa de Beauregard, as cited already, p. 247: only that he would admit these religious descendants of Claude to have had a more fixt domicile in the Piedmontese mountain valleys, in the long interval, than I find evidence for.

[6] The *Turin* teachers could not tell whence they (i. e. their sect, I suppose) had come. The *Orleans* and *Arras* propagandists, though of Paulikian origin, it is said, yet came from the borders of Italy. See pp. 246, 270, 275 suprà.

its perpetuation, at the time of most urgent need in the 11th century, by the intervention of teachers of *other* and *foreign* original; the infusion, if I might so say, of *Eastern Paulikian* into the then almost failing *native* Christian blood.[1]

[1] Let me here notice a document that has been often quoted in proof of this selfsame point, but erroneously. It professes to be an extract from a manuscript Chronicle of the Abbey of Corvey,* in date referring to the *first half* of the xiith century; and is as follows.

"Religionem nostram, et omnium Latinæ ecclesiæ Christianorum fidem, laici ex Suaviâ, Suiciâ, et Bavariâ humiliare voluerunt:—homines seducti ab antiquâ progenie simplicium hominum, qui Alpes et vicinium habitant, et semper amant antiqua. In Suaviam, Bavariam, et Italiam sæpe intrant illorum (ex Suiciâ) mercatores: qui Biblia ediscunt memoriter, et ritus ecclesiæ aversantur, quos credunt esse novos. Nolunt imagines venerari; reliquias sanctorum aversantur; olera comedunt; rarò masticantes earnem, alii nunquam. Appellamus eos ideirco Manichæos. Horum quidam ab Hungariâ ad eos convenerunt," &c.

Mr. Hallam,† after quoting the above from Planta's Helvetic Confederacy, Vol. i. p. 92, observes; "It is a pity that the quotation has been broken off; as it might have illustrated the connexion of the Bulgarians with these (Alpine) sectaries." To myself it appeared still more to be regretted that Planta had not stated *the authority* on which he gave it as an extract from the Chronicle of Corvey, and shown its *authenticity* and *genuineness*. For, on considering the manner in which it told on all the great debated questions respecting the Waldenses and Paulikians, the antiquity of the former before 1160, i. e. before Peter Valdes,—their Alpine residence from time immemorial,—their simple and primitive evangelic sentiments,—their union and communion with other sectaries that had come from Hungary (i. e. Paulikians),—and the fact of the *Manichean* charge having been only made against them because of their adoption generally of a diet of herbs,—the passage seemed to me almost *too much* to the point, and so open to grave suspicion. With some difficulty I traced the quotation from Planta to Müller's History of Switzerland; and found that the latter had borrowed it from Harenberg's *Monumenta Historica adhuc inedita*:—which *Harenberg* held the respectable station of Inspector of Schools in the Duchy of Brunswick, about the middle of last century; and had access to the manuscript Chronicle from which the extract professes to have been taken.—The circumstance of his having committed himself in a Dissertation that I met with, written expressly in support of the antiquity of the Waldenses, but in which this striking evidence in favour of his proposition was unnoticed, increased my suspicions.—Unable myself to inspect the manuscript in question, I was so fortunate as to open a communication on the subject, through the intervention of a literary relative, with *Dr. Pertz*, author of the great Work, at that time uncompleted, of the *Monumenta Germaniæ*, and principal Librarian to the King of Hanover: the very person of all others from whom to obtain correct information on the point; as having had free access to this manuscript of Corvey among others, and made use of it for his Monumenta Germaniæ. He at once, on seeing the extract, declared it a *forgery;* and confirmed the judgment by a subsequent personal examination of the manuscript. He writes, that in Harenberg's Work (p. 77) the extract is given as from the *Second Continuation* of the Chronicle of Corvey: that not only this extract, but the whole of what he calls the *Second Continuation*, was *invented by Harenberg;* that Harenberg's character was well known in Hanover as a *literary impostor;* that the particular forgery was denounced, not long after publication, by Scheidt (Editor of the *Origines Guelforum*,) in his Review of Harenberg's Work in the *Gottingenische Gelehrte Anzeigen* of 1759, pp. 777, 778: also that he

* There were two *Corveys*, each with its Abbey; one near *Amiens*, founded in A.D. 662 by Clothaire III, and which was called *Old Corbie;*—the other in *Westphalia* on the Weser, near Paderborn; the Abbey of which was founded by Louis le Debonnaire A.D. 822, and called *New Corbie*. It is to this last that the manuscript belonged.

† Middle Ages, Vol. iii. p. 468.

With which recollections, and the necessarily consequent inference as to the far-reaching retrospective effect of all true evidence concerning the *religious doctrine* and *character* of the Waldenses, in this their enlarged and mixt form, at the opening of the xiiith century, proceed we now to our inquiry into this matter. It is to be the subject of my next Section.

§ 7.—TRUE WITNESS-CHARACTER AND DOCTRINE OF THE ENLARGED WALDENSIAN BODY, FROM THE OPENING OF THE XIIITH CENTURY, AND AFTERWARDS.

It is of the enlarged Valdensic body, as stated in the heading of this Section, that I have now succinctly to sketch *the religious doctrine* and *character*:—an enlargement already begun, and in progress, at the opening of that xiiith century to which our present inquiry specially refers; 1st, by the diffusion of its missionaries in every direction from Lyons, alike into other parts of France, and into Italy, Spain, Belgium, Germany, Bohemia;[1] 2ndly, by their union in many places with certain other dissentients.[2] (I say discriminatingly, with *certain* others, not with all.[3]) So

(Dr. Pertz) would feel himself obliged to denounce the forgery in his Preface to the *Annales Corbeinses*, printed at the beginning of the 5th Volume of *Monumenta Germaniæ*:—an intention which I see he has since carried into effect.

Since instituting this inquiry I have found that, besides *Müller*, *Planta*, and *Hallam*, the quotation has been given and reasoned on, as genuine, by *Muston*, in his *Histoire des Vaudois*, p. 263, and others.

[1] Thuanus says that Peter Valdes himself, after leaving Lyons, sojourned and made disciples successively in Picardy, Belgium, and N. Germany; then finally settled in Bohemia. So Leger i. 156, and Faber, Wald. and Alb. pp. 511, 512; both citing from Thuanus. Dubravius, ap. Gretser, B. P. M. xxiv. 1521, speaks of these Bohemian Valdenses as continued to Huss' time, and beyond.

[2] See Stephen of Borbonne's statement, p. 357 suprà. The case of Arnold Hot acting as the champion of the common Albigensic and Valdensic cause at Pamiers is an example; supposing Faber's view correct, (p. 514,) as to Arnold being a Lyonnese Vaudois.—Reiner speaks of *Waldensian bishops* in Lombardy, probably of other intermixt and united sectaries. B. P. M. xxv. 266.

[3] Let my readers never forget this fact of the Leonist Valdenses' *discriminatory amalgamation with other sectaries*, when considering the Valdensic question.

Romish anti-Protestant controversialists have taken two courses in regard to the Waldenses. Some, with Richini and Gretser,* would make the Leonist-Valdenses to have been a mixture of all heretics; so as to throw the slur of all other heretical evil and error on *them*. Others, with Bossuet, would keep the Valdenses altogether distinct from *all* others; so as to cut off all other previous sectaries from benefitting

* "Valdensium nomen non peculiare alicujus sectæ aut hæreseos; sed *commune omnium* à sæculo duodecimo." So Richinius. And Gretser calls them "nihil aliud quàm *variarum sectarum fœdissima colluvies*." So B. P. M. xxiv. 1522.

that WALDENSES became thenceforth a kind of generic name, including more than those of direct Lyonnistic origin; though of course with the main Lyonnistic character, as well as Lyonnistic appellation, stamped everywhere on the enlarged and mixt body. Hence the double importance of ascertaining the real religious character and doctrine of these sectaries, as now unfolded or unfolding itself. Let it be understood that it is a total mistake to suppose, so as some have done,[1] that no such direct impeachment of the Valdensic orthodoxy was ever made by well-informed persons, as of that of the earlier Paulikians. The Abbot Joachim, about the year 1200, like Pope Innocent his contemporary,[2] must be considered to have included *Waldenses* under the name *Paterini*, when charging the latter with *Manichæan* errors and abominations.[3] The learned Jesuit Gretser too, some 400 years later, after making the Waldensic question a special subject of his investigation and study, has directly asserted that they were *Manichæans*.[4]

by a union with Valdenses. Dr. S. R. Maitland has followed Bossuet in the latter view.—The well authenticated historic fact noted by me is an answer to both.

[1] "What writer, who knew anything of the Waldenses, ever charged *them* with Manicheism? It is easy to make men of straw and vanquish them." So Dr. S. R. Maitland, Facts and Doc. p. 133.—In his subsequent Reply to Mr. King, p. 60, he refers again to the point; and intimates that it was only when "living together, and fighting together," that they "were confounded under common names."

[2] "Quosdam qui *Valdenses*, Cathari, et *Patareni* dicuntur." So in 1199.

[3] Viz. in his explanation of the 5th Trumpet woe. "Who the scorpion-locusts," says he, "but the *Pathareni*, the modern Manichees?" What Joachim says of their using the "authorities of Scripture," and of their antiquity, "Diu est quod confecta fuit secta illa; nescimus à quo fuerit inchoata vel aucta," compared with what Reiner says of the antiquity of the Valdenses,—his statement too of their division into *Perfecti* and *Credentes*, so as the Leonists (see Note [2] p. 379),—and also the fact of the Leonists having sent a missionary colony into Apulia near Calabria, where Joachim lived, (the Albigenses having previously sent one into Calabria, vainly designated as Manichees,)—all mark a *Valdensic* allusion.*

[4] B. P. M. xxiv. 1522; "Waldenses quos aliqui etiam *Arrianos*, aliqui *Manichæos* appellant, quia et illorum et horum errores amplectabantur; saltem nonnulli ex illis."

* So, as to the latter, Thuanus: "Pars in *Calabriam* concessit;" Vol. i. p. 7, ap. Faber 526; and, as to the *former*, the citation from the Anonymous Inquisitor, given p. 390 infrà.

These Calabrian Vaudois subsisted to the time of Pius IV. See M'Crie, Reform. in Italy, pp. 6, 300, &c. They seem to have crost before the year 1225 into Sicily. So the Constitution of the emperor Frederic II; "Ab Italiæ finibus, præsertim à partibus Longobardiæ, . . jam usque ad regnum nostrum Siciliæ, suæ perfidiæ rivulos derivarunt." Hard. vii. 372.

For the date of this Constitution by Frederic, on which Dr. Maitland doubts, Facts and Doc. 205, is clearly A.D. 1225: seeing that it is dated the 12th year of the Indiction, i. e. either 1225 or 1239, each included in Frederic's reign. And, as Innocent IV, citing it in 1244, the 1st year of his Pontificate, (he was Pope from 1243 to 1254,) speaks of it as issued *quondam* by Frederic, (i. e. some considerable time before,) the later date seems set aside.

Somewhat curiously we have on this particular charge the direct contemporary counter-testimony of William of Puy Laurens; stating that, instead of uniting with sectaries of Arian-like or Manichæan principles, "they disputed against such most vehemently." [1] And other evidence in disproof abounds.—But, as in the Paulikian case, it will not be enough to show the absurdity and malignity of a charge like this. We must endeavour, after accurate investigation into the real Waldensic religious doctrines and life, to show them to have been such as to entitle them to the character of *Witnesses for Christ*. Very thankful may we be, in making it, that we have here not mere enemies' reports, so as once before, but also doctrinal writings of the sectaries' own, to consult in evidence. These, both the one and the other, shall be duly brought forward in our inquiry. But not however until after having considered the distinctive religious spirit and character of the Leonistic sect's first originator, Peter Valdes: seeing that his spirit and character could scarcely but have been in considerable measure imprest upon the sect formed by him; and therefore essentially illustrative of the point in hand.

1. As regards *Peter Valdes* then, whose history and acting as the Leonists' first founder we have in the preceding Section only noted nakedly and critically, the following particulars, related of his conversion and forming of the sect, bear on the point before us, and so call for direct notice. (My authorities are the Laon Chronicle, Stephen of Borbonne, Reiner, Ivonet.) [2]—It is stated that, like

[1] See p. 357 Note [2].

[2] Reiner is in the B. P. M. xxv. 262. The extract from the Chronicle of Laon, I here subjoin from Dr. Gilly's Romaunt Version of St. John, Introd. p. xciv.

"Currente adhuc anno eodem Incarnationis, 1173, fuit apud Lugdunum Galliæ civis quidam Valdesius nomine, qui per iniquitatem fœnoris multas sibi pecunias coacervaverat. Is quâdam die Dominicâ, cum declinasset ad turbam quam ante joculatorem viderat congregatam, ex verbis ipsius compunctus fuit; et eum ad domum suam deducens, intensè eum audire curavit. Fuit enim locus narrationis ejus, qualiter beatus Alexis in domo patris sui beato fine quievit. Facto mane, civis memoratus ad scholas Theologiæ consilium animæ suæ quæsiturus properavit: et de multis modis eundi ad Deum edoctus, quæsivit à Magistro quæ via aliis omnibus certior esset, atque perfectior. Cui Magister Dominicam sententiam proposuit: '*Si vis esse perfectus, vade et vende omnia quæ habes*,' &c. Et ad uxorem veniens, dedit ei optionem ut sibi mobilia, vel immobilia, omnium quæ habebat in terris et aquis, nemoribus et pratis, in domibus, redditibus, et vineis, nec non in molendinis et furnis, eligeret retinendum: quæ licet multum contristata, quia id facere oportuit, immo-

Zacchæus of old, he had not made his large fortune altogether without unjust and usurious gains.[1] The first thing that would seem to have awakened him to other and more solemn thoughts, was the sudden death before his eyes of one of his friends and fellow-citizens.[2] It was an impression solemn and deep as with Luther three centuries afterwards. In this state of mind, apparently, his attention was arrested one Sabbath day by the song of a pilgrim-minstrel in the streets of Lyons, rehearsing the story of the happy peaceful death of St. Alexis. He heard him with intense interest; took home the minstrel, that he might again hear and converse with him on the thrilling subject: then on the next day went to the schools of Theology, to ask what the way by which he might most certainly go to God.[3] In Luther's case, three centuries later, (in preparation for the work God intended for him,) the strong impulse on the mind under similar anxiety was to enter a monastery.[4] In Peter's the advice given was that by Christ to the rich young man, "If thou wouldest be perfect, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and follow me!" With a decision equal to Luther's, he received, and determined instantly to follow it. But then came a new thought to his mind. It was not merely poverty in respect of the bread that perisheth, under which those about him were suffering; but poverty also in their ignorance of the bread of life. And how could he fully follow Christ, but by teaching them the gospel? So (a due provision having been first made for his wife and daughters) and the larger part of his wealth been distributed to the poor, he employed what remained, so as was fully stated in my preceding Section, in a translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue; multiplying copies of the translation; and preparing associates, imbued and furnished with them, for evangelists.[5]—Can we possibly overrate the importance of this, in determining the future Christian and scriptural cha-

bilibus hæsit. Is vero, de mobilibus, iis à quibus injuste habuerat reddidit. Magnam vero partem pecuniæ suis duabus parvulis filiabus contulit; quas, matre earum ignorante, ordine Fontis-Evraldi mancipavit. Maximam vero partem in usus pauperum expendit." Chronicon Anonymi Laudunensis, ap. Recueil des Hist. Vol. xiii. p. 680.

[1] So the Chronicon. [2] Reiner, p. 264. [3] Chronicon Laud.

[4] See pp. 92, 93 suprà. [5] See pp. 375, 376 suprà.

racter of the sect? Let me illustrate by contrast. When Francis d'Assisi rose up, some 30 or 40 years after, the joint champion with Dominic of Rome's established Church, against the then widely-extended and influential sect of these self-same Poor men of Lyons, he too, like Peter, laid down *poverty* and *preaching* as duties of his order.[1] But, instead of making holy Scripture the rule of his acting, he yielded himself from the first to the direction of natural enthusiasm, and dreams, and visions; and so prepared his followers to be, like himself, visionaries and enthusiasts, instead of simple sound-minded evangelists. As naturally followed, they took not Christ, speaking in his word, for their chief and head. The fundamental rule of the Order was made implicit obedience to the Roman Pope;[2] and, agreeably with Romish teaching, their favourite object of devotion the Lady Mary, Queen of the whole Angelarchy of the Papal heaven.[3]

Valdes himself, in the first instance, no more thought of separating from Rome and the Popedom, than Luther in *his* first essays as a Reformer, afterwards.[4] He even went, as we have seen, in 1179 to Rome; with the full expectation of having his translations of the Scripture, and his missionary proceedings and preachings, sanctioned by the Pope.[5] But soon, like Luther, he found that Scripture circulation, and pure gospel-preaching, was what Rome could not endure. Persecution arose against him. He wandered forth an exiled missionary in one direction, still acting the evangelist, while his associates, two and two, wandered forth in others: and seems, after other peregrinations, to have finally ended his mortal career in Bohemia.[6] —A career truly glorious! He had finished his course: he had kept the faith. Nor this alone. His example remained to his followers in every part of Christendom. It incul-

[1] See Gieseler ii. 287—298, Mosheim xiii. 2. 2. 25, 26; also Sir James Stephens' very graphic and interesting sketch of St. Francis, in his Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography. It was in one of Francis' later visions that he had the five wounds of Christ impressed on his body!!

[2] "Inter omnia, et super omnia, fidem Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ servandam .. censebat, in quâ salus consistit omnium salvandorum." So Celanus, Francis' companion and biographer, ap. Gieseler ib. 289.

[3] Maria degli Angeli.

[4] See about Luther my pp. 117—120 suprà.

[5] So Walter Mapes and Stephen of Borbonne, cited pp. 352, 353 suprà.

[6] Thuanus, as already a little before noticed, p. 385 Note [1].

cated on them not merely the nothingness of a dying world, and duty of following Christ, alike in poverty and in missionary toil and suffering;[1] but also, and above all, (just as was inculcated by the Paulikians before,[2] and Luther after him,) the grand and never-to-be-forgotten principle *of God's written Scriptures* being *the only and the perfect rule of faith.*

2. With regard to the Waldensian *doctrine* during the xiiith century, their own writings offer us, of course, the best evidence. I have therefore subjoined the same copious extracts nearly from the *Noble Lesson* that have been given before by Mr. Faber, though with a corrected translation: (the original is in my Appendix:) and also extracts from another and later of their works, entitled *Antichrist.*

In the *former*, the *Noble Lesson*,[3] written, as it has ap-

[1] "Lugduno fugientes, ad ultimas Delphinatûs partes se transferentes, in Ebredunensi et Taurinensi diocesibus, in Alpibus et intrà concava montium accessu difficilia plures ibi ex illis habitaverunt. Ibi paulatim, procurante Satore zizaniæ, in copioso numero excreverunt: et demum palmites suos tristes in Liguriam, Italiam, et ultrà Romam in Apuliam transmiserunt." Anon. Inquis. ap. Allix, cited partly p. 382, and again referred to p. 386 suprà.

[2] At p. 304 I have observed on God's Providence in ordering that, where the apostasy was first developed and enforced in its grossness, there the Scriptures were read in the still vernacular Greek tongue; God's own counteractive. Now, when the vernacular language was not that of the written Scripture, a translation into the vernacular tongue was an essential prerequisite to all true reformation in the Church; and P. Valdes' greatest work perhaps may be deemed the effecting it.

[3] The first 72 lines of the Poem are as follows.

"O Brethren, hear a Noble Lesson.

"We ought often to watch and pray: for we see that this world is near to its end. We ought to be very careful to do good works; since we see that the world approaches to its termination.

"Well have a thousand and a hundred years been entirely completed, since the hour was written, that we are in the last times.

"We ought to covet little: for we are at the [last] remainder of time. Daily we see the signs coming to their accomplishment; the increase of evil, and the decrease of good. These are the perils which the Scripture speaks of, which the Gospel tells of, and St. Paul also; that no man who lives can know the end. Therefore ought we the more to fear; since we are not certain whether death will overtake us to-day or to-morrow. But when Jesus shall come at the day of judgment, every one shall receive his entire payment; both those who shall have done ill, and those who shall have done well. But the Scripture saith, and we ought to believe it, that all men shall pass by two ways; the good shall go into glory, the wicked to torment. But if any one shall not believe this bipartition, let him attend to Scripture even from its commencement. Since Adam was formed down even to the present time, there may he find, if he will give his attention to it, that few are the saved in comparison with the rest.

"Now whosoever wishes to do good works, he ought first to invoke the name of God the Father: likewise to call to his aid God's glorious and dear Son, the Son of holy Mary; also the Holy Ghost, that he may give to us a good way. These three, the Holy Trinity, ought to be invocated as one God; full of all wisdom, and all power, and all goodness.

peared, within some 20 or 30 years of 1170, the following doctrines are drawn out with much simplicity and beauty:

"This we ought often to pray for and request,—that he would give us strength to encounter the enemy, and that we may conquer him before our end; to wit, the world, the devil, and the flesh: and that he would give us wisdom accompanied with goodness; so that we may know the way of truth, and keep pure the soul which God has given us, both the soul and the body, in the way of charity.

"As we love the Holy Trinity, so likewise ought we to love our neighbour; for God hath commanded it: not only him who does good to us, but likewise him who does us evil. We ought moreover to have a firm hope in the Heavenly King; that, at the end, he will lodge us in his glorious palace.

"Now he who will not do what is contained in this Lesson, shall not enter into the holy house: though the saying be hard of reception to the evil people, who love too much gold and silver; despise the promises of God; and neither themselves keep his laws and his commandments, nor suffer good people to keep them, but rather hinder them according to their power.

"And how did this evil enter among mankind? Because Adam sinned from the beginning, by eating of the forbidden apple; and to others germinated the grain of an evil seed. He gained death to himself, and to others his successors. Well may we say that this was an evil morsel. But Christ hath redeemed the good by his passion.

"Now as we find in this Lesson that Adam mis-believed God his Creator, we may thence see likewise, that men are now become still worse; as they abandon God the Almighty Father, and believe in idols to their own destruction: a thing which the law forbids that was from the beginning, called the law of nature, common to all people. This God placed in the heart of his first formed [Adam]; giving him liberty to do good, or to do evil: the evil being forbidden him, the good commanded."

The Author then, after eulogy on this first divine law, written on the conscience, gives a brief summary of the history of the Old Testament: tells of man's apostasy; how few kept the law, how many broke it: then of the punishment of the flood, none but eight persons being saved: then of God's covenant-promises to Noah: then of Babel, or Babylon, "now called confusion for its wickedness:" then of Sodom: then of Abram and his family, their captivity in Egypt, and deliverance by Moses: then of the second or Mosaic Law, and its excellence; and of the transgressors perishing in the wilderness, the faithful entering Canaan: then of Israel's good kings and bad; till for their sin the Jews were carried to Babylon: then of their return; and of the false religion and hypocrisy afterwards of the Pharisees; and their persecuting the good and just. So that "these cried with groans and tears to the Lord to come down to earth; as the whole human race was going to perdition."—So, following the stream of chronology, down to the times of the Gospel dispensation, the writer comes to the history of the annunciation to the Virgin Mary, and of Christ's birth, miracles, and doctrine. Respecting the last he says; "He changed not the law which He had before given, that it might be abandoned; but renewed it, that it might be better kept:" and then in different particulars illustrates the superior spirituality of the moral law under the Gospel.* After which he relates Christ's persecution by the Pharisees, and "the other clergy;"† then his crucifixion, dwelling on "the sad and bitter agonies" undergone by him, such "that the soul separated from the body, *to save sinners;*" then his resurrection and ascension. Then comes in his sketch an intimation of the first mission of the Apostles; and

* He dwells particularly on the gospel injunction of not rendering evil for evil but even loving enemies. "The new law saith, Pardon all mankind, and thou shalt find pardon from the Father Almighty." Then: "None ought to kill or hate any person: nor ought we to despise the simple and the poor; nor to hold as vile the stranger who comes from another country: for in this world we are all pilgrims." A passage characteristic of the missionary life of the Lyonnese Vaudois addressed in the Poem.—Compare on this Valdensic *pilgrim*-view what I have noted at p. 330 of the Paulikians.

† l. 296; "et l'autra gent *clergia*." Compare Reiner, ch. 3; "Vocant *clericos* scribas, *religiosos* Pharisæos." B. P. M. xxv. 264. So also Chs. 5 and 8.

—the origin of sin in the fall of Adam, and its transmission to all men ; the offered redemption through the death of

he notices the persecutions suffered by them, and by the primitive Christians, in the fulfilment of their mission. Then he passes to the sufferings which the Vaudois themselves,—both the writer and the readers of the Noble Lesson,—had to undergo in preaching and following the Gospel.

"The Apostles were so strong in the fear of the Lord,* as also both the men and the women that were with them, that for these things they ceased not either their doings or their sayings: so that they killed many of them, as they had [killed] Jesus Christ. Great were the torments, according to what is written, only because they showed the way of Jesus Christ. But, as for those who persecuted them, there was not of them so much fear, † because they had not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, as of those who now seek occasion against, and who persecute so much; who ought to be Christians, but who badly make but semblance of it. Yet in this they that persecute ought to find ground of reprehension, and the good of comfort: ‡ for in no Scripture is it found, nor is it found by reason, that the saints imprisoned or persecuted any one.—Now, after the Apostles were certain teachers; who showed the way of Jesus Christ our Saviour. And some such are found even to the present time; who are manifest to very few people. These greatly wish to show the way of Jesus Christ; but they are so persecuted that they can scarcely do it. So much are false Christians blinded with error; and, much more than all others, those who should be pastors; seeing that they persecute and kill those who are better than themselves, § and they let alone those who are false and deceivers. But by this we may know that they are not good pastors; because they only love the flock for their fleece. Yet the Scripture says, and we may see it, that if there be any one good, who loves and fears Jesus Christ, and will neither curse, nor swear, nor lie, nor commit adultery, nor kill, nor defraud his neighbour, nor revenge himself upon his enemies,—they say that such a person is a *Vaudes*, and is worthy of punishment: and they find cause against him, through lies and deceit, so they may take from him that which he has gotten by his just toil.‖ But he who is thus persecuted comforts himself greatly through the fear of the Lord: for the kingdom of heaven shall be given to him on departing from this world. Then shall he have great glory, if (before) he has had dishonour.

"But in this is manifested their wickedness:—that he who will curse, and lie, and swear, and put out money to usury, and kill, and commit adultery, and revenge himself on those who do him wrong, they say that such an one is a good and loyal man. Yet, at the last, let such a person take heed, that he be not deceived. When malady presses hard on him, so that he can scarcely speak, then he calls for the priest, and wishes to confess himself. But, according to the Scripture, he has delayed too long: for it says, Confess while alive and well, and wait not to the last. The priest asks him if he has any sin: he answers two or three words, and has quickly despatched the matter. Well does the priest tell him that he cannot be absolved, if he does

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* The following is from l. 342 to l. 436 of the Poem.

† "Ma lical li perseguian non lor era de tant mal temor." l. 348. "Lesquels les poursuivaient ne leur etait de tant mal crainte." Raynouard. I am not sure that I have given the exact sense.

‡ "Ma en ezo se pon reprener aquilh que perseguon, e confortar li bon." l. 352. I am quite at a loss to understand the ground of Mr. Faber's translation: "Yet in this they ought to be reprehended, because they persecute and imprison the good." p. 407.

§ "Que ilh perseguon e *aucion* (kill) aquilh que son melhor." l. 363. Mr. Faber strangely translates; "For they persecute and *hate* those who are better than themselves." p. 408. The mistranslation is the more to be regretted; because at pp. 409, 410 he reasons on the supposed fact, as indicative of the date of the Poem. "Imprisonment and loss of goods alone, not torture and *loss of life*, are mentioned as the trial to which the Vaudois were *then* exposed." Trusting to Mr. F.'s translation, (as I had not the Poem then before me,) I reasoned too in my first edition (though not to the same effect) on the supposed fact.

‖ "de son juste affan." I suppose such is the meaning. l. 374.

Jesus Christ, who "underwent agonies, such that the soul separated from the body, to save sinners;" the union and

not restore all that he has taken from another, and amend the wrongs that he has done. When he hears this, he has much thought: and he thinks within himself, If he shall make restoration entirely, what will remain to his children, and what will the world say? Then he commands his children that they amend their faults; and he makes agreement with the priest, to the end that he himself may receive absolution. If he has gotten in possession from another a hundred pounds, or perhaps two hundred, yet the priest will absolve him for a hundred pence, or yet for less. And he admonishes him, and promises him pardon: and how he will say mass, both for him, and for his forefathers. Thus grants he pardon, whether to a just or a wicked man; and he puts his hand upon their heads. In case of his giving him more, then he causes a grander festival; and he makes him to understand that he is thoroughly well absolved. Yet ill are they indemnified, who are thus faulty. And he will certainly be deceived by such an absolution: and he that makes him believe it sins in the thing mortally. For I dare to say, and it will be found true, that all the Popes that have been from *Sylvester* down to the present one, and all the Cardinals, and all the Bishops, and all the Abbots, even all such put together, have not so much power as to be able to pardon a single mortal sin. It is God alone who pardons; and no other can do it.

"But those who are pastors ought to do this. They ought to preach to the people, and be much in prayer,* and often feed them with divine doctrine, and chastise the sinful, administering to them discipline. It is a matter of just admonition that they should have repentance; confess their sins sincerely without fail; repent in this present life; and fast and give alms, and pray with fervent heart; † for by these things the soul of us evil Christians, who have sinned, finds salvation.

"For we have abandoned the law of Jesus Christ: we have neither fear, nor faith, nor charity. To repent becomes us, and that without delay: amending ourselves with weeping and penitence, in respect to the offences that we have committed through three mortal sins, namely, the lust of the eyes, the pleasure of the flesh, and the pride of life; through which we have done ill. This way we must follow in, and keep; if we will love and follow Jesus Christ. We must have spiritual poverty of heart, and love chastity, and serve God humbly. So may we follow the way of Jesus Christ; and so may we have the victory over our enemies."

The author then recapitulates the three laws, which have been given from God to man: the unwritten patriarchal law, the written law of Moses, and the also written law of Christ. This being done, he brings his Poem to its conclusion.

"Other law from henceforward we are to have none; except to imitate Jesus Christ, and to do his good pleasure, and to keep firmly that which he has commanded, and to be well advised when *Antichrist* shall come; to the intent that we may give no credence either to his doings or to his sayings. For, according to Scripture, there are now many Antichrists: for all who are in contrast to Christ are Antichrist.‡

"Many signs and great wonders shall be from this time forward to the day of judgment. The heaven and the earth shall burn; and all the living shall die. Then all shall rise again to an ever-during life; and every building shall be laid prostrate. Then shall be the last judgment, when God shall separate his people; according as it is written. To the wicked he shall say, Depart from me; go into the infernal fire which shall have no end. There shall ye be opprest by three grievous conditions; namely, by multitude of pains, and by sharp torment, and by an irreversible damnation.

"From this may God deliver us, of his good pleasure! And may he grant us to hear that which He will say to his people before very long; § Come with me, ye

* "E istar in oraçion."

† "anrar au cor bulhent:" lit. pray with a boiling heart.

‡ "Car Antexrist son tuit aquilh que contrastan a Christ." I translate literally. The expression is remarkable; and illustrated admirably by the Valdensic Treatise on Antichrist, next noticed by me.

§ qu'el dire a li seo enant que sia gaire: "avant qu'il soit guere." Raynouard.

co-operation of the three persons of the blessed Trinity in man's salvation; the obligation and spirituality of the moral law under the gospel; the duties of prayer, watchfulness, self-denial, unworldliness, humility, love, as "the way of Jesus Christ;" their enforcement by the prospect of death, and judgment, and the world's near ending; by the narrowness too of the way of life, and the fewness of those that find it; as also by the hope of coming glory at the judgment and revelation of Jesus Christ:—all these points, I say, of Christian doctrine, are drawn out in the Noble Lesson very simply and beautifully.—Besides which we find in it a protest against the Romish system generally, as one of soul-destroying idolatry; against masses for the dead, and therein against the whole doctrine of purgatory; against the system too of the confessional, and asserted power of the priesthood to absolve from sin; this last point being insisted on as the most deadly point of heresy, and its origin referred to the mercenariness of the priesthood, and their love of money:[1] the iniquity being further noticed of the Romanists' persecutions of good men and teachers, that wished to teach the way of Jesus Christ; and the suspicion half hinted, and apparently half-formed, that, though a *personal Antichrist* might perhaps be expected, yet *Popery* itself, with *its followers*, was probably *one form of Antichrist*.—Such is the doctrine of the *Noble Lesson*.

In the *Treatise of Antichrist*[2] we advance to an admir-

blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. In that place you shall have delight, and riches, and honour.

"May it please the Lord, who formed the world, that we may be of the number of his elect, to stand in his courts!—Thanks unto God! Amen."*

[1] So Wieliff. "Of all heresies none can be greater than the belief that a man may be absolved from sin if he give money; or because a priest layeth his hand on the head, and saith, I absolve thee." Le Bas, p. 201.

Contrast Pope John the 18th's declaration, in a Letter (dated about 1024) of absolution to Bishop Hugo: "Nullum in ecclesiâ catholicâ majus potest esse nefas quàm existimare alicujus nævum criminis, præcipuè pœnitentis, quod non queat dissolvere concessa Petro à Domino clavis." So Hard. vi. 839. (Qu. John xix.?)

[2] It is given at length, with a translation, in M. Monastier's 2nd Volume, pp. 324—362. He also gives the Noble Lesson, and other Valdensic Treatises.

* I have followed Raynouard in this translation. In my earlier Editions I had copied from Mr. Faber; not having more of the Noble Lesson at hand than the extracts given in Leger. To Dr. Gilly I was indebted for a copy of the Poem, in time to print it in the Appendix to my 2nd Edition; but did not then compare it with Faber's translation. I have now found, on comparing this latter with the original and with Raynouard, many inaccuracies; some of considerable importance.

able and direct identification of the predicted *Antichrist* with the *Papacy*. To fix its date seems difficult. According to M. Charvaz, Roman Catholic Bishop of Pinerol,[1] it was the end of the xiiith, or beginning of the xivth century.[2] Even if still later, it may yet be fairly presumed to exhibit the opinions of the Vaudois of the xiiith century on the subject: they having embraced, as we know, at the least as early as that period, the view inculcated in the Treatise, of the Papacy and Roman Church being the very Babylon and Harlot of the Apocalypse.[3]—Extracts from this too are subjoined below.[4] And from them the

[1] P. 245.

[2] The following internal *chronological* mark appears in the Treatise on Antichrist. It describes Antichrist as having then attained to the full age of a perfect man; indeed as being old, and beginning to diminish in power and authority. For "the Lord," it says, "is already destroying the felon by the breath of his mouth, through many men of good intentions; dissipating his possessions and places, and dividing the city of Babylon." This twofold indication of the Popedom's spiritual wasting by good men's preaching, and political loss and spoliation, may perhaps suit the æra of Pope Gregory the 9th's defeats by Frederic ii. in 1229—1241; (Wadd. ii. 281, &c.;) while the Waldenses and cognate sects were in full vigour. But other later æras would also suit; especially that of the Reformation. Had it however been written after Luther's time, the *Pope*, I think, would have been *directly* and *personally* called *Antichrist* in it: and, instead of noting his cloak of religious ritualism as worn "*lest he should be rejected as a heathen*," (see the close of my quotation,) the writer would have said that he had actually been rejected as such. Compare pp. 194—199, suprà.*

[3] So Reiner.

[4] "Antichrist is the falsehood (doomed to eternal damnation), covered with the appearance of the truth and righteousness of Christ and his spouse ... being administered by false apostles; and defended by the one or other arm. [i. e. the spiritual and the secular arm.].. Thus it is not a certain particular person, ordained in a certain grade, office, or ministry, considering the thing generally; but the falsehood itself, opposed to the truth, with which however it covers itself: adorning itself *outwardly* with the beauty and piety of Christ's Church, of Christ himself, his name, offices, scriptures, sacraments. The iniquity of this system, with all its ministers, higher and lower, following it with an evil and blinded heart,—such a congregation, taken together, is called *Antichrist, or Babylon, or the fourth Beast, or the Harlot, or the Man of Sin, the Son of perdition.* It is called *Antichrist*, because being covered and adorned with the semblance of Christ, his Church, and faithful members, it opposes itself to the salvation wrought by Christ ..... So that Antichrist cannot be perfected, or appear, in any manner, until the things above-mentioned be conjoined, so as to form a *perfect hypocrite*, and perfect lie.†

"His *first* work is, that the service of *latria*, properly due to *God* alone, he (Antichrist) perverts unto himself, to his works, and to the poor creature, rational or

* The reference in it to certain Scriptures, not by chapter only, but even verse, (the latter a division introduced in the xvith century,) decides nothing: because copyists subsequent to that epoch would naturally so mark the passages referred to; while also perhaps modernizing the words. (The Scripture references are at pp. 344, 345 of M. Monastier's Book.)

† I am quite struck with the justice and the comprehensiveness of this definition. Compare what I have said of the word's etymological force, Vol. i. p. 65; and contrast it with the narrow and most uncritical views of those who would make Antichrist an *individual avowed Infidel* yet future: a prophetic theory discussed by me in my Review of the Futurist Apocalyptic Scheme in the Appendix to my Vol. iv.

following will appear to have been the Waldensian views: viz. that the *Papal* or *Romish* system was that of *Antichrist;* which, from infancy in apostolic times, had grown gradually, by the increase of its constituent parts, to the stature of a full-grown man: that its prominent character-

irrational, sensible or insensible; as, for instance, to male or female saints departed this life, and to their images, bones, or relics. His works are the *sacraments*, especially that of the *eucharist*, which he worships equally with God and Christ; and he worships things blest and consecrated, prohibiting the adoration of God alone.

"His *second* work is, that he robs and deprives *Christ* of the merits of Christ, with the whole sufficiency of grace, righteousness, regeneration, remission of sins, sanctification, confirmation, and spiritual nourishment; and imputes and attributes them to his own authority, to his own doings, or to the saints and their intercession, or to the fire of purgatory. Thus he *separates the people from Christ*, and leads them away to the things already mentioned; that so they may not seek the things of Christ, nor through Christ, but only through the works of their own hands; and not through a living faith in God, and Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit; but through the will and the works of Antichrist, agreeably to his preaching that man's whole salvation depends upon his works.

"His *third* work is, that he attributes the regeneration by the *Holy Spirit* to a dead outward faith: baptizing children in that faith; and teaching that by it is the consecration of baptism and regeneration: on which same faith it ministers orders and the other sacraments; and on it founds all Christian religion:—a thing contrary to the Holy Spirit.

"His *fourth* work is, that he rests the whole religion and sanctity of the people upon his Mass: for leading them to hear it, he deprives them of spiritual and sacramental manducation.

"His *fifth* work is, that he does everything to be seen, and to glut his insatiable avarice.

"His *sixth* work is, that he allows manifest sins without ecclesiastical censure and excommunication.

"His *seventh* work is, that he defends his unity, not by the Holy Spirit, but by the secular power.

"His *eighth* work is, that he hates, persecutes, makes inquisition after, and robs, and puts to death the members of Christ.

"These are the principal works of Antichrist: which works cannot all be counted or written. Let it suffice to have pointed out these, by which he covers his lying wickedness."

Then comes an enumeration of the veils under which Antichrist hides his intrinsic wickedness: 1. by external profession of faith:—2. by antiquity and the numbers attached to him; as said of the Beast in the Apocalypse, c. xiii. 7, 8:—3. by pretended apostolicity:—4. by asserted miracles, as 2 Thess. ii. 9:—5. by external sanctity, prayers, fasts, &c.:—6. by certain words of Christ, the Fathers, and the Councils:—7. by the administration of the sacraments:—8. by verbal preachings against vices:—9. by some of the elect, that, like true gold, still remain in Babylon.

Then follows an earnest call from Scripture to come out of Babylon, externally as well as internally; and to unite with the Holy City, Jerusalem:—then an account of the reasons of their (the writer and his associates) separation;—viz. the protesting for evangelic truth, which is briefly but beautifully sketched out; specially Christ's all-sufficiency of grace and righteousness in opposition to the mock righteousness and idolatries of Antichrist.—"But there is no other cause of idolatry than a false opinion concerning grace, truth, authority, invocation, and intercession; which this Antichrist has taken away from God; in order to ascribe them to ceremonies and authorities, and a man's own works, to the saints, and purgatory."

The recognition of the Romish "false opinion of grace," and preservation of the true Augustinian gospel-doctrine of grace and forgiveness, throughout the dark ages, is a fact most observable. Merle well remarks on it, as the *antagonist principle* which was at length to introduce the Reformation, and shake the whole power of Rome.

istics were, to defraud *God* of the worship due to Him, rendering it to creatures, whether departed saints, relics, images, or Antichrist, i. e. the antichristian body itself;—to defraud *Christ*, by attributing justification and forgiveness to Antichrist's authority and words, to saints' intercessions, to the merit of men's own performances, and to the fire of purgatory;—to defraud the *Holy Spirit*, by attributing regeneration and sanctification to the opus operatum (I borrow the Tridentine term used afterwards) of the two sacraments:—that the origin of this antichristian religion was the covetousness of the priesthood; its tendency to lead men away from Christ; its essence a vain ceremonial; its foundation the false notions of grace and truth.

How true, how admirable the description![1]—The agreement of the writer with *Augustine*, in respect of the views of evangelic truth, cannot but seem striking; just like that of the earlier evangelic Christians in Dauphiny and Piedmont. His accordance with *Vigilantius* is also palpable. In fine, alike in the *direct teaching* of the Waldenses of the xiiith century, and in their *protesting doctrine*, full prominently does that *Christ-witnessing* character appear that was ascribed to them by their enemy the Romish Archbishop Scyssel, two centuries later;—"*Christo omnibus ad omnia abundè sufficiente.*"[2] A Waldensian designative intended in reproach; but which might well be written over each and every one of their still standing humble Alpine churches in letters of gold!

3. With regard to the Waldensian *morals* and *character*, let me quote their brief description by *Reinerius*.[3] "Heretics are distinguished by their manners and their words. For they are sedate and modest in their manners. They have no pride in clothes; for they wear such as are neither costly nor mean. They do not carry on commerce, in order that they may avoid falsehoods, oaths, and frauds; but live by labour as workmen. Even their teachers are shoe-

[1] See Note [1] p. 371 suprà. [2] Charvaz, p. 508.

[3] I translate from his ch. 7; headed, "Quomodo sectæ agnoscantur." B. P. M. xxv. 272. That the Waldenses, and other *quasi-Waldensian* sects, are here *distinctively* meant appears from Reiner's noting marked Waldensian distinctives about them. Mark, in contrast, what he says in his Ch. vi. of the Manichean Catharists.

makers, or tailors.[1] They do not multiply riches; but are content with what is necessary. They are chaste, especially the *Leonists;* and temperate also in meat and drink. They do not go to taverns, dances, or other vanities. They refrain from anger. They are always at work, learning or teaching: and so, little at prayers.[2] . . . They abstain from scurrility, detraction, and levity in discourse; and also from lying and swearing."—Elsewhere (viz. in his 3rd Chapter) Reiner notices their having translated the Old and New Testament into the vernacular tongue; and so profited by it, he says, that he had seen and heard one rustic man, who knew all Job by heart, and many who knew all the New Testament perfectly.—Let me add a brief domestic sketch, taken from the Inquisitor Eymeric's later report of certain Valdenses from Burgundy, near about the opening of the xivth century. 'Those among them that are *Perfect* put on the upper part of the shoe, or *zappata*, a sort of escutcheon, . . from which they are called *Inzabbatati*. They have one among them, superior to the rest, whom they call *Majoralis*, or *Elder;* to whom alone, and to no other, they yield obedience. When they sit at table they bless in this manner: 'He who blest the five barley loaves and two fishes, in the desert, to his disciples, bless this table to us!' And when they rise, they repeat those words of the Revelation; 'Blessing, and honour, and wisdom, and thanks, and glory, and strength, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen!' Always holding their eyes and hands uplifted to heaven."[3]

[1] "Sutores."—An answer this to Ebrard's charge against the Waldenses of being *idle:* basking in the sun by day, and then of an evening going about to talk.

[2] "Et ideo *parum orant;*" "and so they *pray but little.*" How ill the *parum orant*, so taken, applies to the Leonist Waldenses, appears sufficiently from the strong exhortations to watch and *pray always*, inculcated in the Noble Lesson; yea "aurar *au cor bulhent*," l. 421, "to pray *with boiling heart.*"—I am surprised at Dr. Maitland *apparently* making and reiterating the charge as Reiner's against them. So in the Letter to Rose p. 47; and against King, p. 40. I think he *really* refers it to other sects.—In the B. P. M. xxiv. 1600, the charge (more truly, I doubt not,) is that they did not pray *in churches;* i. e. *Romish* churches.

[3] I copy from Maitland, Facts and Doc. p. 263.—Let me here observe that Dr. Maitland (p. 470) follows Bossuet in charging the Vaudois with holding *transubstantiation*. This is founded chiefly on Reiner's saying, "Item dicunt quod transubstantiatio non fiat in manu indignè conficientis, sed in ore dignè sumentis." B. P. M. xxv. 265. But this is not the doctrine of transubstantiation. As to others saying that the Valdenses *made the body of Christ* at their tables, it was only the Roman Catholic expression for consecrating the elements; quite irrespective of the heretics' particular belief as to the effect of consecration.—Stephen of Borbonne says

4. As to their *missionary plans and proceedings,* it may here suffice to quote *Reiner.* I must repeat that, though he nominally relates what follows of heretics in general, yet a special reference is evidently intended to the *Valdensic Lyonnese* sectaries, and those others that substantially mixt and fraternized with them:—also that, whereas there were two classes among these Waldenses,[1]—the first called *Perfect,* who left home, gave up property, and devoted themselves to the missionary life, the other the *general* members, who lay under no such restriction,—it must have been to the *first* of these that the quotation chiefly related.[2]

"The heretics," he says, "craftily devise how they may introduce themselves to the acquaintance of the noble and great. And they do it in this manner. They exhibit to gentlemen and ladies some kind of tempting wares, such as rings and robes for sale. Having sold them, if the man is asked, Have you anything more to sell? he answers, I have more precious gems than these: and I will give them you, if you will give assurance not to betray me to the clergy. Having received security, he says; I have one gem so brilliant that a man gains by it the knowledge of God. I have another which sparkles so, that it kindles the love of God in the heart of him who possesses it:—and so of the others. He speaks of gems metaphorically. After that he recites some devout chapter, as that of Luke; 'The Angel Gabriel was sent,' &c.; or from our Lord's discourse, John xiii.; 'Now before the feast,' &c. When he has begun to interest his hearer, he adds what is said in Matt. xxiii. of them that sate in Moses' seat; 'Woe unto you! ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye enter not in yourselves, and ye forbid others to enter:' and from

expressly; "Item dicunt peccare illos qui illud quod nos credimus corpus Domini adorant." (Faber 484.) And so Ivonet, in a passage very fairly cited by Dr. M. himself, p. 542; "Corpus Christi et sanguinem non credunt verè esse, sed tantùm panem benedictum: qui in figurâ quâdam dicitur corpus Christi; sicut dicitur, Petra autem erat Christus, et similia." Further the Waldenses' own Treatise on Antichrist, cited p. 395, thus expresses itself; "Antichrist's works are *the sacraments:* especially that of the *eucharist;* which he worships equally with God and Christ."

[1] See p. 379, Note [2] suprà; also p. 386 Note [3].

[2] My citation includes the whole of Reiner's 8th Chapter, headed, "Quomodo se ingerant familiaritati magnorum." B. P. M. xxv. 273.

Mark xii.; 'Woe unto you who devour widows' houses,' and what follows. When asked by his hearers of whom these imprecations are to be understood, he answers, Of the clergy and monks.

"After this the heretic draws a comparison between the state of the Romish Church and that of his sect; saying thus:—The doctors of the Romish Church are proud in their dress and manners; they love the chief seats, and seek to be called of men Rabbi; but such Rabbies *we* desire not. Also they are incontinent: but each one of us has his wife, and lives chastely with her. Also they are the rich and covetous, to whom it is said, Woe unto you rich; ye have received your consolation: but we, having food and clothes to cover us, are content therewith. Also they are the voluptuous ones, to whom it is said, 'Woe to you who devour widows' houses.' But we gain sustenance how and whence we may. Also they fight and make wars, and command the poor to be killed and burnt. Of such it is said, 'He that taketh the sword shall perish with the sword.'[1] We, however, suffer persecution from them for righteousness.—Also they eat the bread of idleness, doing nothing: but we work with our hands. Also they wish to be the only teachers; to whom it is said, Matt. xxiii., 'Woe unto you that have taken away the key of knowledge:' but among us, women teach, as well as men; and a disciple of seven days instructs another. Also there is hardly a teacher among them that knows by heart three connected chapters[2] of the New Testament: but among us there is scarce a man or woman who cannot repeat its text in the vulgar tongue. And, because we have the true faith of Christ, and teach a holy life and doctrine, therefore the Scribes and Pharisees,[3] without cause, persecute us unto death, as they did Christ.—Moreover they only say, and do not; and bind heavy burdens on men's shoulders, and do not move them with a finger: but we practise all we teach. Also they are more urgent in compelling the

[1] Compare Apoc. xiii. 10, said of the times of the Beast, Antichrist.

[2] "Capitula continuata." The division of the New Testament into chapters could only have been made very recently when Reiner wrote; i. e. about A.D. 1250. (See my notice of Reiner, p. 348.)

[3] Compare l. 295, 296 of the Noble Lesson; noted before, p. 391.

observance of the traditions of men, than of the commands of God;[1] as of fasts, festivals, going to church, and many other things, which are of human institution: but we only persuade men to keep the doctrine of Christ and the apostles. Also they load penitents with grievous penances: but we, after the example of Christ, say to the sinner, Go and sin no more! and remit all sins to him by our imposition of hand; and transmit souls at death to heaven: but they send almost all souls to hell.—Having stated these and other points, the heretic says; Consider which state, and which faith, is the more perfect;—ours, or that of the Church of Rome; and make choice of it.[2]—Thus the hearer is turned away from the catholic faith, being seduced by their errors."[3]

[1] Compare the Witnesses' predicted character, Apoc. xii. 17, as "keeping *the commandments of God*," as well as "the witness of Jesus." Noted by me p. 208 suprà.

[2] Let the reader compare on all this the conversation of the Paulikian woman, some four centuries before, given pp. 257—259 suprà. It is interesting to mark the identity in character of the witness-sayings and doings, at such an interval of space and time.

[3] *Lucas de Tuy*, an author who flourished, as observed at p. 347, about 1236, (under Popes Gregory IX and Celestine IV, says Schottus, B. P. M. xxv. 188, i. e. between the years 1227 and 1241,) and speaks of the Waldenses as a sect that had risen not very long before his time in Gaul, thus notices their habit of diffusing their tenets, by a practice in later and modern times much more effectively followed, viz. that of the dissemination of *religious Tracts*. (B. iii. c. 18.) "With unheard of wickedness, and a new plan of deceit, they wrote Tracts, and scattered them in unfrequented mountain-paths; that the shepherds finding them might bring them to the clergy to read. It was said in them that they were written by the Son of God, and transmitted to men by the hands of holy angels. . . . There were many catholic truths stated in them; but, intermixed with these, certain heretical statements also; in order that, through the sweetness of the former, the bitter poison of what was heretical might the better insinuate itself. . . . The simple priests received and read the papers with great reverence; and understood not they were drinking in what was death to the people. The heretics took advantage of the (approbatory) words of such ignorant priests; and urged on their proselytes the favourable testimony borne by them to the Tracts. Thus deceived, many of them began to treat with contempt the confession of their sins to the priests, and the traditions and the fasts of the Church. For those diabolical Tracts promised forgiveness of sins to all who might transcribe them, and to all who devoutly read them. Wherefore there was the greatest zeal to *write* them out, with such as were able to write; and with the less educated clergy to *read* them to the people."

In the chapter 17, preceding, Lucas notices a particular heretic, one *Arnold*,* thus acting; who, he says, "had come for this from Gaul into Spain; and, with the pen of a ready writer, having written out extracts from Augustine, Jerome, Isidore, and Bernard,—adding what was false, and withholding what was true,—sold, or even gave them, to the Catholics."† B. P. M. xxv. 248.

* In his early publication of the Waldensian Researches, p. 12, Dr. Gilly confounded this Arnold with Arnold of Brescia.—The Brescian Arnold was burnt at Rome, A.D. 1155; as observed p. 285 suprà. The one Lucas speaks of died, I think, at Leon in Spain, probably some 70 or 80 years later.

† In another chapter (xxi.) Lucas notes the *joy* of heretics on being put to death: asserting that their difference in this point from *Christ*, who, on the approach of *his*

Such is Reiner's report of the Valdenses' missionary plans and actings. And as to their *zeal* in carrying them out, he exemplifies it by the statement, that a Leonist teacher actually swam across the river Ibsa, on a winter-night, in order to instruct a proselyte.[1]

5. There are two other points recorded of these Valdensic sectaries, that seem to me too characteristic, and too important, to pass over in silence.—The *one* is the union and communion of the members of their several dispersed bodies, throughout France, Italy, and Germany. This seems to have been remarkable; and, like that of the early Christians, on a footing of truly Christian and affectionate intercourse.—The *other* point is, that in a spirit of wisdom and good sense quite accordant with that of the immediate founder of the Lyonnese Sect, but quite contrary to that of religious fanatics or enthusiasts, they appear to have been in the habit of making use of such human learning as they might obtain, in order to the better and sounder propagation of the Christian faith committed to them. Choosing out the youths of best talents from their number, they sent them to be educated at the University of Paris, or some other such institution.[2] This was what the Lu-

[1] B. P. M. xxv. 264.

[2] I may illustrate both points by the personal narrative of one Ivo of Narbonne. He is related by Matthew Paris, on the year 1243, to have thus written of the Waldensian sectaries to the Archbishop of Narbonne, in an account of his flight from that city and adventures:—viz. "that having been unjustly accused of heresy he fled; that, after making circuit of many provinces,* he so at length came to *Como*, and there bewailed his case to certain *Paterini* [sectaries of the Waldensian body †] there residing: that on this they rejoiced, felicitating him on having suffered for righteousness' sake; and housed, and entertained him luxuriously, for three months:‡ that they then constrained him by their kindnesses to promise that from that time he would preach, and persuade men, that in the Romish faith § there was no salvation: that they informed him how that from nearly all the cities of Lombardy, and from

sufferings, was exceeding sorrowful even unto death, showed they could not belong to *Him*. And he cites Bernard's 66th sermon on the Canticles, wherein it was ascribed to diabolical agency. "If induced by the Devil to commit suicide, how much rather may men be prompted to joy by him, when put to death by others?" A statement by Bernard referred to by me p. 312 suprà; and in which Bossuet (Variat. xi. 147) discerns and admires the saint's wonderful wisdom!

* No stopping, observe, in the Valleys of Lucerna and Pragela.

† So the letter of Innocent III, cited already, pp. 382, 386; "Quosdam qui *Valdenses*, Cathari, et *Paterini* dicuntur." Similarly Gretzer, B. P. M. xxv. 253; "*Paterini*, factio *Waldensium*, à persecutionum perpessione hoc sibi nomen indiderunt."

‡ This was during the favouring government of the Duke Ubert, referred to in my Note [1], p. 403.

§ "In *fide* Petri," is the expression. Compare my observations at p. 321 suprà, on the anti-Paulikian charge of hatred to *the apostle Peter*.

theran Reformers afterwards found it so important to do: God's written word being the foundation of all their teaching; but all the human learning they might be able to attain, sedulously sought and used, subserviently to it.

Finally, let me note the wonderful manner in which in God's wisdom there was provided a certain secular support to preserve the feeble Sect from destruction, by the then overwhelming power of the Popedom. Just as the Saxon Elector was afterwards raised up to be a defender of the Lutheran reformation in its infancy, so now not a few Counts and Barons in Southern France and Lombardy. The lords of Toulouse, Pamiers, and Montreal favoured the Waldensian and Albigensian heretics in their districts, at the opening of the xiiith century; and others the same in Lombardy.[1] So did Divine Providence co-operate with Divine grace, in providing for the effective carrying out of the Valdensic witness. As it was said; "I will *give power* to my two witnesses, and *they shall prophesy;*" albeit in sackcloth.

CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER VII.

And here I conclude the final Section of this Chapter:—a Chapter prolonged, in consequence of the extent and difficulty of its subject, much beyond the limits I could have desired; and for the disproportionate length of which, therefore, I must beg the indulgence of the reader.—I trust

many of Tuscany, they had sent scholars to Paris, there to qualify themselves, by hard study of Logic and Theology, to support their own sectarian doctrines, and confute the apostolic faith: also that they were in the habit of sending merchants and pedlars to the fairs, with the view of perverting the minds of rich laymen, with whom they might lodge or converse. That, after this, he was passed on to members of the same sect at Milan, and certain Lombard cities on the Po, with secret pass-words and signs, always among Paterini; till at length at Cremona he was suspected by one of their bishops, (afterwards ejected from the sect on charge of fornication,*) and thence proceeded to Aquileia, and so to Frisach."

The above is nearly a literal translation, being only slightly abbreviated. It is given by Gretzer in his Prolegomena to the anti-Waldensian writers, inserted after Lucas de Tuy in the B. P. M. xxv. 253, 254.

[1] So, says Muston, Muratori in ann. 1259: stating that Ubert Lord of Milan, Cremona, Brescia, Vercelli, Como, &c., so favoured the heretics, that they publicly preached their errors through his dominions, and had their Schools and Professors of Theology; also that Inquisitors were not allowed to interfere. This same Ghibelline Prince ubert Pallavicini expelled Reiner from Milan; as noted p. 348 suprà.

* The reader will mark this incidental testimony to the morality of the sect.

I have shown in it that, in so far as we can judge from *mere hostile evidence*,—the only evidence existing,—there was perpetuated in the *Paulikian* sect, at least from the year 653,[1] a line of WITNESSES for Christ's truth, and against the apostasy, of *Eastern* origin: also, and in part on the more satisfactory evidence of their own writings, albeit broken and interrupted, a WITNESS-line of certain *Christian* dissidents in *France*, *Germany*, and *North Italy*, of *Western* origin:—the former more early prominent than the latter, as absolute seceders from the Church established, because of the earlier enforcement of the apostasy in all its grossness of error, by the hand of power, in Eastern than in Western Christendom: but of which the real union in spirit was evidenced by various interminglings of the two lines; interminglings as early as the opening of the xith century, but more marked and famous from about the end of the xiith century: at which time alike in Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc, on one side of the Cottian Alps, and in Piedmont and Lombardy, on the other, as well as in other countries also, they became known under the thenceforth common name, for the most part, of *Waldenses*.

Now, with regard to this *united* line, as also to its two *earlier* branches, the chief of the Apocalyptic characteristics of Christ's Witnesses will have been seen, I think, in the course of the sketches preceding, to attach to them. For example, we marked in them the union of the teachers and the taught, the *olive-tree* and the *candlestick*;—the prominence of *the Saviour* CHRIST in their doctrine, (as in that of *Christ's* own witnesses,) and protestation against the various chief doctrines of the apostasy, and the priests their promulgators, that set Christ aside;—their simple reference to *God's own word*, not man's tradition, as the rule of faith;—their *paucity of number*, by comparison with the great mass around them;—and their *sackcloth-robing*, or state of mourning and depression. The which depression and mourning attached to those in the West at first, it might be, simply from the sad general apostasy round them,[2] and the

[1] See my p. 250.

[2] As Lot's righteous soul was *vexed* (εβασανισθη) with the filthy conversation of the wicked.

intolerance of anti-apostatic doctrine by Rome's supreme pontifical authority; but afterwards (so at least from the time of Claude of Turin) in Western Christendom, just as in the East much earlier, from direct and bitter persecution.

Nor let me pass forward without here observing on two somewhat curious literal coincidences between these Waldenses, or rather combined Paulikians and Waldenses,[1] as noticed in real life, and the two prefigurative Witnesses, as symbolized on the Apocalyptic scene: the one having reference to the early Valdensic *dress;* the other to an early Valdensic *emblem,* appropriated by them in the Cottian subalpine settlements. For, 1st, the common dress of the early Vaudois missionaries is noted by more than one writer as a *black sheep-skin,* or *goat-skin:*[2] the which, from being *sackcloth-like* in its appearance, gave to them (just as to the Jewish prophets before them[3]) the identical appellation given to the Apocalyptic Witnesses, of *sackcloth-wearers.*[4]

[1] See my pp. 382, 386 suprà.

[2] *Walter Mapes,* in his account of the *Valdenses* that he met at Rome in 1179, (an account already more than once referred to,) speaks of them as travelling "two and two, naked-footed, and clad in *coarse woollen garments.*" (Ap. Usher, cited by Faber, 471.) *Thuanus,* also, describing those of Dauphiny, says, "The clothing is of the *skins of sheep:* they have no linen." (Milner, Cent. xiii. p. 539.) Elsewhere the colour is noted as *black.* Thus, on a proselyte professing his wish to join the Valdensic body, and renouncing the Romish faith, "they invoke the Holy Spirit's blessing on him," says Peter of Vaux Sernay, "put their hands on his head, and clothe him with a *black garment.*" ("induunt eum *veste nigrâ.*") Ap. Charvaz, p. 454.—Of the *Perfect* members of the *Boni Homines* Peter of Vaux Cernay makes a similar statement: "Hæreticorum qui dicebantur Perfecti *nigrum habitum* præferebant." Ap. Gieseler ii. 375.—The colour of the goat's wool is sometimes noted in Scripture as *black.* So Cant. vi. 5.

[3] It is said in Zechariah xiii. 4, "Neither shall they wear a rough garment." On this Kimchi says, "*sackcloth,* or *a garment of hair.*" And Dr. A. Clarke observes; "A rough garment made of goat's hair, coarse wool, or the rough pile of the camel, was the ordinary garb of God's Prophets; and so worn also by false Prophets."—Now the *sackcloth* was often of this manufacture. So in Rev. vi. 12, where we read, "black as σακκος τριχινος, *sackcloth of hair.*" Hence in Isaiah's case his prophet's *sheep-skin* garment is called *sackcloth;* "The Lord spake to Isaiah, saying, Go, loose the sackcloth from off thy loins:" Isaiah xx. 2. And as sackcloth was the emblem of *mourning* among the Jews, (see 2 Sam. iii. 31, &c.,) these sheep-skins and goat-skins are also represented as a mourning dress. So in Heb. xi. 37; "They wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented."—Compare 1 Kings xix. 13; "Elias wrapped his face (εν τῃ μηλωτῃ αυτου) in his *sheep-skin.*" Also 2 Kings i. 8.

I have already, at p. 212, remarked on this, but more briefly.

[4] In the Paris Bibliotheca Patrum in four volumes, at vol. iv. p. 462, the learned Editor *Combefis,* after mentioning Turrianus' explanation of the heretical appellative ακκαοφοροι, as if equivalent to *saccophori, sackcloth-wearers,* and setting it aside as inapplicable, adds the words following; "Unless they [the ancient heretics alluded to] may have worn it under profession of piety, or poverty; like the *Poor Men of Lyons,* and the *New Manichæans,* [i. e. the Paulikians of the West,] ages afterwards:"

—2ndly, from about the time of their settling in the Piedmontese Valleys near Lucerna, the precise Apocalyptic symbol of a *lighted candlestick*, in surrounding night, was appropriated by them to themselves, from their chief village Lucerna; and the beautiful motto also of the Counts of Lucerna, "*The light shineth in darkness.*"[1] So that in this, as in other cases, the common prophetic rule, of which I have before spoken, might almost seem to have had its fulfilment; I mean that of the imagery being drawn from the *living subjects* of the prefiguration.[2]

Nor, I think, will another yet unnoticed characteristic of the two Apocalyptic witnesses,—viz. the *avenging power* given them by God, *first* of smiting the land which rejected their testimony with *plagues* as often as they would, *secondly* of shutting it out from the *dews of heaven* throughout the period of their prophesying,[3]—seem inapplicable to those whom I have described as Christ's witnesses, in the history of Christendom. For what was said by Luther with reference to his own days, and those of Huss, (days which fell in the *later half* of the predicted period of the Witnesses' prophesying in sackcloth,) as to the Turks having been avengers of the godly preachers that were *then* rejected and persecuted in Christendom,[4] was equally appli-

(uti post aliqua sæcula fecerunt *Pauperes de Lugduno*, ac *novi Manichæi*.) Thus the learned Dominican Father himself makes the very remarkable application of the Apocalyptic appellative *saccophori* to the *Waldenses* and *Pudikians*.—I am not aware that this has been ever noticed before.

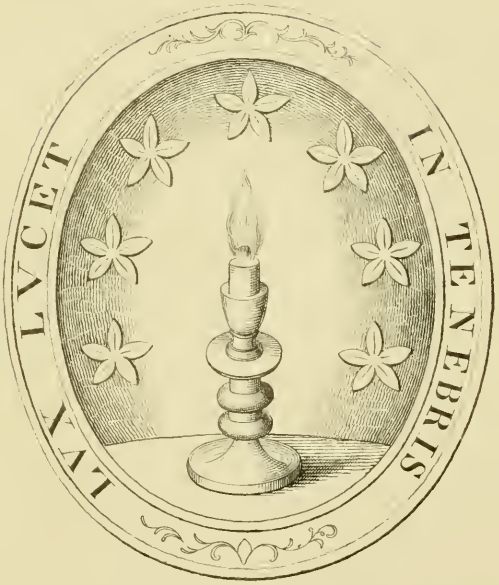
[1] See Leger's Frontispiece; from which I append a copy.—Muston says, p. 395, that in some of the Vaudois colonies that symbol is still seen in their churches. "Dans quelques colonies Vaudoises on a peint au plafond, ou sur la chaire des églises, comme perpetuel souvenir de leur origine, le chandelier entouré d'étoiles, qui est l'embleme de nos vallées." Muston should have mentioned *where*, and *when*.

Leger (i. 137) is of course incorrect in speaking of this as "les armoiries [of Lucerna and 'the valleys'] dès le temps de Paganisme." I conceive that the account here given of the Counts having had it first, before any settlement of the Lyonnese Vaudois in the valleys, and of the latter having adopted it afterwards, is all that, with our present limited knowledge on the subject, we are warranted in stating.—The motto still meets the visitor's eye, on entering the great gate of the Counts' chateau. (See my mention of this p. 355 suprà.) I could wish to have known when first Lucerna had its name, and why; connectedly with the Counts' armorial bearings and motto. Though not at the middle of the 12th century, or afterwards, yet might it be that at any time earlier than that epoch the Lucernese Counts, like the Lady Countess of Montfort near Turin, favoured the efforts of some that wished to introduce Scripture light?—Compare M. Costa de Beauregard's stated sentiments on this point, given pp. 247, 383 suprà: also M. Monastier's remarks, i. 92, 93, referred to p. 356.

[2] See Vol. i. p. 420, &c. [3] See pp. 212—215 suprà, for the explanation.

[4] Table Talk, i. 421: "The *Pope* and *Turk*," said Luther, "*have thoroughly revenged* us. Upright and true preachers the world cannot endure. Nay they hurt and

THE WALDENSIAN CANDLESTICK.



From Leger.

cable to those earlier desolating invasions of Saxons and Lombards, Saracens and Seljukian Turks, that scourged the witness-rejecting Christian world, through the *earlier half* of the 1260 days.—Again, the saying of Archbishop Peckham respecting England in the xivth century was notoriously applicable to the general state of *Christendom* throughout all the *five earlier centuries* which we have just passed in review: viz. that the spiritual destitution in it was such, that the people might be resembled to poor and needy ones, that sought water and found none.[1] And since on the scale of Christendom, even as of individuals, that general rule of God's moral government could not but be fulfilled, "Whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath," we may surely view this too as a judicial infliction on it, for its rejection of the witness borne to the truth, the light offered.—As to that other particular noted of the Apocalyptic Witnesses' avenging power, I mean of "*fire going out of their mouth to consume their adversaries*," does it not suggest judgments yet future as probable, in fuller vindication of the Paulikians, and Waldenses, and their witnessing successors, if I have rightly judged their character?[2] Surely, in such case, their words must have taken hold of their wilful adversaries,[3] even as Jeremiah's words of fire of the Jews of his time, or the apostles' of those who rejected theirs,[4] to condemn and consume them at the last.—How striking, how pointed the antithesis in this intimation about them (I cannot but note this fresh case of allusive contrast, ere ending) to the language of the Usurper Antichrist! "*We* shut heaven against *them*," was his cry. "*We* send upon *them* famine,

murder them. Therefore they must have such as bereave them of body, soul, wealth, and honour. Oh right! right!"—And again; "Huss's death was revenged. After it the Emperor Sigismund had strange and sudden misfortunes, being always afterwards beaten by the Turks, over whom he had before continual victories."—Ibid.

[1] See p. 161 suprà.—The same *spiritual drought*, and *famine of hearing God's word*, is spoken of by a Greek monk as characterizing the state of his country not very long after the taking of Jerusalem by the Saracens; i. e. nearly about the time of the rise of the Paulikian sect, and early in the 1260 years' period. Bib. Patr. (Ed. in four volumes) i. 1021. And similar remarks respecting other parts of the period under review might easily be added, in exemplification: e. g. Gerson, still later than Peckham, at the Council of Constance. L'Enfant ii. 305. [2] See p. 214 suprà.

[3] I say *wilful*, because many doubtless of their enemies were unintentionally misled by false reports respecting them, so as totally to misjudge their true character.

[4] Matt. x. 14, 15.

and thirst, and drought; and call fire from heaven to consume and devour them." [1] Such was the Papal language of curse against these heretics, as he termed them; though in reality Witnesses for Jesus. But, "*These* have power to shut heaven," said Christ, "during the days of their prophecy; *these* to smite the [antichristian Roman] earth with every plague." Thus, as Luther once said, in a passage already before quoted by me,[2] "did Christ judge between them, whose excommunication and curse, his or theirs, should stand."

So concludes my historical view of Christ's Witnesses, as reaching to the times of Peter Valdes and his first Waldensian associates, in the xiith and xiiith centuries. It was very much the same that presented itself to Flacius, and Bale, and Foxe, and the other Martyrologists among the early Reformers; as they looked back from their point of observation to the earlier centuries, in which witnesses clothed in sackcloth had to bear testimony for Christ's cause and truth.—Nor indeed did the retrospective view which they found opening to them of the Witnesses' history, or the correspondent retrospective view set before St. John by the Covenant-Angel, here terminate. A destined crisis in the witnessing was also in either case brought into view. But I think it well to pause awhile for the present, at the point now arrived at: because that there here begins the new notable æra of the Beast from the abyss, or Papal power, taking up the sword, and commencing war, (as I have indeed had partially to note by anticipation,) in all the plenitude of its force and fury, against these Witnesses for the Lord Jesus. It is an æra strongly marked, both in the Apocalyptic prediction, and in history. And of it, and its memorable results, it seems desirable to treat in a separate Chapter.

[1] So in the Papal Form of Excommunication given in Martene de Rit. ii. 324; "Sicut Dominus B. Petro ejusque successoribus, cujus vicem tenemus, potestatem dedit ut quodcumque ligarent, &c.,—ita illis *cœlum claudimus:* [et percutiat eos Dominus *fame* et *siti* donec deficiant;] et cùm Diabolo et angelis ejus *perpetuis ignibus* tradantur;" &c.

[2] P. 201 suprà.

CHAPTER VIII.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF CHRIST'S WITNESSES, FROM THE EPOCH OF THE REFORMATION, CONTINUED AND CONCLUDED: INCLUDING THE PAPAL WILD BEAST'S WAR AGAINST THEM; THEIR DEFEAT, DEATH, AND RESURRECTION.

"AND when they shall have perfected[1] their testimony, the Wild Beast that is to ascend out of the abyss shall make war against them.—And he shall overcome them, and shall kill them.—And their dead body[2] *shall lie*[3] in the broad place[4] of the great city, which is spiritually called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord[5] was crucified.—And they from[6] the peoples and kindreds and tongues and nations, see[7] their dead body[8] three days and a half; and do not suffer their dead bodies to be put in a sepulchre.[9] And they that dwell upon the earth rejoice over them, and make merry;[10] and they shall send[11] gifts one to another: because these two prophets tormented them that dwell on the earth.—And after the three days and a half[12] the spirit of life from God entered into them; and they stood upon their feet. And great fear fell upon them that beheld them."[13] Apoc. xi. 7—12.

[1] *οταν τελεσωσι.* In the authorized version it is rendered, "When they shall have *finished*." The reason and meaning of the alteration will be given presently.

[2] *το πτωμα* in the singular. So A B C; and the modern critical texts of Griesbach, Scholz, Tregelles, Wordsworth.

[3] These two words are supplied in the authorized translation.

[4] *Πλατειᾳ της πολεως της μεγαλης*, a word remarked on afterwards.

[5] *ὁ κυριος αυτων*, *their* Lord. So A B C, and all the same critical texts; instead of the received reading, *ὁ κυριος ἡμων*, "*our* Lord."

[6] This instead of, "they *of* the people," &c.; the original being, *εκ των λαων*, &c.

[7] *Βλεπουσι*, in the present tense. So A C. Also *αφιουσι*, instead of the received *αφησουσι*.

[8] *πτωμα*, as before. So the critical texts: though in the next clause *πτωματα*.

[9] *εις μνημα*. So A B. In C it is *μνημειον*.

[10] *χαιρουσιν* A B C; also *ευφραινονται* A C.

[11] *πεμψουσι* in the future.

[12] The definite article is in the original, *μετα τας τρεις ἡμερας*.

[13] Hahn reads *αφησουσι* with the textus receptus. In the other points of difference he agrees with the other critical texts referred to.

I shall have to remark again more particularly as we proceed, on one or two of the expressions on which there is a difference of reading.

There is no indication as yet of change of the speaker, or interruption of the narrative begun by him in the preceding verses. Thus the Lord Jesus, symbolically represented a little before as descending with life-giving lustre on the Roman earth, in prefiguration of the burst of gospel-light vouchsafed by Him at the *Reformation*, must be considered as still addressing St. John; and St. John as still the representative, on the Apocalyptic scene, of the reforming fathers.[1] What the speaker *now* directs John's regard to, (of course *retrospectively* as before,) is the *second* part of his Witnesses' previous eventful history; including *the Papal wild Beast's war against them,—their defeat and slaughter,—and their resurrection.* The first of these three periods I propose to discuss in a primary Section; the second and third, agreeably with their exceeding importance and interest, in a distinct Section afterward.

§ I.—The Papal Wild Beast's War against Christ's Witnesses.

"And, when they shall have perfected their testimony, the Wild Beast that is to ascend from the abyss shall make war against them."

I shall not here stop to prove that the *Wild Beast from the abyss* symbolized the ten kingdoms of Papal Christendom, or the Popes heading them. A fitter occasion will occur afterwards. Suffice it for the present to observe that the definite article indicates that but *one* wild beast was figured in the Apocalyptic imagery as of this infernal origin; that the ascription of the same origin to the seven-headed and ten-horned Wild Beast which in the vision of Apoc. xvii. appeared ridden by the Harlot, or apostatized Romish Church, marks *it* as the actual one intended:[2] and that this last is also identified by many indubitable marks with the seven-headed and ten-horned Wild Beast, which, in the vision of chapter xiii., was seen by the Evangelist

[1] See pp. 114—117 suprà.

[2] "The wild beast which thou sawest was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit:" μελλει αναβαινειν εκ της αβυσσου. xvii. 8. Its appearance is described in verse 3 of the same chapter; "I saw a woman sitting upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of the names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. . . And on her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, &c."

rising out of the sea;—perhaps the sea of the Gothic inundation.[1] Its history was deemed too important to be here described parenthetically, or in passing: and was made, in fact, the subject of those two supplemental visions of chapters xiii and xvii, to which I have just referred. Thus far, however, the Evangelist might presume respecting it, even on this its first mention to him: viz. that it was some persecuting power, that would comprehend and head those Gentile or paganized Christians that had been spoken of just before as usurping occupants of the mystic temple, or professing Church, through the previous period of the Witnesses' prophesying:[2] also that it was the same ten-horned Wild Beast that had been represented long previously to the Prophet Daniel in vision, as constituting the last and most fearful form of the Roman Empire, in its character of persecutor.[3]—Of this Wild Beast, then, it was said by the Angel; "When they (the witnesses) shall have perfected their testimony, the Wild Beast that is to ascend from the abyss shall make war against them." In the *first* clause of which sentence the *time* and *occasion* of the war is noted; in the *next* the *war itself.*

1. The *time* and *occasion.*—"When *they shall have perfected their testimony*, ὁταν τελεσωσι την μαρτυριαν αυτων, the Wild Beast shall make war against them." To explain the meaning of the clause, "*When they shall have perfected,*" (ὁταν τελεσωσι,) &c., and show how it marks *time* and *occasion*, will need a little careful critical investigation: nor can we proceed satisfactorily to our historical inquiry without in the first place deciding on it.

[1] "I saw a wild beast rise out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns." xiii. 1.—The parallel will be drawn out in my comment on Chapter xiii., and the identity, I trust, irrefragably established. Let me here simply refer to one proof of identity, itself sufficient for the purpose:—viz. the notice in Apoc. xix. 20 of the Beast in its last form, or *Beast from the abyss*, as in company with "*the False Prophet that did the miracles before him;*" in evident allusion to *the Beast from the sea*, and the *two-horned lamb-like Beast* (in false Prophet's garb) *that did miracles before him*, previously described in Apoc. xiii. 11—14.

[2] "The court which is without the temple is given to the Gentiles; and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months." xi. 2.

[3] Dan. vii. 7; "I saw a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and it had ten horns." The manuscript A somewhat remarkably adds the words το τεταρτον after θηριον, in its text of Apoc. xi. 7: "And, when they shall have perfected their testimony, the *fourth Beast* that is to arise from the abyss, &c."

The truth is that few clauses in the Apocalyptic prophecy have occasioned expositors so much trouble as this. In our authorized English version it is translated, "And *when they shall have finished* their testimony;" as if referring chronologically to *the end of the* 1260 *years* of the witnessing. And, in so far as the clause itself is concerned, that, I at once admit, may probably at first sight suggest itself as the most natural mode of translating and understanding it. But, *on comparing it with the context*, it seems to me equally plain that a discerning and thoughtful reader will see reason for concluding that such *cannot* be here the intended meaning.—For, in the first place, it would imply either that the wild Beast from the abyss never before made war against them; a supposition contrary to what is said elsewhere of this Wild Beast, both in Apoc. xiii. and xvii.:[1]—or that all its long previous wars (not against *other parties* with which the prophecy might have no concern, but) against *them*, the two witnesses for Christ, are here passed over in silence; an omission scarcely credible, considering the importance of the subject.[2]—Further there is this yet stronger objection to the above-stated translation, that it makes the 1260 years expire too soon. For the Witnesses' 1260 days of witnessing in sackcloth coincide surely with the Gentiles' 1260 days of treading down the holy city, and the Beast's 1260 of power;[3] so as

[1] In Apoc. xiii. 7; "And it was given to him to make war with *the saints*, and to overcome them:" compared with Apoc. xii. 17, which states the Dragon's direct object in evoking this wild Beast, or at least giving him his seat, and power, and great authority, to be that of *making war with the remnant of the sun-clothed woman's seed*, "which kept the commandments of God, and *had the testimony* (or *witness*) of *Jesus Christ*." (See my p. 207 suprà.) In Apoc. xvii. 6: "And I saw the woman," her that sate upon the seven-headed, ten-horned wild beast, and had its co-operation evidently in that course of acting, "drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of *the witnesses of Jesus*."

[2] Such however is Vitringa's supposition, p. 635: "Quod cave ita accipias post finem *demum* triennii et semestris belluam hanc bellum facturam esse sanctis, et eos victuram; contrarium enim liquet ex *αναλογια* omnium prophetiarum hujus libri:.. sed bestiam sub finem, vel post finem triennii et semestris, vires suas singulari modo esse exerturam; et extremo quidem sed terribili conatu, sævituram contra testes Christi."

[3] Apoc. xi. 2, 3; xiii. 5. See my p. 215 suprà.

The coincidence is admitted at the present time by nearly all interpreters of the most different schools. Of the *historical*, I need hardly say, are Mede, Vitringa, Daubuz, the two Newtons, Bicheno, Faber, Birks, &c.—Of the *Præterist*, I may specify Eichhorn, Heinrichs, Stuart. The latter, on xi. 3, after observing that some old expositors, as Hippolytus, Lactantius, and Andreas, had placed the coming of the Witnesses before Antichrist's coming, thus remarks: "But it is so evident, since both

that the latter must end when the former do: whereas, at the epoch in question, those Gentiles, and the Beast heading them, are evidently quite at the height of their triumph and power.[4]—Moreover the translation in question makes the Witnesses' 1260 days expire a considerable time before the sounding of the seventh Trumpet. For, after the statement (so translating) in the verse before us of the *finishing* of the 1260 days' mystic period, there is represented as *subsequently* occurring the Wild Beast's war against the Witnesses, their death, their resurrection, their ascension, —all consecutive events, not contemporaneous; then the effects and development of an earthquake, commencing about the time of the ascension of the Witnesses; then the termination of the second woe; then (not immediately, but after an interval)[2] the sounding of the seventh Trumpet. But our prophecy marks the seventh Trumpet æra as that, specifically, in which "they that corrupt or destroy the earth" are themselves to be destroyed;[3] i. e. very specially, as appears afterwards, the Woman of the seven hills, or mystic Babylon,[4] and Beast Antichrist her paramour. And so Apoc. x. 7 distinctly; saying that "*in the days of the 7th Trumpet* the mystery of God (including that of his Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth) shall be finished;" not before. No doubt their destruction may involve cer-

periods named are of the same length, that the writer regards them as contemporaneous, that any effort to establish this position would seem to be unnecessary."—Of the *Futurist* School may be mentioned Dr. Todd, see his Lect. v. p. 178; also Mr. Govett; and as far as regards the Gentiles and the Witnesses' 1260 days, Mr. Trotter. See his Plain Papers, p. 339.

Mr. Barker, alone of *Futurists*, so far as I know, would have the Witnesses' 1260 days, in considerable part at least, to precede the 1260 days of Gentiles treading the holy city. But, if so, why the two Witnesses' express prophesying commission for *all* the 1260 days; especially noted, as it is, in conjunction with, and as occasioned by, the Gentiles treading the holy city? Why, again, from the first their sackcloth-robing? And how can the idea be made to consist with what is said in Apoc. xii. 14 of the Woman (the true Church)'s hiding for 1260 days in the wilderness, and the Dragon's immediately raising up the Beast to make war for the 1260 days on the Woman's *witnessing sons for Christ?* But more on this hereafter.

[1] Compare Apoc. xi. 7, 9; in which latter verse the delegates "from the *nations*" are in the Greek οἱ ἐκ των ἐθνων the same word that in verse 2 is rendered *Gentiles*.

[2] Apoc. xi. 14: "The second woe is past: the third woe cometh *quickly*."

[3] "και διαφθειραι τους διαφθειροντας την γην. Apoc. xi. 18. On the twofold meaning of διαφθειρων, as both *destroying* and *corrupting*, I shall observe again when we come to the consideration of that passage.

[4] So Apoc. xix. 2; "He hath judged the great harlot, which ἐφθειρε την γην, destroyed, or corrupted, the earth with her fornication." The *Beast's* judgment follows that of his city Babylon. See xix. 20.

tain preliminary consuming judgments, ending in the final catastrophe, such as of the seven last plagues, or seven Vials. But, even so, still this seventh Trumpet, as that of the last Woe, must I think be considered to include them.[1] So that its sounding would seem at the least to define the primary end of the 1260 days, or years, of the Beast's authority and success.—A conclusion this confirmed by reference to Daniel's parallel prophecy. For there the Beast's time times and half a time, or 1260 days, of successful empire, is terminated by the establishment of Christ's reign with his saints:[2] the establishment of which reign is rejoiced over in the seventh Trumpet's heavenly song of pæan, as the result of that Trumpet's judgments.—To my own mind these objections drawn from the prophecy itself, quite irrespectively of any particular theory of interpretation, appear *all but decisive* against understanding the phrase ὅταν τελέσωσι to signify the *end* of the 1260 days, or years, of the Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth.—To year-day interpreters of the historic school, such as believe that the two witnesses symbolize a line of witnesses for Christ against Papal error, but (translating as above) look for the Witnesses' death as still future, there may be addressed the further argument, that, if their predicted death be even now future, then the prophecy, in its progress to a figuration of it, must have silently past over that mightiest of events in the history of the Christian witness against Popery, I mean the glorious *Reformation;*—a thing to my own mind utterly incredible: besides the passing over in similar silence of that mightiest of modern political events, the great *French Revolution;* itself an æra in our world's history. For, in the interval between the prophetic figuration of the Euphratean Turks' destruction of "the third of men," or Greek empire, accomplished in 1453, and that of the Witnesses' warring down by the Beast from the Abyss, and consequent death and resurrection, which, on the hypothesis spoken of, is *even now*, some 70 years after that great Revolution, *still future*, there occurs nothing in the prophecy but the vision of the

[1] Dr. Keith would place six of the seven Vials under the *Sixth* Trumpet, and the last vial only under the Seventh Trumpet. But this seems altogether unsymmetrical in an Apocalyptic scheme, and unnatural: nor am I aware of a single presumption in its favour. See my Vindiciæ Horariæ, pp. 55, 56. [2] Dan. vii. 25—27.

rainbow-crowned Angel, and his narration to St. John about the two witnesses' general character and history.—Moreover does it seem likely, after the present missionary spread of the gospel, that there will ever be a total suppression of it; or suppression as nearly total as before the Reformation?

It is not needful that we should stop at the different renderings of the clause that have been proposed, instead of the above, by different expositors; as *Mede*, *Daubuz*, *Faber*. Objections, grammatical or of some other nature, occur against them all.[1] It will be better at once to state

[1] The grammatical rule which requires that, in the conjunction of the aorist subjunctive with the particles of time ὁταν, επειδαν, (ὁτε αν, επειδη αν,) &c., there should be "the leading idea of an *action complete*, or *concluded*," (Matthiæ's Greek Grammar, p. 846,) sets aside alike *Mede's* rendering, "*When they shall be about finishing*," and that of *Daubuz*, "Whilst they *shall perform their testimony*."

As to *Mr. Faber's* distinction between *prophesying in sackcloth*, as "preaching the gospel in a despised and depressed condition," and *bearing testimony* to the gospel, as meant "of *suffering martyrdom* for it," (S. C. iii. 36,) the following obvious objections unite to set it aside. 1. Μαρτυρια is nowhere used in Scripture, *distinctively*, as a testimony unto death. St. John was but an exile in Patmos, and never suffered martyrdom. Yet he speaks of himself as suffering δια την μαρτυριαν Ιησου Χριστου. Origen's restrictive sense of the word, to which Mr. F. refers as authority, (Vol. ii. p. 81, Ed. Huet) seems to have come into vogue not very long before the time when that Father lived; * and it is by no means an absolute restriction.—2. Even admitting Origen's restrictive sense, μαρτυρια would mean not the whole previous life of a Christian, faithful among the faithless, but simply the crowning act of its testimony punished with death. Transferring which view to a *community*, or *church*, the word μαρτυρια could only signify that crowning act of its testimony, of which the consequence and punishment might be its destruction as a church and community; not the whole of its previous existence as a faithful church, for hundreds of years before, so as Mr. Faber would here construe it to mean.—3. This last argument applies *à fortiori*, and *ex abundanti*, against Mr. F.'s historical explanation: because not only does it make the μαρτυρια to include that which in Origen's sense of the word it cannot include, but actually to exclude that to which alone Origen would apply it. For it is not till after the witnesses' *finishing* their μαρτυρια, (such is Mr. Faber's as well as our authorized version's rendering of the word τελεσωσι,) that the Beast is said to make war upon them; which war, consequently, whether of longer or shorter duration, intervenes between Mr. F.'s ending of the witnesses' μαρτυρια, and their conquest by the Beast, and death. What if (assuming Origen's sense of the word) it were to be said of the Diocletianic martyr-band, that it was *after they had finished their testimony by martyrdom* that Diocletian issued edicts of persecution against them; edicts under which, *some years after*, these self-same martyrs suffered death? 4. The clause, "And they, my *two* μαρτυρες, shall *prophesy* 1260 *days in sackcloth*," implies their being Christ's μαρτυρες, or *witnesses*, all the 1260 days of their *sackcloth-robed prophesying*: for how could they do the thing, and for the time assigned them, in the character of Christ's μαρτυρες, if during a great part of that time they were in that identical character non-existent and defunct?

* In *Tertullian's* time, the use of the word was not so restricted. "O *martyrium*," says he of Shadrach and his brethren, "et sine passione perfectum;" Adv. Gnost. 8. (See Kaye on Tertullian, p. 137.) Nor indeed afterwards. Witness *Eusebius'* use of the word, H. E. v. 2, &c.: also *Theodoret's*, H. E. i. 7; where we read of the δημος μαρτυρων present at the Council of Nice; some of whom had lost an eye, some a leg, &c. For other examples see Suicer on the word Μαρτυς.

what I trust will approve itself to the reader as the true meaning; from its satisfying all the requirements of both text and context. And really, on re-consideration, it seems to me very simple.

Let it be remembered then respecting the verb τελεω that *to finish* is by no means its only, or only frequent, sense; but, quite as frequently, *to complete*, or *perfect*.[1] For τελεω means, accordantly with its etymology, to bring to a τελος. And since (to use the words of the Lexicographers Scott and Liddell) "the strict signification of τελος is not *the ending of a departed state*, but *the arrival of a complete and perfect one*,"[2] therefore τελεω signifies most properly *to bring to such a state of completion and perfectness*.—Now in multitudinous cases, more especially where it is *matter* that is acted on, when the work has been completed the operation of the agencies employed ceases; and thus *to complete*, or *perfect*, involves the sense also of *to*

[1] So, in effect, our translators render the verb in Apoc. xv. 1; ὁτι εν αυταις ετελεσθη ὁ θυμος τυ Θευ· "for in them is *filled up* the wrath of God." For *filled up* is there intended evidently in the sense of *completed*.

[2] On τελος, ad fin.—As the critical question we are discussing is one of great importance to the right understanding of the prophecy, I think it well here, and on one or two other connected points afterwards, to illustrate somewhat more fully than will be found done in the Lexicons.

As regards τελος, then, let me give the examples following.

1. Euripides, Med. 916; Ἰδοιμι δ' ὑμας ευτραφεις ἡβης τελος μολοντας· and Alcest. 425; ηδε γηρως εβας τελος ξυν ταδ'· On which says Monk; "We should Anglicise in these passages, Come to *the period* of youth, *the period* of old age." I would rather say, to the *epoch* of perfected youth, the *epoch* of complete old age; as the word *period* is one of *duration*.

2. So again Sophocles, Antig. 1225; τα νυμφικα τελη· on which Hermann cites Pollux, saying, τελος ὁ γαμος εκαλειτο. Also, to much the same effect, Æsch. Eumen. 838, γαμηλιυ τελος· where the Scholiast says in illustration, τυς γαμυντας τελειυς εκαλην.

3. Plato, Phædrus, § 138. The agriculturist, says he, σπειρας εις το προσηκον, αγαπωη αν εν ογδοῳ μηνι ὁσα εσπειρε τελος λαβοντα· would be well satisfied with his seeds then coming to maturity, or perfection.

Ib. Menex. § 22; ετι δε παισιν ωσι, και επειδαν εις ανδρος τελος ιωσιν· when they come to man's mature estate,—to perfect manhood. Similar to which is Epinom. εις πρεσβυτυ τελος αφικομενοι.

Ib. Legg. viii. § 4; αυτοις δη τοις τελος εχωσι ἱππικην παιδειαν αποδιδοιμεν· to those that have reached the age of maturity.

Ib. Menex. § 1; Δηλα δη ὁτι παιδευσεως και φιλοσοφιας επι τελει ἡγει' ειναι, και, ὡς ικανως ηδη ων, επι τα μειζω επινοεις τρεπεσθαι· thou thinkest thyself to have come to *perfectness* in philosophy.*

* In passages like the following in Jamblichus, where he speaks of the union of the soul with the eternal Λογος as το τελος της παρ' Αιγυπτιοις ἱερατικης αναγωγης, it may be doubtful whether we should understand τελος as the *perfection* and *ultimate*, or the *end* and *object*.

finish. So, to take a Scriptural illustration or two, when the work of creation, or when that of building the tabernacle, or the temple, was completed.[1]—But not so (at least not necessarily so) when the thing perfected is of such a nature, whether it be a *quality* or a *function* of some living person acting, or acted on, as to admit of, if not to imply, a continuation of the thing perfected, and of their acting to its continuation who perfected it, after the attainment of the state of perfectness. For example, in the case of the young woman personified in Ezek. xvi., it is supposed evidently that, after she had had her beauty *perfected*, she still continued to be adorned with and to exhibit that beauty.[2] In the cases described by Æschylus or Pindar of a man's prosperity and happiness as *perfected*, who thinks that they intend to imply its finishing and termination thereupon?[3] When the athlete, spoken of by Pindar, had had his strength and valour *perfected*, he is still afterwards supposed by the poet to have continued to enjoy and exercise it.[4] Again, the virtuous man eulogized by Xenophon as *perfected in temperance*, would not, of course, cease to practise that virtue after attaining to perfection in it.[5] And the same of those on whom the sacred writer urges the charge

[1] Gen. ii. 1, 2; *και συνετελεσθησαν ὁ ϗρανος και ἡ γη, και πας ὁ κοσμος αυτων· και συνετελεσεν εν τῳ ἡμερᾳ τῳ ἑκτῳ τα εργα αυτϑ.* The heavens and the earth were *completed*, and God's work *finished*.

Exod. xl. 33; Moses *συνετελεσε παντα τα εργα· completed*, or *finished*, all the works of the tabernacle, &c. &c.

Sometimes, as thus applied, *τελεω* has a noun of *time* following it, designative of the period occupied in the process of the work till its completion. So 2 Chron. xxx. 22; *Συνετελεσαν την εορτην των αζυμων ἑπτα ἡμερας.* Also Athanasius to Jovian; *την βασιλειαν μετ' ειρηνης πολλαις ετων περιοδοις επιτελεσεις.* (ap. Theodoret, H. E. iv. 3.) Somewhat similarly Phil. i. 6; "Having begun a good work in you, *επιτελεσει αχρις ἡμερας Ιησϑ Χριστου.*" But this is a sense of the verb less accurately in accord with its etymology.

[2] Ezek. xvi. 14; "Thy renown went forth among the heathen for thy beauty, for it was perfect through the comeliness which I had put upon thee:" Sept. *Εξηλθε σϑ ονομα εν τοις ἐθνεσιν εν τῳ καλλει σϑ· διοτι συντετελεσμενον ην εν ευπρεπειᾳ, εν τῃ ὡραιοτητι ᾗ εταξα επι σε.* Where the Hebrew verb rendered by *τελεω* is the same as that rendered in Ezek. xxvii. 11 by the cognate Greek verb *τελειω*; *Ετελειωσαν σϑ το καλλος.* They made thy beauty perfect." *

[3] Æsch. Agam. 760; *Παλαιφατος λογος τετυκται μεγαν τελεσθεντα φωτος ολβον τεκνωσθαι, μηδ' απαιδα θνησκειν.*

Pindar, Nem. ix. 13; *εστι δε τις λογος ανθρωπων τετελεσμενον εσλον μη χαμαι σιγᾳ καλυψαι.*

[4] Nem. iv. 70: *Εμοι αρεταν χρονος ἑρπων τελεσει.*

[5] Xen. Œconom. xxi. 12; *τετελεσμενος σωφροσυνῃ.*

* In Eurip. Bacchæ., 100, the word is otherwise applied to the full growth of a babe ere birth; *Ετεκεν ἀνικα Μοιραι τελεσαν ταυροκερων Θεον.*

to "*perfect holiness* in the fear of God."[1] Would they, when holiness was thus perfected, bring that holiness to an ending, whether in this life, or in the better life to come? In all which examples, let it be observed, it is the same verb τελεω, as here, or its compound synonyms συντελεω or επιτελεω, that are used.—Yet again in James i. 15 we read, "Sin, *when it is perfected*, ἡ αμαρτια αποτελεσθεια, bringeth forth death." Yet not so, witness the case of Adam, as that the sinning would *end*, after it had been perfected in act. Similar to which last is a clause in Dan. ix. 24, as explained by Theodoret. "Seventy hebdomads," it is there said, "are determined on thy people, and on the holy city, ἑως του παλαιωθηναι το παραπτωμα, και του τελεσθηναι αμαρτιαν· so Theodoret's copy.[2] On which he thus comments: αντι του, ἑως αν αυξηθῃ αυτων το δυσσεβες τολμημα, και τελος λαβῃ ἡ ἁμαρτια· λεγει δε αμαρτιαν τελειουμενην, και παραπτωμα παλαιουμενον, ειτ' ουν αυξανομενον, και εις εσχατον αφικνουμενον, τον κατα του κυριου τολμηθεντα σταυρον. That is to say, he explains the phrase τελεσθηναι αμαρτιαν, not as the *finishing* of sin, so as our English translation of the corresponding Hebrew understands it, but as the *perfecting* of the Jews' national sin, and bringing it to its *culminating point*, and *height of aggravation*, in the crucifixion of the Lord Jesus Christ. Yet not so as that their sin should thereupon cease. On the contrary, through the apostles' time, as the Acts and Epistles of the New Testament represent it, their sin in its aggravation was perpetuated;[3] and afterwards also, as Theodoret well knew, down to his time. And, as by Theodoret, so was the expression in Daniel explained by Eusebius before him: Επι της κατα τον Χριστον τολμηθεισης των Ιουδαιων επιβουλης συνετελεσθη αυτων ἡ αμαρτια, και ἡ προς τον Θεον αθεσια τελος ειληφε.[4]—Once more let me illustrate from the history of Sergius which we were lately reviewing, as narrated by Photius and P. Siculus.

[1] 2 Cor. vii. 1; επιτελουντες ἁγιωσυνην εν φοβῳ Θεου. Where the verb επιτελεω is used in just the same sense as επι την τελειοτητα φερεσθαι in Hebr. vi. 1; "let us go on unto perfection."

[2] In the Vatican Septuagint it stands thus, του συντελεσθηναι ἁμαρτιαν, και του σφραγισαι αμαρτιας. Theodoret's Version, I imagine, was that by Aquila.

[3] Acts vii. 51, 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16; &c.

[4] Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. viii. Mark here the use of the τελος.

Alike by the one and the other he is spoken of as at length *perfected in impiety, perfected as an instrument of Satan,* by the Paulikian woman's teaching:[1] the result being that, instead of that perfected impiety then *terminating,* it was carried out into active operation forthwith, and afterwards, even to his life's end.[2]

My conclusion is that, much in the same way, the two Apocalyptic Witnesses' μαρτυρια is viewed in the prophecy as a thing of *growth*: and that so soon as, having gone through its preliminary stages, it should have come to embrace all the subjects of protest that it was intended to embrace, and shown forth also all its evidence of divine inspiration, so soon it might be said, according to the mind of the Spirit, that the testimony was *perfected,* or had reached its *culminating* point; yet not so as to imply that the testifying was to be then at an end; but rather that it was thenceforth to be continued in its complete and perfected form.[3]

But what then the intended parts, or acts, of this μαρ-

[1] συχνον χρονον τελεσθεις ὑπ' αυτης, και συντελεσθεις την ασεβειαν, γινεται τω Αντιχριστω προδρομος. So Photius i. 99: and Petrus Siculus, p. 44; απετελεσεν αυτον εργαλειον τω Διαβολω.

From the same sense of τελεω and its cognates arose the common patristic appellation of τελειοι, or τετελεσμενοι, given to the baptized, after due catechetical instruction, as persons perfectly indoctrinated in the Christian faith:—an appellative also applied by the heathen to the perfectly instructed in their mysteries. So Theodoret, in Hos. iv. 14; καθαπερ ἡμεις τας των θειων μυστηριων ηξιωμενους πιστως(τετελεσμενους) ονομαζομεν, οὑτω τετελεσμενως ωνομαζον Ἑλληνες τας ακριβεστερον δεδιδαγμενους την σφετεραν ασεβειαν. On the Christian application of the term S. Maximus remarks, in close accordance with that observation by Scott and Liddell which was given at the beginning of this criticism; Τελειοθαι γαρ εστι το εις τελειοτητα αγεσθαι, δια της μετα το βαπτισμα δι' ευζωιας προκοπης. (Ap. Suicer on τελεω.)

[2] See pp. 257—259 suprà.

[3] When first writing on this subject in the Investigator, vol. iii. p. 185, with substantially the same view of the Witnesses' death, resurrection, and ascension that is here advocated, I proposed to construe the ὁταν τελεσωσιν, as signifying, "When, or as often as, the witnesses *shall have been fulfilling* their testimony." But this was inaccurate and insufficient; as the context of the passage shows that some marked *point of advance* and *completeness* in the witnessing is intended, such as I have shown τελεω to mean in its sense of *perfecting.*

And so too as to Hebr. ix. 6, also cited by me in illustration: where it is said of the Jewish priests that "they entered the tabernacle continually, τας λατρειας επιτελουντες, *fulfilling their services,* or priestly functions:"—a service which, day by day, included the several acts of receiving incense, carrying it with altar-fire into the holy place and burning it, kindling or snuffing the lamps, &c.:—after the whole of which was accomplished, on any one occasion, the priest might be said to have *fulfilled* his service, ετελεσε την λατρειαν αυτου, yet not so as to have then finally ceased λατρευειν. For this was only his *day's* λατρεια, not his λατρεια for all the appointed term of service, considered *as a whole:* nor with any advancement of it to a culminating point of completeness at the end of the day, to be continued afterwards.

τυρια? Obviously a protestation for Christ against each of the successively developed, and enforced, antichristian errors of the apostasy; errors as defined (not by a commentator so as to suit his own hypothesis of interpretation, but) by the Apocalyptic prophecy itself:—viz. the *sacramental error*, allusively noted in Apoc. vii., whereby the priest's opus operatum in the sacrament was made the source of life and light to the soul, instead of Christ's Spirit, and the *Church visible* very much mistaken for Christ's *true Church*; —the substitution of the *mediatorship and merits of departed saints*, which chapter viii. hints at, in place of Christ's mediatorship, merits, and atonement;—the *idolatry*, *dæmon-worship*, *sorceries*, *thefts*, *fornications*, and *murders* of the apostate church and system, specified in chapter ix.;— finally, the *support* and *headship* of the system by *the Romish Church and Romish Bishop on the seven hills*, with his *seven thunders* and *voice of Antichrist*, figured or described in chapters x., xiii., and also xvii. These are the successively developed characteristics of the apostasy noted in the Apocalypse. The protestation of Christ's witnesses had of course to embrace them all.[1] And so soon as it might have done this, and brought to bear upon it the full evidence of holy Scripture, so soon, I conceive, they might be said to have *perfected their testimony*, in the intended sense of the phrase before us.[2]

But did then the testimony of those in whom we have thought to trace Christ's witnesses advance till it had embraced all those points; and this with the full light of Scripture made to bear on them? If so, was the epoch a marked epoch; and did war from the Popedom against them mark its arrival? Such in fact was the case: indeed so strikingly so, that it is the palpable coincidence of this epoch of completion in the witnesses' testimony with that of the Papal war commencing against them, that, without one's thinking

[1] Compare my successive notices on these points in this and Vol. i.

[2] So very much Hippolytus, in his Treatise on Antichrist; Και ὁταν κηρυξωσι ταυτα παντα, (that is, When they shall have preached all necessary points of forewarning respecting Antichrist's coming and character,) παρα του Διαβολου εν ῥομφαιᾳ πεσουνται· και πληρωσουσι την μαρτυριαν αυτων. Bib. Pat. (Paris, 1624,) ii. 351.

I have already observed, p. 211, that Hippolytus' idea of the two witnesses was that they would be *Enoch* and *Elias*; (*St. John* perhaps being superadded;) and that he understood the predicted $3\frac{1}{2}$ years as years *literally* to be taken.

or seeking for it, might well *force* this interpretation on the mind.

From early times we have seen that the witnesses both of Eastern and Western origin made protestation against the *sacramental error* and the *mediatorship of saints;* setting forth *Christ* as the one source of life, *Christ* as the one mediator and intercessor for sinful men; and his Church of the faithful as the one and only Church of the promises: also against the *idolatries, sorceries, thefts, fornications, murders,* which characterized the apostate priesthood and Church of professing Christendom.[1] But against *Rome, Papal Rome,* as the predicted *head of the apostasy,* and *Babylon* and *Harlot of the Apocalypse,* and against the *Roman Popes* as *Antichrist,* they for centuries protested not. Nothing meets us nearer to a protestation on this point, than the Paulikians' saying, "We are *Christians,* ye *Romans,*" and protest (as I view it) against *Peter* as apostate,[2] until we come to Berenger's notable statement, made in the xith century, "that the Romish Church was a church of malignants, and its see not the apostolic seat, but that of Satan."[3] And that was but an insulated voice; and made by one who shrunk from acting the confessor. It was a hint however not lost. A century later came the time of Peter Valdes and his disciples. The Noble Lesson, written by one of them, as we have seen, somewhere between 1170 and 1200, marks in what it says of Antichrist a *preparation of mind,* indeed *more than preparation,* to make the great step, and recognise the predicted Babylon, Harlot, and Antichrist in Rome and the Popedom;[4] a step of advance actually taken ere the termination of the xiith century by the Waldenses, orthodox associated Paulikians, and other sectaries.[5] Just at which time also the mighty

[1] See on this the historical summaries beginning pp. 298, &c.

[2] See pp. 300, 321, 322.

[3] See p. 281 suprà.—It is remarked on by Tissington, a Romish writer of the xivth century, as a *Berengarii somnium,* a *day-dream of Berenger's,* that at the expiration of the 1000 years from Christ's death Satan was loosed, and his loosing evidenced in the promulgation of before unequalled heresies and errors by the *Romish Church;* specially that of transubstantiation. Faber on Waldenses, p. 394.

[4] "We ought to be well advised when Antichrist shall come. But, according to Scripture, there are *many Antichrists;*" a statement pointing to the *Romish* Church (so I inferred from the representations previously drawn by the writer of its practices and doctrines) as those of a soul-destroying apostate church.—See pp. 370, 371, 394.

[5] See Reinerius' testimony to this effect given by me, p. 371.

act was done of the translation and circulation of the Scriptures, far and wide, in the vulgar tongue. Then the witness-testimony might indeed be considered to have been *brought to its culminating point, and perfected.*[1]

And what then followed? Forthwith the Popedom—of which previously the separate members alone, acting independently of the Head, had moved against heretics—roused itself collectively in the 3rd Lateran General Council of 1179, and declared war against them. As Mede observes in one place, though without any reference to the clause or the interpretation before us; "Never before this time (i. e. the xiith century) had suspicion arisen of the Papacy being Antichrist."[2] And, in another; "The Beast

[1] The Rev. W. Digby has objected that the Witnesses could not be said to have *completed* the details of their testimony, until they had set forth the doctrine of *justification by faith alone*, so as at the Reformation.

But the objection seems founded on mistake. I believe that which is the *essence* of the doctrine of *justification by faith alone* to have been held and propounded by *Augustine*, and the most eminent of his followers, though not in the distinct *forensic* sense. So *Luther* himself judged. "No sophist," says he, "was ever able to understand these words, 'The just shall live by faith;' neither did the Fathers of the Church understand them, *St. Augustine excepted.*" And in another place; "The best and chiefest sentences in *St. Austin* are these, 'Sins are forgiven, not that they are no more present, but in that they are not imputed.' And again, 'The law to them is fulfilled, when that is pardoned which is not fulfilled nor performed.'" (Table Talk, i. 23, ii. 87. Also Michelet, i. 12.) *Melancthon* too refers to *Augustine* as having substantially held the doctrine. (Works, Vol. iii. Fol. Ed.) Also *Prince George of Anhalt;* (ap. Seckendorf, iii. 507, 509:) citing from Augustine's De Spiritu et Literâ, c. 13, "Colligimus non justificari hominem præceptis bonæ vitæ, nisi per fidem Jesus Christi; hoc est non lege operum, sed lege fidei; non literâ sed spiritu, non factorum meritâ sed gratuitâ gratiâ;" and from his Tract 43 on John; "Quòd rejiciantur qui non fuerint crediturí fide, quâ solâ possent à peccatorum obligatione liberari." He observes further that Augustine's arguments against the Pelagians of his day were precisely applicable to the opponents of the Lutheran doctrines; "ut in articulo de justificatione coram Deo, de causâ nostræ salutis, de lege, de viribus liberi arbitrii, de humanis meritis, de gratiâ Dei, et remissione peccatorum, de fide, de bonis operibus, et si qui alii articuli cùm his cohærent."

To the same effect it is observed by Mr. Keble of *Hooker*, one of the great masters of our English Church on the doctrine of justification, that the writer to whose interpretation he deferred most constantly, and with deepest reverence, was undoubtedly *St. Austin.* Pref. p. xcviii.

Nor did Augustine's witness on this point fail of being continued afterwards. On *Claude of Turin's* correct view of *justification by faith* see my p. 237, Note[5] suprà; on that of the *Lyonnese Church* in the 9th century, the extracts at p. 242, Note[3]; on the *Paulikians*, pp. 339, 340: again, on *Wiclif's*, Le Bas, pp. 207—209. So too *Walter Brute*, A.D. 1391; as we see in Foxe iii. 150.—The truth seems to me this, that the Augustinian doctrines of grace involved that of justification and forgiveness, freely and gratuitously, on account of the merit of Christ's redemption, Christ's blood, Christ's righteousness; though the *forensic view* of the matter set forth by Luther brought it into much clearer and fuller light. See the Rel. Tr. Soc. Church Hist. vi. 422.

[2] "Nondum enim Romanum Pontificem esse magnum illum, et κυριως dictum Antichristum.. suspicati sunt; sed alium triennalem et semestrem expectabant." He

made not war against the witnesses immediately from the commencement of his existence, but in the xiith (*the same xiith*) century: at the which time the war *was* made by him against both Albigenses, Waldenses, and saints of Christ called, as it might be, by whatever other name." [1]

2. And thus we come to consider, secondly, the *war itself.*

Let me premise that the delay of this war until the time we speak of, is a thing not to be wondered at. It resulted almost necessarily from the circumstance of the gradual growth and development of the Papal Antichrist.—First, and as regards *Rome,* not until its supremacy was established over every national *church* in apostate Christendom, and the circulation transmitted from it, as from head to members, could Rome consider itself identified with the prevalent superstitions everywhere, as part and parcel of its own greatness and wealth. Not until its religious supremacy was established over each *state* in Christendom, and the temporal power subjected to the spiritual, could it command the secular sword to strike down what it called heresy or heretic. Now the Roman *pretensions* to all this supremacy bore date as early as the 6th or 7th century. But their *establishment* required time and occasion. In the 9th century the question of the independency of *Bishops* was brought to issue against them, in the contest between Pope Nicolas I and Hincmar.[2] In the 11th, and beginning of the 12th, the battle of the investitures with the German

adds; "Neque ante hoc tempus (A.D. 1120) quicquam ex omni Christianorum memoriâ auditum fuisse crediderim de Papatu, magno illo et κυριως dicto Antichristo." Works, pp. 721, 722. So Bishop Hurd: "Mr. Mede seems to have proved that the true doctrine of Antichrist was, and was intended to be, a mystery, or secret, till the xiith century." A statement quoted and observed on by Maitland, in his Enquiry, p. 77. See too his Remarks on the Christian Guardian, p. 95.

From this time, I need hardly say, the witness on this point was perpetuated downwards.

[1] "Bellum autem isthoc non statim ab initio suo gessit Bestia, sed postquam jam ad ακμην suam pervenerat, currente seculo à Christo nato duodecimo. Prima ejus expeditio incubuit in Albigenses et Waldenses, et si quo alio nomine tunc appellati sint veri Christi cultores." Works, p. 503.—So Waddington, H. E. ii. 186, after relating the burning of the Orleanist Canons in 1022, observes; "In this barbarous transaction . . we have found no proof of *papal* interference; nor indeed have we observed any very important pontifical edicts for the extirpation of heresy earlier than the reign of Alexander III:" i. e. in the Council of Tours under his presidency, A.D. 1163.

[2] See Wadd. ii. 25.

Emperors terminated mainly in the Papal favour.[1] The monster, the *Beast from the Abyss*, now appeared in his maturity:[2] the superstitions and corruptions of apostate Christendom were his very life-blood; the horns of the ten kingdoms growing from his head, his instruments of destruction against opposers: and thenceforth woe to the blasphemous unbeliever, or heretic, that might raise a voice against him.—Secondly, and as regards the *witnessing body for Christ*, not until this completed and palpable identification of *Rome* with the corruptions and apostasy of Christendom, could it be supposed that their duty would seem clear, as they had been before testifying against particular errors of the apostasy, so now to protest against ROME itself, as the *centre*, *source*, and *head of the apostasy*. But then the duty *was* clear. Hence, after the prior and half-suppressed warning-voice from Berenger, the suspicion, and soon the deliberate protest, based on Scripture, of the early Waldenses against Papal Rome, as the head of all evil in the Church, the predicted Beast from the abyss, the Apocalyptic Babylon, and Antichrist.[3] The charge was made, as we have seen, just about the close of the xiith century: and coincidently with it, or nearly so, the Wild Beast, now thoroughly prepared, turned, as might have been expected, his fierce rage against these Witnesses for Christ, and made war upon them.[4]

It needs not that I describe at any length the proceedings of the war.—Its earlier actions are traceable, as already towards the close of my previous Chapter anticipatively intimated,[5] in the Councils of the xiith and xiiith centuries. First in a Council at Tours, A.D. 1163, Pope Alexander III, after noticing the detestable Albigensian heresy that had spread like a cancer from Toulouse into various provinces of Gaul, interdicts all from yielding the heretics

[1] Wadd. ii. 110. See also Mosheim.

[2] Thus Gibbon, xi. 152, notices the æra of Innocent III as that of the meridian of papal greatness. And so also Mede, as cited in a note just preceding.

[3] See the Discussion at Montreal in 1207; also Reiner, in a passage just before referred to. See pp. 370, 371 suprà.

[4] Muston, p. 321, quotes *Thuanus* writing thus as to Rome's dealing with heretics; "Sanguini semper parcitum est donec ad tempora Waldensium perventum:" a statement to the same effect as Mede's quoted before by me:—adding however from Boyer; "Depuis ce tems là on n'a cessé de les persecuter, et de leur *faire la guerre*:" the very Apocalyptic phrase.

[5] See pp. 368, 369 suprà.

refuge, and from communicating with them in buying and selling, or in the solace of human conversation.[1] Next followed the decree of the 3rd Lateran Council, A.D. 1179, (a *general* Council, under the same Pope, of Western Christendom,) against both Cathari, Patareni, Publicani, and heretics of other appellation: pronouncing anathema on them and their followers; and forbidding that any should harbour them while alive, or when dead give them Christian burial.[2]—In 1183 a Bull of Lucius III, Alexander's successor, was issued; in the purport of which the Emperor Frederic (i. e. Frederic I) is said to have expressly coincided; denouncing anathema against Cathari, Patareni, Arnaldistæ, and those who called themselves Humiliati, or Poor Men of Lyons: their favourers to be given up for punishment to the secular arm, after prior degradation if of the order of clergy; and *inquisition* (a fearful word now first broached) to be carried on, for their more effectual detection and suppression.[3] In 1198 Innocent III succeeded to the Popedom: and instantly showed what was to be one chief characteristic of his reign, by Epistles written to various prelates in the first year of his pontificate; charging them to gird themselves for the work of extirpation, and to employ, if necessary, the arms both of princes and people.[4] Then followed his mission of *Legates*, assisted by the Spaniard *Dominic*, as *Inquisitors* into the heretical pravity of the district of Toulouse: then, at a few years' interval, the proclamation of a *Crusade*, with all its horrors,[5] against the heretics. The institution of the Franciscan and Dominican

[1] Harduin, vi. ii. 1597. I here take for granted, and without any doubt in my own mind on the subject, that among these condemned Albigensian heretics there were included some of those with whom the Lyonnese Waldenses mixed afterwards, as being on essential points similar in faith. See pp. 382—384 suprà.

Compare, on this exclusion of the heretics from buying, selling, the use of the market, and all open social intercourse, a similar exclusion of the early Christians by heathen Rome. So the Letter of the Lyonnese Christians; *ὡστε μη μονον οικιων και βαλανειων και αγορας ειργεσθαι, αλλα και του καθολου φαινεσθαι ἡμων τινα αυτοις απειρηθαι.* Euseb. H. E. v. 1. This is noted by Casaubon on Lampridius' Life of Alex. Severus, c. 15.

[2] Hard. ib. 1683. [3] Ib. 1878.—See on this my p. 369 suprà.

[4] "This last suggestion," says Dean Waddington, ii. 187, "was provident. The *populace* might sometimes be excited to an act of outrage, when the *authorities* were neutral in the quarrel."

[5] Take what follows as a specimen. "When the crusaders were on the point of storming Beziers, some one inquired how the Catholics were to be distinguished from the heretical inhabitants, in the massacre about to take place. 'Kill them all,' re-

orders furnished a supply of instruments well fitted to carry out the schemes of inquisition and of blood.[1] The 4th Lateran General Council, in 1215, re-urged and sanctioned all former plans for the extirpation of heresy: the *secular* powers being expressly subordinated to the *spiritual* for the purpose; vassals absolved from their allegiance, in case of any secular lord, dependent or supreme, refusing;[2] and crusaders against the heretics rewarded with every the same indulgence and privilege as the Crusaders to the Holy Land. That of Narbonne,[3] and then that of Toulouse[4] followed; Councils presided over by Legates of the Roman See: in which, besides other methods of *detection*, even *children* were compelled on oath to denounce all whom they might know as heretics;[5] and, besides other methods of *suppression*, the Holy Scriptures, that dreaded source of light, were strictly interdicted to the laity.[6] I shall but allude further, in passing, to the subsequent anti-heretical Councils of Arles, of Narbonne again, and of Tarragona, in the years 1234, 1235, 1242 respectively;[7] to Gregory the IXth's Bull against heretics in 1236;[8] and in 1244 Innocent the IVth's, citing and enforcing the cruel edicts of Frederic II.[9]—The

plied Arnold, a Cistercian Abbot, who happened to be present; 'God will know his own.' His advice appears to have been followed; and about 7000 of all persuasions suffered." Ibid. 189; Gieseler ii. 385.

[1] So Mosheim, xiii. 2. 2. 26; "Binæ hæ familiæ labantem ecclesiæ Romanæ fortunam hæreticis explorandis et extirpandis'. . mirificè fulciebant." He says elsewhere (ib. 24) that they did for the support of the Romish Church in the xiiith century, what the Jesuits did for it in the xvith.—See, on their rise, my pp. 34, 389.

[2] "Si Dominus temporalis, requisitus et monitus ab ecclesiâ, terram suam purgare neglexerit ab hâc hæreticâ fœditate, per metropolitanum . . excommunicationis vinculo innodetur. Et si satisfacere contempserit intrà annum, significetur hoc Summo Pontifici; ut extunc ipse vassallos ab ejus fidelitate denunciet absolutos, et terram exponat catholicis occupandam, qui eam exterminatis hæreticis sine ullâ contradictione possideant . . . . salvo jure domini principalis, *dummodo super hoc ipse nullum præstet obstaculum;* . . . . câdem nihilo minus lege servatâ circa eos qui non habent dominos principales." Hard. vii. 19. The reader should mark how the *suzerains*, as well as inferior chiefs, were included.

[3] A.D. 1227. Hard. vii. 148.

[4] A.D. 1229. Ib. 176.

[5] Ib. 178. Canon xii.

[6] "Prohibemus etiam ne libros Veteris Testamenti aut Novi laici permittantur habere; nisi forte Psalterium vel Breviarium pro divinis officiis, aut Horas beatæ Mariæ, aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translatione arctissimè inhibemus." Ib. 178; Canon xiv.; a Canon already alluded to pp. 21, 22, 375 suprà.

[7] Harduin vii. 236, 251, 349. In this of Tarragona, the *Insabbatati*, *Valdenses*, and *Pauperes de Lugduno* are particularized.—Of the same date is Innocent the IVth's Constitution "for the extirpation of the tares of heresy," addressed to the Lombard Princes. Ib. 354.

[8] Hard. vii. 163. Noted in M'Crie's Italy, p. 4.

[9] Harduin ib. 354, 370—374. Alluded to p. 386 suprà.—By one of these Edicts of Frederic, heretics were condemned to the *fire*. But it was allowed to the Bishops to

fact of the commencement of this Papal anti-Witness war is strongly marked in European history.[1] The Popes, and all Western Christendom under their leading, had evidently entered on it as a *war of extermination* against all whom Rome might adjudge heretics:—against the Waldenses and associated Albigenses pre-eminently; those whom we have seen reason to regard as pre-eminently *Witnesses for Jesus*.

§ 2. Defeat and death of the Witnesses.

The progress of the Papal war against them, in the xiith and two following centuries, has been already briefly sketched in my exposition of what is said in Apoc. ix. 21 of *murders*, as one of the sins chargeable on the men of Western Christendom, before and after the destruction of Constantinople by the Turkish woe.[2] In fact persecution followed the Waldenses (in the enlarged sense of the word)[3] into all their missions and settlements: not in Piedmont and Dauphiny alone; but in Spain and in Calabria, in France and in Flanders, in Germany and in Bohemia. Everywhere the blood-hound spirit of the Inquisition, even though the *Holy Office* might not have been regularly organized in the country, pursued and tracked them: and the *wild Beast from the abyss*, or Papal power acting on and directing the secular in Western Europe, adjudged them to condign punishment. Nor was it against Waldenses only; but against those who, whether off-shoots derived directly from them, or not, were inspired with the same spirit of witnessing for Christ: against Wicliff and

show mercy, where they thought proper; "provided the *tongues of those who should be pardoned were cut out*, so that they might not again blaspheme!" M'Crie, ib. p. 6.

[1] The Jesuit *Gretzer*, in his *Prolegomena in Lucæ Tudensis Successaneos*, has a chapter on the measures "quibus sectæ Waldensium, nimium sese diffundenti, obviam itum sit," i. e. in the xiith and xiiith centuries, which he thus sums up:—1st, the zeal and labours of Dominic and the Dominicans:—2, the Inquisition:—3, the Councils; specially the 3rd and 4th Lateran:—4, the Pontifical Constitutions against heretics:—5, the anti-heretical Crusades:—6, the imperial laws, specially of Frederic II; whereby, among other enactments, heretics themselves were adjudged (as persons guilty of *worse than treason*) to *infamy, confiscation, death*, and, if obstinate, death by *public burning*; also *their favourers* excluded from *office*, as well as from admission into courts of justice, either as witnesses or suitors; and from the power either of *inheriting* or *willing away* property; further, if temporal lords, condemned to *deprivation of their lands and territories*, which were to be abandoned to Catholic invaders. B. P. M. xxv. 256, 257.

[2] See my pp. 20—23, and 28—30, suprà.

[3] See pp. 382, 385, 386.

the Wicliffites more especially in England, and Huss and the Hussites in Bohemia.[1]—It was marvellous, considering the might arrayed against them, that these witnesses endured as they did. Through not the xiiith only, but the xivth and xvth centuries also, in spite of racks and prisons, of the sword and of the flame,[2] their voice was still raised in protestation against the lies of Popery, and for the truth as it is in Jesus.[3] At length however, as the xvth century drew to a close, after a furious renewal of crusades against the Waldenses of Dauphiny and Piedmont, and the purer surviving section of the Hussites in Bohemia, the attainment of the Papal object seemed at hand, and victory nearer and more near within its grasp.—It was just what had been predicted. For, "The wild Beast from the

[1] *Poplinière*, in the 1st Book of his History of France, thus writes on this point. "La doctrine des Vaudois a été communiquée aux Anglais par les habitans de quartiers d'Alby, nommés Albigeois, qui en ce tems là se trouvaient leurs voisins; parcequ'alors les Anglais possedaient la Guienne, et qu'elle fut semée dans l'entendement de plusieurs qui la porterent en Angleterre, où elle tomba de main en main dans la tête de *Viclef*, fort renommé theologien dans l'Université d'Oxford. . . Un ecolier porta à *Prague* un livre de Viclef, nommé 'Des Universales;' lequel eclaircit la doctrine deja des long tems semée en *Bohème* par les Vaudois, qui s'y étaient refugiés des le tems de Valdo." Cited by Leger i. 176; and Peyran sur les Vaudois, pp. 12, 13. (Ed. Sims.)

Leger, Part i. p. 19, (after D'Aubigny,) says that *Lollard*, a Waldensian pastor, went to London, and there disseminated Waldensian or Gospel principles: and that it was from him that the later sectaries (of Wicliffite principles) were called *Lollards*.*

Milner represents this *Lollard* to have been a converted Franciscan; to have first preached to the English in Guienne, then an English Province under Edward III; and at length to have been burnt by the Inquisitors at Cologne. p. 557. †

Camerarius, in his History of the Bohemian Brethren, (p. 264,) similarly speaks of Wicliff as a spiritual ally of the Waldenses; "*Viclefus* à *Waldensibus* adjutus dicatur;" adding also of him, "qui *Hussium nostrum* excitavit." Comenius, in his "Persecutions of the Bohemian Church," notes in Ch. xx. its communion with the Moravian Waldenses in the xvth Century.

On *Huss's* connexion with Wicliff see further Southey's Book of the Church, p. 228, who states that Lord Cobham sent copies of Wicliff's writings into Bohemia; and L'Enfant, Hist. of Council of Constance, B. i. 21.

[2] For the form of a Wicliffite's execution see my abstract from Southey, p. 164 suprà.

[3] "In England and Scotland the disciples of Wicliff, vulgarly stigmatized by the title of *Lollards*, continued to inveigh against the laws of the Pontiffs, and licentious manners of the clergy. And the *Waldenses*, though persecuted and oppressed on all sides, and from every quarter, raised their voices from their remote valleys and hiding-places, whither they were driven by the violence of their enemies." Mosheim xv. 2. 3. 2.—See also Le Bas' Life of Wicliff, p. 430—434, on the continuance of the Lollards' witnessing through the reign of Henry VII; i. e. up to the year 1510.

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* Otherwise, as Southey, Book of Ch., p. 206, and Gieseler iii. 99, from *lollen*, to sing.

† If so, *Lollard* was not the first monkish Inquisitor changed from a persecutor to a convert, and martyr. *Echard*, a Dominican, is particularly noted about the year 1230. After persecuting to the death, he inquired, was convinced, and joined the Waldensian Brethren; then preached, and was martyred in 1234 at Heidelberg. So Milner, Cent. xiii. c. 4, p. 557; and Monastier i. 160.

abyss shall make war on them," was not the whole of the prophecy. It had been added; "And *he shall conquer them:* and *he shall kill them.*"

And thus we are brought to a point in the witnesses' history, retrospectively sketched for his servants' consideration by the Angel-Spirit of the Reformation, of the deepest interest; viz. *the slaughter and death of the Witnesses.* Being a point, both in itself and in respect of events connected with it, of such extraordinary interest and importance, it is described in the Angel's narrative with corresponding distinctness and circumstantiality. Nor, I think, does it need more than to attend carefully to all the particulars predicted, in order to arrive at a pretty clear conviction, that the intended epoch was that which immediately preceded the Reformation.

1. The first indication notable in the prophecy is the *strength of the figure* used, to the effect of these two witnesses being *both* of them *killed* by the Papal Beast, and *lying dead.* I speak of it as a *figure* because, the *witnesses* being *symbolic*, the *death* spoken of must be considered *symbolic* also: but it is a figure so strong as to signify nothing less than the *complete silencing* of those they represented;—their apparent extermination, in fact, before Christendom. Now when was there any such complete silencing of all witnessing for Christ, and against the apostasy? I deem it essential, in order to a satisfactory solution of the question, that the period fixed on should be that at which, —not by the *prophetic commentator's* partial representation, but by *common consent of historians*, the voice of anti-papal testimony was most effectually silenced throughout Europe, and the Popedom (though with some quick following reaction, such as the Apocalyptic sequel signified) most triumphant. And I may boldly say that there is but one æra in European history that can answer this condition; —I mean *the opening of the xvith century*, just before the Reformation.—Let us pause a few moments on the æra. In a former sketch of the close of the xvth century,[1] it was mentioned that in the year 1499 the Bohemian witness-

[1] See p. 39 suprà.

churches sent deputies, to search throughout Europe for other churches of kindred anti-papal feeling and profession; but that such had been the silencing effect of the crusades, carried on just a little before against the Waldenses of France and Piedmont, that the deputies returned unsuccessful.[1] The Brethren had only, it is related, to implore God's mercy on fallen Christendom; and, in hope of some gracious interference in its favour, to pass the resolution that same year in a synod, that *if* anywhere God should raise up faithful teachers and reformers of the church, they would make common cause with them.—Soon after this the Bohemian United Brethren (the only ones of the Hussite schismatics, as a little before remarked, that could be regarded any longer as witnesses for Christ)[2] were themselves all but silenced; in part through a persecuting decree of the Diet and king Wladislas.[3]—And thus what was the prospect of things when the new century opened? Says *Cardinal Pallavicini*, the famous Romish historian of the Council of Trent: "In the *West* the true faith flourished, with scarce any contamination attaching to it: there remaining only, *almost invisible*, certain minute stains of ignoble and despised heresies, followed by a little flock of rustic and rude men: the remnant either of the Waldenses, or of the followers of John Huss, who had been condemned and burnt a century before, in the Council of Constance:"[4] —a view of things just similar to that of the more enlightened and semi-Protestant historian of the Tridentine Council, *Padre Paolo*.[5] Says *Mosheim:* "As the xvith century

[1] Bost's Histoire des Freres, i. 106: "Ces deux deputés ne trouverent, sauf un petit nombre de Vaudois opprimés, que quelques fidèles isolés, qui soupiraient en silence après la delivrance d'Israel." Bost by mistake dates this A.D. 1489; stating that it was the second of two such missions. Fleming more correctly dates them 1497 and 1499. For the second mission heard of Savonarola's death; which occurred April, 1498.

[2] I refer my readers to the Appendix for a brief historic sketch of this section of the Hussites; marking their distinctiveness from the Bohemian Calixtines, and their true witness-character. It is taken from the Vindiciæ Horariæ.

[3] I shall have to enter more particularly in a little while on the then state of the Bohemian witnessing Churches.

[4] "Nel occidente la vera fide fioriva per poco incontaminata: rimandosi quasi invisibili alcune minute macchie d'ignobili e disprezzate eresie, seguitate da picciol grege d' uomini rustici e idioti; che eran reliquie o degli antichi Valdesi, o de' seguaci di Giovanni Huss." Vol. i. p. 17. (Ed. Milan, 1831.)

[5] "In the beginning of the xvith century... there appeared no urgent cause to celebrate a Council... For the complaints of many Churches against the greatness of

opened, no danger seemed to threaten the Roman Pontiffs. The agitations excited in former centuries by the Waldenses, Albigenses, Beghards, . . . and afterwards by the Bohemians, had been *suppressed* and *extinguished* by counsel and the sword. The surviving remnant of Waldenses lived hardly, pent up in the narrow limits of the Piedmontese valleys: . . . and those of the Bohemians, who were opposed to the tenets of Rome, through their weakness and ignorance, could attempt nothing; and thus were an object of contempt, rather than fear." [1] And as Mosheim, so his more spiritual follower in ecclesiastical history, *Milner*:— "The xvith century opened with a prospect of all others the most gloomy, in the eyes of every true Christian. Corruption both in doctrine and practice had exceeded all bounds. The general face of all Europe, though Christ's name was everywhere professed, presented nothing that was properly evangelical. . . . The Waldenses were too feeble to molest the Popedom; and the Hussites, divided among themselves, and worn out by a long series of contentions, were *reduced to silence*." [2] So again *Schrökh*.[3] And so, (not to multiply authorities further,) in language strikingly to the point, the *writer* on the *Reformation* in the Encyclopædia Britannica: "Everything was quiet; *every heretic exterminated;* and the whole Christian world supinely acquiesced in the enormous absurdities inculcated on them; [sc. by the Romish Church;] when"—I only break off the quotation, at his notice of just such a speedy, sudden, and extraordinary *revival of the witnessing*, as we saw from the prophetic sequel ought to follow the event intended by

the Court seemed absolutely to be appeased, and all the countries of the Western kingdoms were in the communion and obedience of the Church of Rome... Only in a small part,.. where the Alps are joined with the Pyrenees, there were some remains of the old Waldenses or Albigenses: in whom, notwithstanding, there was so great simplicity and ignorance in learning, that they were not fit to communicate their doctrine unto others... In some cantons also of Bohemia there were some few who maintained the same doctrine;.. whose increase could not be feared for the same reason." p. 3. (English Transl. London, 1676.)

[1] Cent. xvi. i. 1. His expression about the suppression of the Waldenses, &c., is "ferro et consilio *compressi* et *extincti erant*."

[2] Cent. xvi. i.

[3] *Schrökh's* testimony will be found as follows. "Die Waldenser Wikliffiten und Hussiten waren entweder durch ihrer Uebermacht ganz vernichtet; oder zu so swachen Ueberbleibsalen heruntergebracht worden, dass diese froh seyn mussten, hin und wieder, nur noch geduldet zu werden." Christliche Kirchen Geschichte, seit der Reform. Theil i. p. 75.

the *death of the Witnesses:* of which revival all the historians above cited proceed also to speak in contrast; and of which more hereafter.[1]

Thus does the *first* characteristic of the predicted witness-suppression, namely its *completeness throughout Western Christendom*, (a completeness such as to answer to the strong figure of Christ's two witnesses appearing *both* of them[2] *killed* by the Beast from the abyss, and *lying dead*,) fix the epoch approximately, on the clear testimony of history, to some little after the commencement of the xvith century. A reference, such as has been suggested by certain commentators, to one or another partial suppression of Protestant preaching, in one or another country of Western Christendom, *subsequent to the Reformation*, is, I conceive, by this one point of inconsistency, (even were it the only one,) put at once and altogether out of the question.[3]

2. The same epoch will appear to be pointed out, only

[1] I must beg my reader's particular attention to this concurrent voice of history, on the point in question; because Dr. Keith has most strangely misrepresented my view of the Witnesses' death, as if altogether dependent on an expression by an orator in the Lateran Council, of which more in the sequel.—Other testimonies, more exactly defining the epoch, will be added a little later.

[2] The expression πτωμα, or *dead body*, i. e. of the two Witnesses, in the singular number, while indicating the *figurative* notice of the prophecy, may also perhaps further indicate the unity in spirit of such witnesses as till then remained.—Compare Deut. xxviii. 26; "*Thy carcase* shall be meat to the fowls of the air." Said of the Israelitish nation.

[3] For example, 1st *Cuninghame's;* (much like one of *Brightman's;*) which refers the *slaughter* of the Witnesses to the *Interim* Decree May, 1548, consequent on Charles Vth's victory over the Protestants at Muhlburg in 1547; their *resurrection* to Prince Maurice's victory and the consequent *Treaty of Passau*, A.D. 1552, near four years after; whereby civil and political equality was awarded to Protestants throughout the German empire.—2. *Bishop Lloyd's* and *Mr. Whiston's*, which dates the Witnesses' *death* from the Duke of Savoy's *slaughter* and *banishment of the Waldenses from Piedmont*, December, 1686; their *resurrection* from their triumphant return under Henry Arnaud, June 4, 1690:—just similar to which is *Mr. Faber's;* except that he dates the *death* from the Duke of Savoy's Edict forbidding the exercise of their religion, Jan. 31, 1686, the *resurrection* Aug. 16, 1689, when the exiles invaded Savoy.—3. That of Messrs. *Irving and Frere;* which supposes the *slaughter* of the Witnesses to have occurred Nov. 1793, on the French national espousal of atheism; their *resurrection* on the national re-profession of Christianity, June 17, 1797.

What meanwhile of the *English* witness-church at each of these epochs?—For instance, with regard to the *first* mentioned, Mr. Cuninghame's observation on another occasion, (Appendix, 357,) "It will not be disputed that in the reign of the English *Elizabeth* the Witnesses were in the political heaven of England," applies nearly as much to the reign of *Edward VI;* in which, as he says justly elsewhere, (p. 110,) the English Reformation "was completed." How then could that be the period of the *death of the two Witnesses*, which, as being comprehended in Edward's reign, was that of their *political ascent and exaltation* in England? Not to add, how could they be *slain* in Germany itself by an Ordinance of doctrine and worship professedly *ad interim* only, purposely *ambiguous*, and as offensive (see Mosh. xvi. 1. 4. 4.) to the *Papists* as to the Protestants?—Again, with regard to Mr. Faber's view, it was during

much more exactly and definitely, by the predicted *circumstantials* of the two Apocalyptic witnesses' death, or rather of its public evidence and recognition;—circumstantials as to *place* and *occasion*.

The *local scene* of their being exposed as dead is described as "the πλατεια (that is, the *broad street*, or *place*) of *the great city*:"[1] that same great city, it is added, "which is spiritually called *Sodom* and *Egypt*;" and "*where also their Lord*[2] [the Lord of the two witnesses] *was crucified*."[3] A passage this so critically important, and with such a bearing on all Apocalyptic interpretation, as to demand our most especial care in the consideration of it.

There are, we see, four designatives to the city:—the 1st, *the city the great one*, obviously literal; the two next, *Sodom* and *Egypt*, declaredly in a sense not literal, but figurative, and as *spiritually* understood; the 4th, *where also their Lord* εσταυρωθη, in a sense more doubtful; whether literal like the 1st, or figurative and spiritual, like the two that immediately precede it. It is in fact on the primâ facie doubtfulness of the intent of this last that doubt has chiefly risen on the question, whether the predicted scene of the two witnesses' death be *Rome* or *Jerusalem*.

Now to myself, I must beg to say, the *primary* designative seems so decisively and necessarily to indicate *Rome*, that nothing but the absolute impossibility of applying the other three designatives to it (and instead of any such impossibility the perfect applicability of all three will soon appear)

the 'time of the Witnesses' supposed death that King William III was established, distinctly in virtue of his Protestantism, on the English throne.

Mr. Faber's view labours with other difficulties, from his making the two distinct Waldensian and Albigensian Churches his two Witnesses. For where is his evidence that the Waldensic Church, for example, was established as a separate Church from Rome before the time (above two centuries after his date) of Claude of Turin? Besides that its witnessing was no μαρτυρια, in his own sense of the word, i. e. as witnessing unto death, (see my Note [1], p. 415 suprà,) till long after Claude.

[1] It is to be remembered that the correct reading of the Greek Text here seems to be επι της πλατειας της πολεως της μεγαλης, with the της inserted before πολεως. So Tregelles and Wordsworth, in their late elaborate and critical Editions of the Apocalyptic Text; it being so given alike in the Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Ephraemi, as well as many others. So too Heinrichs. And Bishop Middleton, on the Greek Article, (ad Apoc. x. 8,) says that "the Greek practice requires the της."

[2] ὁ Κυριος αυτων is the reading of the critical editions; as I have observed before.

[3] εσταυρωθη. Perhaps, rather, *has been crucified*. The aorist, as already remarked from Matthiæ, p. 201 suprà, has sometimes the sense of a perfect. Such e. g. is the rendering of εβασταsας, ετηρησας, ενικησε, Apoc. ii. 3, iii. 8, v. 5, &c., in our English translation.

would seem to me even to open the question as to the alternative of any other city. For in a drama, like the Apocalypse, of the most beautiful unity and consistency, *the city the great one*, from the very nature of the expression, must needs be a title applicable to but *one* city; not, indifferently and alike, to *two:* and we have elsewhere the divine interpreter's own explanatory statement as to the real city meant by it; "The woman thou sawest [the one *seated on seven hills*] is ἡ πολις ἡ μεγαλη, *the city the great one*, that ruleth over the kings of the earth." [1] So the title is fixed to *Rome:* and that it is one most fit, is evident; as Rome was known and celebrated in St. John's time, and long after, as κατ' ἐξοχην the μεγαλοπολις, or *great city*.[2]—In six places elsewhere in the Apocalypse (I mean six besides Apoc. xvii. 18 just cited, and the verse now under discussion) does the same phrase occur: and in *five* of these (viz. Apoc. xviii. 10, 16, 18, 19, 21) confessedly by *all* interpreters, and necessarily, with reference to *Rome;* also the same in the remaining *sixth* too, (Apoc. xvi. 19,) by confession of *almost all* interpreters, and in my opinion just as necessarily as the rest.[3] A fact this strongly confirmatory of course of my view of the same application of the term attaching here.—Further it is the great seven-hilled city, *Rome*, that is in Apoc. xvii. 3 distinctly and intimately associated, so as is this city, with the witness-destroying

[1] Apoc. xvii. 9, 18.

[2] So e. g. Manilius, in Augustus' time, Lib iv.;

> Italiâ in summâ; quam rerum maxima Roma
> Imposuit terris.

So too Eusebius, in the Constantin. Orat. c. 22: συνοιδε και επαινει ἡ μεγαλοπολις· and again in his De Laud. Constant. c. 13. On the former see Valesius' Note.

[3] Apoc. xvi. 19 is as follows: "And *the city the great one* was divided into three parts; and the cities of the nations fell; and the great Babylon came up in remembrance before God, to give her the cup of the wine of the wrath of his anger." Now *the great Babylon* is in the next chapter emphatically declared to be *the city the great one*. So that, if *Jerusalem* were meant by the city the great one in the former clause, the intent of the passage would be this: "And the city the great one, viz. *Jerusalem*, was divided into three parts; and the city the great one, viz. *Babylon*, came up in remembrance before God." This would indeed be Babylonian confusion.

Out of the two divisions of interpreters, the *Preterist* and the *Futurist*, that would alike (in accordance with the common necessities of their respective theories) suppose Jerusalem to be *the great city of the Witnesses' death*, all the former, I believe, e. g. Eichhorn, Heinrichs, Lee, Moses Stuart, explain the great city in Apoc. xvi. 19 of *Rome:* and many of the Futurist school also, as Burgh, Dalton, &c. The few that explain it of *Jerusalem*, as Mr. C. Maitland and Mr. Barker, offer no reason that seems to me worth noticing. Says Hengstenberg on xvi. 19; "It is quite incomprehensible how some expositors should understand *the great city* here of Jerusalem."

Beast from the abyss.[1]—And then, yet once more, there is this further clinching argument, that in Apoc. xviii. 24 the reason given for the terrible destruction of that *city the great one*, the mystic Babylon, or *Rome*, is that "in her was found the blood of the prophets and saints, even all that were slain on the earth;" a statement which does but re-echo that respecting *Rome* in Apoc. xvii. 6, "I saw the woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the *witnesses of Jesus*:" whereas, on the hypothesis of Jerusalem being the city *here* meant, it must have been in *Jerusalem* that the most eminent of Christ's Apocalyptic witnesses and prophets were slain; not in *Rome*.—Thus by this first designative of the city of the Witnesses' death was *Rome*, in my judgment, quite decisively marked out, and *Jerusalem* quite decisively excluded:—an exclusion confirmed by the palpable failure of each and every attempt made by modern theorists, to show reason for the application to this latter city of the appellative of *the city the great one*, as also indeed of that of *Egypt*.[2] In truth in this very

[1] At least till near the time of Rome's destruction. With regard to *that* epoch we read in Apoc. xvii. 16, in the best manuscripts, "And the ten horns which thou sawest on the Beast, *and* (*και*) the Beast, shall hate the whore, and make it desolate:" a passage however where for *και* many MSS., and in my persuasion, as will hereafter appear, more correctly, read *επι*. But, with reference to the main part of the Beast's reign, the sacred figuration seems in any case to depict the Harlot as connected with the Beast, in closest association.

[2] I again allude especially to Mr. Barker, and Mr. C. Maitland; writers well aware of the essential importance to their prophetic theories of the great city of the Witnesses' death being shown to be *Jerusalem;* and consequently of the necessity of doing all in their power, to support that view of the locality intended, in the verse before us.

With reference to the title of *the great city*, Mr. Barker says; "In Apoc. xxi. 10 I find the same phrase used of *the holy Jerusalem:* and this is warrant enough [i. e. connectedly with evidence on the other designatives] for considering it to mean *Jerusalem* in the present passage." But 1st, all critical editions reject the adjective *μεγαλη*, "the great," in Apoc. xxi. 10, the passage referred to; the true reading being simply, "I John saw the *holy* Jerusalem coming down from heaven." 2ndly, even had it been a true reading, would the calling the heavenly Jerusalem, under a new and different dispensation, the great city, justify one in applying the term "the city the great one," under this prior dispensation, to the earthly apostate Jerusalem?—Mr. M. (p. 283), who makes the same mistaken reference to Apoc. xxi. 10, (as well as to Apoc. xvi. 19,) cites also Jer. xxii. 8; "Wherefore hath the Lord done thus to this great city?" Hebr. עַל־הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה. But the Apocalyptic expression is not, "that which was *once* called the great city," viz. in Jeremiah's time, 700 years before St. John: but absolutely "the city the great one;" as so characterised and known in the times of John in Patmos, or of the æra here depicted in the Apocalyptic drama.

2. With regard to the designation as *Egypt*, Mr. B. says; "In the sense in which Egypt [qu. מָצוֹר, or מִצְרַיִם?] signifies *bondage*, it answers to 'Jerusalem that now is, and is in bondage with her children." Mr. B. seems to forget that *Egypt* was the *oppressor* that *put* in bondage; not him that *was* in bondage.—Says Mr. M. (after M. Stuart); "In Ezek. xxiii. 4, 'Thus were their names; Samaria is Aholah, and

Apocalyptic chapter[1] *the* aforesaid *great city*, or *civitas*, (including as it does, agreeably with the representative force of all the associated symbols,[2] its popular Gentile constituency from the nations, tribes, and languages,[3]) is spoken of in direct and emphatic contrast to *the holy city;* which *holy city* is elsewhere figured as Christ's only recognised and true *Mount Zion*, or *Jerusalem:*—that society of believers, "the called, and chosen, and faithful," united together in

Jerusalem Aholibah:' that is, these sisters are described as *Egyptian* courtezans." And so, he adds, Eusebius says of them, "There were two sisters, and they were *corrupted* in *Egypt* in their youth:" Theodoret; "These sisters had one mother, even Egypt:" Polychronius, and an anonymous Greek; "Some say that these women were courtezans in *Egypt*." But is being corrupted in Egypt (said of sojourners that went down into Egypt) tantamount to being, or being called, Egypt?—Says Mr. Burgh, quoted and adopted by Dr. Todd: "Whose (viz. Jerusalem's) besetting sin . . was *trusting in the shadow of Egypt*, and strengthening themselves in the strength of Pharaoh."—Surely the cause must be bad, which has such for its best defences.

I cite four illustrations from patristic and mediæval writers, in proof that some of these at least felt the same difficulties, in regard of the application of the appellatives in the text to Jerusalem.

1. From the *Epist. of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella*, (ap. Hieron. Op. iv. ii. 549, Bened. Ed.) How, they argue, could Jerusalem be *the great city*, where Christ was crucified, seeing that it is elsewhere (Apoc. xi. 2*) called the *holy city?* And they add; "*Spiritualiter* intelligenda sunt singula: et *civitas magna* (quam videlicet prius ædificavit Cain) *hic mundus* intelligendus est, quæ spiritualiter appellatur Sodoma et Ægyptus. . . Ægyptum autem nunquam pro Jerusalem legimus, sed semper pro hoc mundo."—This view must be considered, I conceive, as at that time, about A.D. 400, Jerome's own view: for the ladies who wrote it wrote under his eye and sanction. And so, I see, Malvenda regards it. At an earlier epoch Jerome had applied the prophecy to Jerusalem.

2. From *Tichonius;* who simply explains it, "In plateis civitatis magnæ, id est *in medio ecclesiæ*."

3. From *Berengaud*, a Commentator on the Apocalypse of the 9th century, ap. Ambros. Op. Bened. Ed. "Si per civitatem magnam Hierusalem terrestrem volucrimus intelligere, propter hoc quod dicit, '*Ubi et Dominus eorum crucifixus est*,' à veritate oberrabimus; eo quòd illa Hierusalem usque ad solum destructa sit, et ista quæ pro eâ ædificata est non in eo loco, sed in alio, sita esse dicatur; neque Sodoma et Ægyptus dicenda est, eo quòd à Christianis incolatur. Simulque considerandum, quia ubicumque in hoc libro *civitas magna* ponitur, *Babylonem*, quæ est civitas Diaboli, et ex omnibus reprobis constat, significat." Ad loc.

4. *De Lyra;* "in medio civitatis magnæ; id est *congregationis Antichristo adhærentis*."

5. *Bossuet;* "C'est *Rome*, et *l'empire Romain*."

[1] Apoc. xi. 2.

[2] It is desirable that the student should here note the *proportion* and *keeping* that exists between the Apocalyptic representative symbols:—the great city for all Papal Christendom, the holy city for all the society of believers in it;—the temple and its two courts for the whole visible worshipping church, true and false;—the two witnesses for all Christ's witnesses;—the period of 1260 days for 1260 years; &c.

[3] So *Bossuet*, just cited; "Rome and its Empire."—In fact the *Roman city*, or *civitas*, (taken in its *political* sense,) embraced in St. John's time all Italy, besides its other more distant citizens, whether enfranchised by birth or purchase; and, a century afterwards, by virtue of Caracalla's edict, all the constituency of the Empire. See my notice of this Edict, Vol. i. p. 172. So the ancient poet Cl. Rutilius, addressing Rome in his Itinerarium, i. 66;

Urbem fecisti quod prius *orbis* erat.

* So too Neh. xi. 1, Isa. lii. 1, Dan. ix. 24, Matt. iv. 5, xxvii. 53.

an heavenly though invisible polity;[1] whom the Gentile citizens of the great city were, through the appointed 1260 years, to tread under foot.

As to the other designatives added, there seems to me in the present tense of the verb, "*is* called," a probable reference to *the time of the witnesses' death*, as that when the Divine Spirit would call special attention to the fact of their attaching to that great Roman Papal City;[2] a critical point this which shall presently have our consideration. But even previously, in the eyes of men of *spiritual* discernment (πνευματικως),[3] indeed throughout the whole time of the Beast's previous warring against the witnesses, was not its resemblance manifest to the types of *Sodom* and *Egypt*:—to *Sodom* in respect of its impurity; to *Egypt* in respect of its idolatry, religious darkness, and oppression of God's people?[4] Surely the fact is one of which the evidence is only too clear on the page of ecclesiastical history. So, as to the appellative *Sodom*, as testified not by anti-Romish witnesses only, but by some too of the more discerning of Romanists themselves.[5] So, as to that of *Egypt* as testified

[1] I refer to the figuring of the 144,000 with the Lamb as citizens of *Mount Zion*, the holy city, in Apoc. xiv. 1.—See too my notice of the two contrasted cities in the general Introduction, Vol. i. pp. 101—103.

[2] "Which *is* spiritually called;" ἡτις καλειται. A present tense only referable, I conceive, either to the time of the revelation being given to St. John in Patmos, so as the ὁ εἰς εστιν in xvii. 10, which does not seem suitable here; or to the time figured in the Vision, i. e. the time of the Witnesses' death, which seems preferable. So the βλεπουσιν, in the next verse 9.

[3] The only other passage in the New Testament where the adverb πνευματικως is used is 1 Cor. ii. 14; ". . the natural man is not able to know them, because they are πνευματικως, *spiritually*, discerned."—In the same Epistle 1 Cor. x. 3, 4, the adjective πνευματικος is used in the sense of *figurative:* with reference to the *manna*, *water*, and *rock*, noted in Israel's passage through the wilderness; and which were *typical* of Christ in his corresponding characters, as the living bread, the living water, and shadow of a great rock in a weary land. But the former passage is doubtless most in point.

[4] Let me here premise an explanation of the whole clause, as given not by a *Protestant* Commentator, but a *Jansenist*,—the learned and pious *Quesnel*. "Partout ou regnent l'impurité, les abominations, les passions brutales, là est *Sodom*. Partout ou l'on persecute les gens de bien, là est *Egypte*. Partout ou souffrent les membres de Jesus Christ, là est le *Calvaire;* là Jésus Christ est sur la croix; là se remplit la mesure de ses souffrances; là se consomme son sacrifice dans ses membres choisis."

[5] *Peter Damian* (a monk of Mount Avellan in Umbria of the xith century) wrote a Book on the four sorts of carnal sins under which the Church (the *Papal* Church) then suffered; which he dedicated to the then Pope, Leo IX, with the awful title *Gomorrheus*. Pope Leo's answer (given in Harduin vi. 975) admits the truth of the representation. And *Cardinal Baronius*, with particular reference to that same period, makes a confession which might well, even on his own representations, have been extended much further; "that all flesh had so corrupted its way, that a deluge would not have washed it clean; and that men's horrible sins called for the *fire of*

by the Waldenses, and Grosteste, and Wicliff after them.[1] So, as to that of a Christ-denying, Christ-crucifying, prophet-persecuting *Jerusalem*,[2] by Claude of Turin in the ixth century; by the Waldenses in the xiith and xiiith;[3] and by Jacobel and the Hussites in the xvth.[4] The peculiar Apocalyptic appropriateness of which last hinted designation of the great Roman Papal City, will appear from the circumstance of the constituent population of professing Christendom having been already symbolized on the Apocalyptic scene as not God's true Israel, which they claimed to be, but the unfaithful Christ-rejecting mass of the *twelve tribes of Israel:*[5] whence their *civitas*, (politically confined since the fall of "the third of men" to *Roman* Christendom,[6])

Gomorrha." (Guers, Hist. de l'Egl. p. 180.) This was just a little before the *opening* of the Papal anti-witness war.

Compare the Paris Council A.D. 829, Canon xxxiv., and the London Council, A.D. 1102, Canon xxviii. (Hard. iv. 1318, vi. ii. 1866, 1867.) In the 12th century we find Bernard ad Clerum testifying to the same effect; in the 14th, Dante, in his 15th Canto of the Inferno. A century later, viz. about A.D. 1480, the regular license for such crimes, said to have been granted by Sixtus IV to certain ecclesiastic petitioners, tells the same awful tale. See Wolfius, Cent. xv. p. 836.

In an old Book, told of by Luther, (Table Talk i. 147,) there was the following versified anagram on *Roma*, read backwards;

Versus *amor* mundi caput est, et Bestia terræ.

No wonder that a state so demoralized should full often be looked on as having its origin *from hell;* just as the Beast, or ruling power associated with it, was in the Apocalypse called the *Beast from the abyss.* So Petrarch, speaking of the Papal Court in the xivth century: "Hæc vero jam non civitas, sed,.. ut breviter dicam, scelerum atque dedecorum omnium sentina, atque *ille viventium infernus*, tanto ante Davidico ore notatus quàm fundatus aut cognitus." "Quidquid de *Averni* limine, deque Tartareis sylvis sulphureisque paludibus legisti, *huic Tartaro* admodum fabula est." Cited by Bullinger, p. 239.

[1] "*Grosteste* perceived that the whole scheme of the Papal Government was enmity with God. He exclaimed that nothing but the edge of the sword could deliver the Church from this *Egyptian* bondage."—Again, the *Waldenses*, in their Treatise on Antichrist, speak "of the ministers of Antichrist, or Papal Rome, or *Babylon*, or the 4th Beast, as clouds without water, &c.,.. wandering stars, Balaamites, *Egyptians*." And *Wicliff* compared the Romanists' priestcraft to "the accursed *sorceries* with which the sages of *Pharaoh* presumed to emulate the works, and resist the power, of Jehovah." Le Bas' Wicliff, pp. 68, 147. Monast. ii. 326.

[2] "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killest the prophets." Matt. xxiii. 37.

[3] "Redite prævaricatores ad cor, qui recessistis à veritate, et diligitis vanitatem. . . et rursum *crucifigitis filium Dei*, et ostentui habetis." So Claude ap. Gieseler ii. 38. Aud Reiner; "Vocant clericos *scribas*, religiosos *Pharisæos*." Cited p. 391 suprà.

[4] Jacobel, in reply to some of the Council at Constance, quotes Isaiah, Ezekiel, Cyprian, Chrysostom, to prove that the priesthood of the Romish Church conducted themselves exactly like *the priests of the Jewish Church* in persecuting the true servants of God. Bonnechose ii. 7, 8. (Mackenzie's transl.)

[5] See my Vol. i. pp. 255, 266, 282—285, &c.

[6] Indeed this Roman appropriation of the figure was made as early as A. D. 800 by Pope Adrian; "Quid per *Jerusalem* interpretatur nisi sancta ecclesia:" i. e. as elsewhere said, the "sancta Catholica et Apostolica *Romana* Ecclesia, quam Deus ab omni peccati maculâ abluens eripiet." Hard. iv. 774, 810, &c.*

* In Hard. x. 14 may be seen a later illustration of this Roman claim. In the Conu-

if resembled, as was often done, to *Jerusalem*, could only in truth be so to Jerusalem in its state of rebellion and apostasy.—Let me observe that in the Papal State and system many ways might be particularized in which Christ was crucified afresh.[1] The main intent however seems fixed by the words, "where *also their Lord* (the two Witnesses' Lord) *hath been crucified*," to the sense of his having been crucified afresh *in them his members*:[2] there being suggested too in the words the reminiscence (a reminiscence very touching) that the servant in all this had only not been greater than his Lord;[3] and that the insults and injuries inflicted on his witnesses, in the Great Ecclesiastical City, or Civitas, had been but the accompaniment of what was felt as inflicted on Himself.—It is almost needless to add that the resemblances of the Great City to *Egypt*, and *Sodom*, and *apostate Jerusalem*, gave intimation, as of the

[1] Especially in the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, as carried out in the Romish Church. For thereby the priests professed each day to *offer up Christ* (the very Christ) as the *hostia* or *victim*; * the *cross* being stamped on each consecrated wafer that was supposed to constitute him; so as to mark the sacrifice as that of *crucifixion*. (See on this Martene de Rit. i. 117, with the Plate.) "Sacrificium quod in *missâ* peragitur, et sacrificium quod in *cruce* oblatum est, unum est et idem;" said the Catechism of the Council of Trent. In what spirit this was done, especially at the time of the *Witnesses' death*, may be seen by reference to Luther's account of what he saw and heard on occasion of his visit to Rome, as noted suprà p. 38, Note[2].

[2] So Thomas Aquinas explains this clause in the verse under consideration, in his Treatise on Antichrist, i. 54: referring very appositely to the legend of St. Peter's death by crucifixion; and its prefiguration to him by Christ's appearance bearing his cross Rome-wards, as if *himself* to be crucified there. For to the question, "Domine quo vadis?" the answer was, "Vado Romam iterum crucifigi." "Quia," says T. Aquinas, "quod fit servis suis, *sibi* reputat Christus fieri." Compare Acts ix. 4; "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou *me?*"—Bossuet similarly, who supposes (as stated p. 436, Note[1]) that heathen Rome and its empire is the great city intended, speaks of Christ having been continually crucified in that empire in the persons of the saints his members; as well as literally crucified himself in what was then one of the Roman provinces.

[3] Compare Matt. x. 24, 25; "The servant is not above his Lord: . . . if they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more those of his household?"—It will be well for the reader to mark in this and other passages in the Gospels, (e. g. Matt. xxiv. 45, xxv. 34, Luke xii. 45, 46, &c.,) Christ's mode of speaking of Himself sometimes in *the third person*: in order to the conviction that the expression, "their Lord," constitutes no objection (so as some have imagined) against the view of *Christ's still continuing the speaker* in this part, as well as in the commencement, of the narrative of the two Witnesses.

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cil of Trent the Romish bishops were addrest as *governing the twelve tribes of Israel*, or whole Christian people: "Sedemus tanquam judicantes *duodecim tribus Israel*, quibus comprehenditur *universus populus Dei*." Here was a direct Tridentine recognition of the propriety of my explanation of that most important Apocalyptic figure in the Sealing Vision, Apoc. vii.

* See Radbert's definition and Berenger's abjuration, Mosh. ix. 2. 3. 19, Hard. vi. 1585.

sins, so of the *punishments* impending:—of the curse as on Jerusalem; the plagues as on Egypt; the burning as that of Sodom and Gomorrha.

Now then it was the πλατεια, the *broad street*, or *place*, of this the Great City, that was to be the scene, according to the Covenant-Angel's description, of the corpses of his two witnesses being, at the epoch intended, exposed as dead. The figure is borrowed from the *broad street* or *open place* of each ancient city, into which were the chief gatherings of the people; whether for political discussion, for objects of merchandise, or the administration of justice.[1] From whence it seems to follow that there must be here signified some *city*, or *town*, in Western Europe, (not *kingdom*, as some have supposed,[2] for that would be altogether out of scale and proportion in the picture,[3]) to which, above all others, there were wont to be the gatherings of the people of Christendom; in short, as Vitringa expresses it, that which might fitly be regarded as the *forum* of the Antichristian empire.—And what that city, or town, can any one doubt that is at all acquainted with European history? Let Gibbon answer the question. "The nations," says he, in his sketch of the rise of the Roman Papacy, began once more "to seek on *the banks of the Tiber*, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate."[4] It was to *Rome*, as the *supposed* Holy City, that were directed, through the middle ages, the confluent pilgrimages from Western Christendom;[5] to *Rome* the ga-

[1] In Jewish towns this was often near the city-gate. Thus in 2 Chron. xxxii. 6, the *street of the gate*, or rather *place of the gate*, (Sept. πλατεια,) is mentioned as the place of the *gathering of the people:* and so also Neh. viii. 1, 16. Again in 2 Sam. xv. 2, the *way of the gate*, or, as elsewhere more briefly, *the gate*, (so Deut. xxi. 19, &c.,) is noted as the *place of judgment*. It answers, as Gesenius observes, to the Hebrew רחב; "the open space before the gate of an Oriental city, where courts were held, and bargains made; the Oriental forum." But this was by no means the only site. In Jer. v. 1, we read in the plural; "Seek in the *broad places* thereof (i. e. of Jerusalem), if ye can find a man that *executeth judgment*."—In Greek towns the more usual term for this was αγορα. Eusebius unites the two together; Vit. Const. iii. 39; επ' αυτης μεσης πλατειας αγορας.

In the New Jerusalem, Apoc. xxii. 2, to which there is probably allusion, as will presently appear, the πλατεια is a broad street, with the river of life running through it, prolonged through the middle of the city.

[2] Jurieu referring it to *France*, Cuninghame to *Germany*, others to *England*.

[3] On the observation of *scale* and *proportion* in the Apocalyptic figures, see p. 436, Note [2], suprà.

[4] ix. 151; and so again xii. 262. So too Hallam, iii. 336.

[5] See pp. 18, 19 suprà. The pilgrimages were directed to Rome as the great mart

therings, as the fountain of ecclesiastical law and government; to *Rome* the assembling, as the most frequent scene of the Western General Councils.[1]—And indeed, as I must now add, the very *occasion* of the two witnesses appearing as dead corpses seems described to have been one of precisely such a gathering as that last mentioned; the gathering of some *General Council* from the several states of Western Christendom. For, in a clause strangely overlooked or mistaken by too many commentators, the persons assembled in the πλατεια of the Great City, that made these dead bodies the subject of their contemplation and rejoicings, are said to be, not the people and kindred and tongues and nations, but "certain ones *from* the people and kindred and tongues and nations;"[2] as if *delegates*, or *deputies*, to some great General Assembly, or Council, of Western Europe.

So that, on the whole, in turning from prophecy to history, from the symbolic picture to the thing symbolized, it seems to me almost impossible to mistake the *precise scene* and *occasion* alluded to. It can surely be none other

of the "*merchandise of the souls of men;*" mentioned Apoc. xviii. 13, in its list of the wares of the Great City.

[1] The figure naturally suggests itself to commentators when speaking of Rome, though not in refereuce to the passage before us. So *Vitringa*, p. 1086, calls it the "emporium spirituale," and "forum," of Roman Christendom. *Daubuz*, p. 805, calls it "a *great mart;* the Romish clergy being its merchants and factors." *Bicheno*, Signs of the Times, p. 48, says, "Rome is the *centre* and *court* of the antichristian city; and the ten kingdoms, or states, the streets of the city."—Similarly wrote one who was not an Apocalyptic commentator, Henry Septimallensis, in the xiith century, already referred to by me, p. 20 suprà;

> Ipsa caput mundi, venalis curia Papæ,
> Prostat, et informat cætera membra caput.
> Sacrum, cerne nefas, utrumque pudentius ævo,
> Venditur in turpi conditione *foro*.
> Chrisma sacrum, sacer ordo, altaria sacra, sacrata
> Dona:—quid hæc ultro? venditur ipse Deus.

Sold, as Christ was sold in the old Jerusalem, for 30 pieces of silver.

Elsewhere, as in Harduin vii. 1111, the expression *forum ecclesiasticum* is used of the ecclesiastical judicial courts of the Church of Rome.

[2] εκ των λαων και εθνων. Says M. Stuart on this passage: "Εκ των λαων, &c. Compare the Hebr. מִן, *some of*, a *part of*, which is often employed as a noun; or εκ may be equivalent to οἱ εκ." Similarly on Apoc. v. 9, ηγορασας ἡμας εκ πασης φυλης κ. τ. λ., he suggests as one explanation, "redeemed *some* of every tribe:" "for εκ," says he, "is frequently used in such a way in the New Testament." Vol. ii. pp. 133, 235. So too Dr. S. R. Maitland, First Enquiry, p. 28.—See my own remarks on the use of the same preposition in Apoc. vii. 4, &c.: Vol. i. p. 263.

It may perhaps be worth observing that Eusebius continually uses εθνη of the Provincials of the Roman Empire. So, e. g. Vit. Const. i. 22, 25, and Notes, p. 183.

than that of the self-same *Lateran Council*, held from 1512 to 1517, under the Pontificates of Julius II and Leo X, just before the Reformation:[1] of the which Council I was earlier led to give a somewhat full description, as constituting an epoch, ever memorable in history, of *the triumph of the Papal Antichrist.*[2]

And now, methinks, (nor does it seem to me to be any mere trifling addition to the presumptive evidence in favour of my general view of the time and scene intended,) there will appear to us full prominent on the Council's records, compared with the history of events immediately following it, an answer the most distinct and striking to our late inquiry, why, *at the particular epoch here prefigured*, there should be so markedly set forth those spiritually-taught designatives of the Roman Papal City, or State, as *Babylon*, *Sodom*, *Egypt*, and the *Christ-crucifying Jerusalem*. For behold, from the beginning to the end of its proceedings, in that central area, or πλατεια, of the Christian world, (so the Council itself called it,)[3] there was perhaps no idea whatever so strongly and repeatedly set forth by its pulpit orators, as if one recognised by all, and that indeed constituted a kind of first principle in judging and acting, as this,—that *Roman Papal Christendom*, especially as reformed by the present Lateran Council, was *the New and Holy Jerusalem*, the subject of Isaiah's, and David's, and more especially of St. John's prophetic figurations. So, very largely and strikingly, by De Vio, (Cardinal Caietan,) in his sermon of the 2nd Session; depicting Rome as the central source and supplier of the means for the healing of the nations:[4]

[1] The first four General Councils of the West were held in the *Lateran* at Rome, A.D. 1123, 1139, 1179, and 1215, respectively. After this followed the General Councils held at *Lyons* (twice), *Vienne*, *Constance*, and *Basle*, in the years 1245, 1274, 1311, 1414, 1431 respectively; then again the 5th *Lateran* Council, in 1512, at Rome. [2] See my ch. iii. p. 76, &c. suprà.

[3] So the orator in the 7th Session; "in hâc mediâ urbis et orbis terrarum ac universalis ecclesiæ sacrosanctâ aream." Hard. ix. 1701. Elsewhere the gathering is spoken of as the "celeberrimus Christiani orbis conventus:" and the orator is said to utter his sermon "coram toto orbe terrarum." Ib. 1664, 1602.

[4] His text being, as I have intimated in a former chapter, Apoc. xxi. 2, "I saw that holy city, the New Jerusalem, descending out of heaven, like a bride adorned for her husband." See p. 80, Note [2] suprà. He strongly marks this out as not the mere city of Rome, but as the civitas of the *Christian Republic;* which in its multitude of citizens "totum terrarum orbem complectitur:" there being in it all things both for the sustentation and healing of the people its constituents; viz. the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, &c., down to extreme unction. All this in the Church of Rome; and answering, he seems evidently to intimate, to the fruits of the trees of life in the πλατεια of the New Jerusalem. Ib. 1618.

so in those of the orators of the 4th Session,[1] and the 6th,[2] and the 9th,[3] and the 10th.[4] And in the Bull of Pope Leo, in the Council's same 9th Session, of which more presently, the local figure was appropriated to his office as quite a thing of course.[5] There were indeed awkward admissions, and strange sayings and actings, in the Council; which to a discerning eye might have looked as if the Roman Papal Civitas had more resemblance to Sodom, and Egypt, and the Christ-crucifying Jerusalem, than to the New and Holy Jerusalem figured as descending from heaven, or even to the ancient earthly Jerusalem in its days of faithfulness;—intimations of awful prevailing impurity and impiety;[6] reminiscences (*approbatory* reminiscences) of the previous persecutions, even to the cruel death of burning, of many, like Huss and others, who might be deemed members of Jesus Christ, with whom *He* had sympathized, and in whom afresh suffered;[7] and edicts against gospel-preaching, Scripture-printing,[8] and private judgment, than which nothing could better tend to keep the Church in Egyptian darkness. But the discerning eye seemed now wanting. The effect of the counter-hints of other days had nearly passed away. All Christendom acquiesced in the views set forth at Rome.

[1] Specially as the bride, in her state of humiliation, having recourse to the succour of her bridegroom the Pope. See ibid. 1651.

[2] "Hæccine est illa Jerusalem, civitas perfecti decoris?" in the same point of view as the orator of the 4th Session. See ibid. 1687.

[3] One main subject of the Sermon being the excellence of the urbs ipsa, the heavenly Jerusalem; another its need, on account of its corruptions, of reformation. ib. 1760.

[4] On Psalm xlviii. 1, "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised, in *the city of our God*, &c." See ibid. 1784.*

[5] "Tanquam ex vertice montis Sion prospiciens." Ib. ix. 1742.

[6] "Si quis vero tam laicus quàm clericus de crimine propter quod venit ira Dei in filios diffidentiæ, convictus fuerit, pœnis per sacros canones impositis puniatur." Ib. 1755. On which says Raynald, vol. xii. 70; "Sodomitæ severè puniendi."—On the impiety and infidelity prevalent see the sketches given by the orators in the 4th and 6th Sessions.

[7] See my remarks p. 439.

[8] See p. 83, 84 suprà, with the Notes.—With regard to the prohibition of printing without ecclesiastical censorship, which Roscoe refers to the Council rather than to Leo, I observe in Fontana's Monumenta Dominicana that it is there referred to De Vio (Cardinal Caietan) then General of the Dominican order, as its author. After mentioning the Lateran Decree that no book, great or small, should be printed "nisi prius per Ordinarios et Inquisitores examinantur et approbantur," Fontana adds; "id procurante nostro Caietano, in favorem PP. Inquisitorum, ac Magistri Sacri Palatii in Urbe." p. 419.

* So afterwards in 1706 Clement the XIth, in his 16th Homily: "Henceforth thou [Rome] shalt be called the City of the Just One, the faithful City, the New Jerusalem; even the same that John saw coming down from heaven, prepared by God as a bride adorned for her husband. . . Hear this, ye that inhabit the City of the Holy One, the City of the Just One, the faithful City, the New Jerusalem!"

Till behold, just as the Council, with the name of *Rome* and the *Roman ecclesiastical civitas*, or Church, on its lips as *the New and Holy Jerusalem*,[1] had met the last time, and separated, (let me anticipate for a moment in stating this,) a light from God's Spirit was shed upon the object, in the view of one of the most devout and devoted sons hitherto of the Roman Church;[2] under which the deception past away, like as in a dissolving view, and the Great City stood revealed in its true colours. He hesitated a while to receive the new impression. But the revelation was too distinct for him to resist. And a voice at length broke forth from him under its influence, the very counterpart to the declaration in the text, (a voice re-echoed presently through half Europe, and which has never since been silent,) denouncing Rome and its Church, as not *the Jerusalem from heaven*, but *the great Babylon*, with origin from *the abyss of hell;*[3] as *Sodom* too,[4] and *Egypt*,[5] and the *homicide Je-*

[1] And the same pretty much of the Council itself, as representing the Church Universal. "O felix Lateranense Concilium, O sanctissima concio, cui divinus cætus et multitudo respondet in cœlis." Sermon of 4th Session. Hard. ix. 1649.

[2] That same Spirit whose voice from heaven bade him "seal up the seven thunders, and write them not."

[3] Luther stated that when he was in Rome in 1510, the proverb prevailed there, that, if there was a *hell*, Rome was built on it; it being an *abyss* whence all sins originated.*

[4] "Sedem tuam, quæ curia Romana dicitur, neque tu neque ullus hominum potest negare corruptiorem esse quâvis *Babylone* et *Sodomâ*. . . . Implet matris suæ elogium, de quâ dicitur, Curavimus Babylonem, et non est sanata; derelinquamus eam. . . . Satanas ipse, plusquam tu, in Babylone istâ regnat. . . Ut revera quæ olim erat janua cœli nunc sit patens quoddam *os inferni;* et tale os quod, urgente irâ Dei, obstrui non potest." Ep. to Pope Leo, April 1519. Roscoe, iv. 394, 395, 396.

In the same year 1519, after the dispute with Eck, he thought of publishing a little book, "De Execrandâ Venere Romanorum;" but forbore.

In his *De Antichristo*, also written in 1521, in answer to the question, "On what is the wealth of the Roman Cardinals, &c. spent?" he replies, "In pauperes et egenos? Absit! sed in *Sodomam* potius, *Gomorrham*, et Sybarim."—Nor was the charge applicable to the priesthood of Rome itself alone, but of Papal Christendom generally. So Myconius, of the town of Saxe Gotha, with which he was personally acquainted, just before the Reformation: ap. Seckendorf, i. 4. So again Bishop Burnet, in his account of the inquiry into the state of the English monasteries under King Henry VIII. "The full report of this visitation," he says, "is lost. Yet have I seen an extract of a part of it concerning 144 houses, that contains in it abominations equal to any that were in *Sodom*." Hist. Reform. Book iii. ad Ann. 1535.†

[5] "Illi hanc ecclesiæ Romanæ intulerunt injuriam: . . sub nomine Beatitudinis tuæ,

* Similarly spoke the Bishop of Chiemsee, in 1519, as quoted by Gieseler iii. 271; "Roma nunc est *vorago* et *mammon inferni;* ubi *Diabolus*, totius avaritiæ capitaneus, residet, vendens patrimonium Christi." He also calls it "sedes bestiæ, id est ecclesiæ perversæ, . . cujus regnum est tenebrosum."

Ranke tells us that about A.D. 1500, in the time of Pope Alexander VI, "the complaint arose that the Pope prepared the way for Antichrist; and that he laboured for the coming of the kingdom, not of heaven, but of *Satan*." Hist. of Popes i. 52. Compare my Note pp. 33, 34, suprà.

† Is this to be wondered at after Pope Sixtus' regular License, a few years before,

rusalem, by whose decrees and acts *the Lord Jesus Christ had been crucified*.[1]—Surely the coincidence was most remarkable. Nor was the discovery a mere thing of names. It was one the practical influence of which was quite incalculable: and such indeed as well to explain and justify the very singular notification given on the subject, at this precise point, in the wonderful prophecy before us.

3. But now to the main point of our inquiry, viz. *the death of Christ's witnesses*, or at least *recognition of their death*, (if our hypothesis be right,) on occasion of this gathering of deputies to Rome from Western Christendom in General Council.—And is there not that in the very first particular to which an inquirer's eye should be directed, on such a subject, that may well seem to him to point in that direction? I refer to the Pontiff's own statement of the intended objects of the Council, in his Bull of Convocation; (a statement repeated in the Bulls of Prorogation twice and thrice afterwards;) viz. not merely "the exaltation, unity, and reformation of the Church;" but also "the *total extirpation* of both schisms and *heresies?*"[2] For,

. . opprobrio *Ægypti* contaminatam et abominandam reddiderunt sanctificationem." So Luther in his Ep. to Leo, March 1519. (Roscoe 392.) And again, in the previous year to Melancthon; "Italy is plunged, as in ancient times *Egypt*, in darkness that may be felt." Afterwards (see Table Talk i. 140) he said; "As Moses led Israel out of *Egypt*, so we, through God's assistance, have brought our people out of the bondage of the Romish Antichrist." Just as the Swiss said of Zwingle; "He will be our Moses to deliver us out of the darkness of *Egypt*." Merle i. 382, ii. 338.

[1] "Fuit armatus (Miltitz) septuaginta Brevibus Apostolicis; ut me captum perduceret in *homicidam Jerusalem*, purpuratam illam *Babylonem*." Ep. to Staupitz, Feb. 1519, ap. Wadd. Reform. i. 191.

"Ich weiss nicht ob der Papst selbst der Antichrist oder sein Apostel ist: so elend wird von demselben *Christus*, das heisst die Wahrheit, in seinen Dekreten verfälscht und *gekreuzigt*." Ep. 100 (ap. Schrökh p. 156.) This was also early in 1519.

[2] "Ad ecclesiæ exaltationem, unitatem, et reformationem; schismatum vero et hæresum totalem extirpationem." Hard. ix. 1591. Repeated col. 1595, 1597, in the

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for such crimes? (See p. 438.)—So too Baptista Mantuanus, a Carmelite Friar of Mantua, who died during the Council's sitting, A.D. 1516; (ap. Gieseler iii. 271;)

Petrique domus polluta fluenti
Marcescit luxu; (nulla hìc arcana revelo:) . .
Sanctus ager scurris, venerabilis ara cinædis
Servit; honorandæ divûm Ganymedibus ædes.

Also in 1517 Pico of Mirandula, as cited by Gieseler iii. 279.

In proof of the perpetuation of the sin up to the Council of Trent, Brightman in loc. refers to one Jerom Zeged Mutius, an avowed and shameless advocate of the sins of Sodom, declaring that Julius III (Pope about 1550, during the sittings of the Council) did by his Letters Patent expressly allow his Books advocating them.

transferring *Papal* language into *Scriptural*, the extirpation of *heresies* (whatever else might be meant by the phrase) must needs be considered to include the extirpation of whatever anti-papal witnessing might still remain unsilenced; whatever witnessing for the truth as it is in Jesus. —In order to an exact understanding of *all* that was meant at the time, and of that which was *chiefly* meant, in the word *heresies*, it needs that we look carefully into the records of the Council. And the connected word *schisms* reminds us of one sense attached to it, that was probably much the most prominent on the mind of Pope Julius. A so-called General Council had been summoned by a few schismatic cardinals, and had sate at Pisa, under sanction of the French King. Was not the very doctrine that such a Council might be held by Kings and Cardinals, without the Pope, a deadly *heresy?* Unquestionably so, in Romish views. And thus the whole *schismatic* proceeding was denounced by the Lateran Council as also *heretical;* and the *schismatics* as *heretics*.[1]—Still this was not all. Besides it there were also certain *ancient heresies* to be extinguished, said Julius' Bull, that were not yet wholly extinct in different parts in Christendom.[2] And here, and among these, we recognise those heretics and heresies against which war had been made so fiercely and so long by the Popedom;—the Waldenses of Piedmont and Dauphiny, the English Lollards, the Bohemian Hussites; many of them, we have seen reason to believe, witnesses for Jesus. How little formidable their poor remnants appeared to the Council, is manifest from the felicitations of the orator in the 3rd Session

Bulls of a first and second prorogation: also, in substance, col. 1639, 1655, 1675, in the Venetian, Lucchese, and Florentine Acts of adhesion.

[1] So in an Appendix by Pope Julius to his second Bull of Prorogation, ib. col. 1598; "publicæ fidelium paci, Catholicæ fidei propagationi, reformationi universalis ecclesiæ, neenon hæreticæ, pravitatis *nuper exortæ* extirpationi." The allusion in which words, "*nuper* exortæ," seems to be to the recent Pisan schism and heretical doctrine: the Bull of the 3rd Session denouncing the Pisan Cardinals twice over, as not only "schismaticos" but "*hæreticos*." Ib. 1629.—So again in the 5th Session, (ib. 1665,) the orator praises Julius for convening the Council, with the object "adolescentes, nedum pullulantes, hæresum ac schismatum segetes radicitus extirpare."

Heresy is defined by Bernard Zane, in the 1st Session, as the exercise on religious questions of *private judgment* by those "qui non ad prophetieas voces, apostolicas literas, evangelicas auctoritates, sed ad semet ipsos recurrunt." ib. 1604.

[2] "Ut *antiquæ* hæreses, quæ in diversis Christianorum partibus nondum extinctæ sunt, et pessimum noviter pullulans schisma, extinguantur." Ib. 1590.

to his brother bishops around him; to the effect that, grievous as had been the recent afflictions and disasters of the Christian name, there was at any rate this alleviation, that Christendom was no longer publicly afflicted by heresies, such as had been previously one prominent reason of the gathering of Councils.[1] And in fact nothing was done, or said, through the first five Sessions, with any reference to the small remains of the ancient heresies still existing. —At length in the 6th Session, next after Pope Julius' death and Leo's assumption, intimation was given as to the particular *ancient* heretics that had been specially intended in the Bull of Convocation. It was not the *English Lollards*, nor the *Waldenses of Piedmont*. These, it would appear, both from their omission in the notice of the sessional orator, and from other more direct testimony, had been reduced to silence.[2] It was the two or three various remnants of the *Bohemian Hussites:*[3] alike the more numerous and less pure body of the *Calixtines;* the *Picards*, if any distinct sect of them were still remaining; and the little band, now purified from the errors of the earlier *Taborite* body, that had been formed (as already elsewhere intimated) into the association of the *United Brethren*.[4] And when the still *primary* object with Leo as with Julius, viz. the extinction of the *Conciliabulum*, or rival private Council under the French king's patronage at Pisa, had been accomplished,—I say, so soon as the French king had given in his adhesion, and the schismatic Pisan Council been broken up, and the Lateran been constituted beyond doubt

[1] "In quo (sc. cursu nostrarum rerum ac temporum) ad levamen fortassis aliarum multarum et ingentium Christiani nominis cladium, hoc saltem Deus concesserit, quod *hæresibus*, quæ ut plurimum causæ Conciliorum fuere, nec publicè nec impune laboramus." Ib. 1634.

[2] See pp. 427, 428. About the *Waldenses* let me add the testimony of the Waldensian pastor M. Monastier, whose History we have had often to refer to in the preceding Chapter. In his Vol. i. pp. 190—192, he speaks of the Vaudois body in the Piedmontese valleys as, after the peace of 1489, "affaiblie, appauvrie, decimée, craignant de nouvelles persecutions, spectatrice timorée des souffrances isolées de ceux de ses enfans qui se hasardoient dans les plaines du Piémont, et que l'Inquisition y faisoit arrêter:"—such continuing their state until Christ interposed to deliver his Vaudois Church, "en lui faisant parvenir la nouvelle de son triomphe sur l'Antichrist par *la Reformation*."

[3] "*Multiplici* hæresi Bohemorum." So the Papal Bull, cited p. 449 Note [1] infrà.

[4] See p. 29, suprà.—On the true *witness*-character and history of these Bohemian Christians see the Notice in my Appendix. See also Mosheim xv. 2. 3. 5—7.

into a General Council,[1]—then, these preliminaries having been accomplished, no time was lost in proceeding to the *Bohemian* affair, among others. Already in the interval between the 7th and 8th Sessions, held in the June and December of 1513 respectively, Leo had put the matter in train. He had despatched into Bohemia the Cardinal Archbishop Thomas of Strigonium, or Gran,[2] in Hungary; bearing full powers to enter on discussion of the differences between Rome and the various Bohemian schismatics and heretics, in hopes of an adjustment. And, as regarded the only numerous or influential body among them, the *Calixtines*, concessions were directed to be made (so as by the Basle Council some 80 years before)[3] about the use of the sacramental cup by the laity, and concessions too as to the partial present retention of usurped ecclesiastical property by the existing holders, such as seemed pretty sure to effect the desired reconciliation;[4] especially as the King was heart and hand with Rome.[5] On the other hand, as to the superstitious practices and doctrines of the Church, (those things which constituted the main ground of separation with the purer though far smaller body of the Bohemian Brethren,[6] but in which the mere Calixtines heartily symbolized with the Catholics,) no concession whatsoever was made: all being enjoined as still in force, and to be followed, agreeably with the practice of the Church of Rome.[7]

[1] That the Lateran Council was intended to be a *General* one appears from the fact of the general invitation in the Bull of Convocation, sent to *all* the Princes of Christendom. So long however as France remained separate, its œcumenic character (according to the received laws in Western Europe) might be doubtful. Thus in the Council of Trent, on Cardinal Lorraine's intimation of the recall of himself and compatriots by his master the French King, he observed that after their departure the Council could not be called *General*, as there would want *a nation*. But, after the French King's adhesion to the Lateran, all objections to the œcumenic character of the 5th Lateran Council (such as by Bossuet) became quite futile.

[2] On the Danube, near its great bend between Presburg and Pesth. The Cardinal set out in July, 1513.

[3] "Leo Cardinalem legatum pro instaurandis iis pactionibus..potestate auxit." Raynald. ad ann. 1513; whose history I have before me.

[4] It was the resistance to these Basle concessions that caused the wars of Zisca.

[5] "Ladislaum, Hungariæ regem, Christianæ religionis athletam et ducem strenuum." So in the 7th Session. Hard. ix. 1704.

[6] See my Notice in the Vindiciæ, p. 227, of the reasons for separation from the Papal Church solemnly agreed on by the Brethren, in a Synod in 1494.

[7] It was said that, in regard of ecclesiastical rites, images, crosses, holy water, and all other such things, there was to be entire accord with Rome. Raynald. p. 35.

The fact of the Cardinal's mission, with this object, was published before the Council in a Papal Bull of the next or 8th Session, Dec. 16, 1513: and at the same time a citation was issued to the dissidents in question, to appear and plead either before the Cardinal Legate in Hungary,[1] or before the Lateran Council at its next Session; a Session finally convened for May the 5th, in the spring ensuing.

So was the crisis come which was to try the faith of this little remnant of witnesses; and to exhibit its *vitality*, or *death*. And would they then face their Lord's enemies? Would they brave the terrors of death, and plead his cause before the lordly Legate, or the anti-christian Council; like the Waldenses at Albi and at Pamiers, like Wicliff and Cobham in England, like Huss and Jerome at the Constance Council,[2] like their own confessors only ten years before at Prague,[3] or like Luther afterwards at Augsburg and at Worms?—Alas! no. The day of the 9th Session arrived. The Council met. But no report from the Cardinal Legate (and reports from him we know there were[4]) gave

[1] "Præterea cùm ex diuturnâ et multiplici hæresi Bohemorum plurimum Deus offendatur, et Christianus populus scandalizetur, . . . eosdem hortamur in Domino, ut vel ad nos et hoc sacrum Lateranense Concilium, vel ad Thomam Cardinalem Legatum, qui propinquior illis erit, aliquot ex suis Oratores cùm sufficienti mandato destinare non negligant; ad tractandum de opportuno remedio, quo errores quibus diu detinentur agnoscant, et ad . . . sanctæ matris ecclesiæ gremium, Deo duce, reducantur. Quibus . . veniendi, eundi, standi, et postmodum discedendi, et ad propria redeundi, in fide Pontificiâ liberum salvum conductum concedimus." Hard. ix. 1722.

[2] I might add the Bohemian Hussites at Basle. For when the Council at Basle invited them to come and plead, A.D. 1433, they sent their deputies.

[3] I read in Comenius' History of the Bohemian Persecutions, that at the close of the year 1503 the doctors of the Picards, or United Brethren, were summoned to hold a conference on their tenets with the Academics and Consistorials, probably at Prague. The matter was discussed in a meeting of the Brethren, and treachery apprehended. But they considered that "*the good cause ought not to be deserted:*" and so sent their two chief ministers to plead, with certain others; albeit, they deemed it, "as victims to the slaughter." There is extant, says Comenius, a letter written by a friend to one of them on the occasion, from which the following are extracts. "It is natural to love life: but, taught sublimer lessons, remember thou, my Brother, that thy life is buried with Christ, and that to gain it thou must die in Christ... Strengthen thyself therefore in the Lord, to fight the good fight. . . . . We have done what we could for thy safety, nor will be wanting in our care afterwards. But, if the rage of the enemy prevail, and it please God that ye shall glorify the cause of his Son by your death, ye are prepared to say with Job, 'The Lord gave this life, let the Lord take it away!.. Farewell, my brother.—Dated at Litomystia; *the day of the Protomartyr Stephen*, 1503."—Such was the Brethren's own view at that time of Christian witnesses' duty; such their acting up to it. The Lord however "snatched them" this time, adds Comenius, "from the lion's jaws." Ch. xxiii. pp. 78—81.

[4] A Cardinal Legate's making reports to the Pope was a matter of course. Allusion is made several times by Pope Leo to letters received from the Cardinal Thomas of Gran, in the next year or two; e. g. in a letter to Wladislas, dated Sept. 19, A.D. 1514. Raynald. xii. 77.

intimation either of the pleading, or of any continued stirring, or opposition, of the purer Section, any more than of the less pure, of the Bohemian heretics.[1] No officer of the Council announced the arrival of deputies from them to plead before it. Nor again was there a whisper wafted to the Synod from any other state, city, or town in Christendom, of a movement made, or a mouth opened, to promulgate or support the ancient heresies.[2] Throughout the length and breadth of Christendom Christ's witnessing servants were silenced: they appeared as dead. The orator of the Session ascended the pulpit; and, amidst the applause of the assembled Council, uttered that memorable exclamation of triumph,—an exclamation which, notwithstanding the long multiplied anti-heretical decrees of Popes and Councils, and notwithstanding the yet more multiplied anti-heretical persecutions and inquisitorial fires, was never, I believe, pronounced before, and certainly never since;—"*Jam nemo reclamat, nullus obsistit!*"[3] "There is an end of resistance to the Papal rule and religion: opposers there exist no more:" and again; "The whole body of Christendom is now seen to be subjected to its *Head*, i. e. to *Thee*."[4] If the submission and reunion of the *Pisan* schismatics and heretics was the fact most prominent in the orator's mind as he uttered this pæan, it is evident beyond all doubt that the fact of the apparent subjection and reunion of each and

[1] It is quite clear from the triumphant tenor of the oration spoken before this Session that, whatever the report sent from the Cardinal Legate, it was only such as to imply the reconciliation or silencing of the Bohemian heretics. For the orations were prepared by the appointed preachers, on instructions and information previously given them by the Pope, or the standing Committee, or Congregation. On which latter see Hard. ix. 1681, 1683, 1727.

[2] From Foxe's Martyrs, Vol. iv. p. 174, and also Bishop Burnet's History, i. 39—42, it would appear that in *England* there were no confessors against the Papal system from 1511 to 1519: the terror of the executions of 1511 producing recantation from such as were examined in the interval; save only in the case of one burnt at Ashford in Kent on the Whit-sunday of 1513.

Of the *Waldenses of Piedmont* we have seen M. Monastier's report p. 447 suprà. It seems that besides the destruction of their people by persecution, there was a too frequent conformity to the Romish Church under its terrors. "Pour etre à l'abri de toute poursuite . . ils obtenaient des curés, établis dans les vallées, des certificats de papisme. Pour les meriter ils frequentaient les églises catholiques, &c." In short, says he, had no extraordinary event occurred "*pour rendre la vie* à ses forces deprimées," the poor Waldensian remnant was ready "accepter l'esclavage;" to submit itself to Papal slavery, i. 190, 191.

[3] Hard. ix. 1763.

[4] "Jam universum illius (ecclesiæ) corpus uni capiti, hoc est tibi, subditum esse conspicitur. . . Jam omnes unum Deum, unam fidem, unum baptisma . . corde justè credunt, et ore salubriter confitentur."

every other schismatical or heretical body, throughout Western Christendom, was also included.—So did "they from the people, and kindred, and tongues, and nations," assembled in Rome, that πλατεια of Anti-Christendom,[1] and "watch-tower of the world,"[2] look on all anti-Papal witnesses as extinct and dead.[3] Let the reader well mark the description. For it is a description from the life. And let him well mark the day. For it seems to me scarce possible that we can be mistaken in regarding it as the *precise commencing date* of the predicted *three and a half years*, during which Christ's witnesses were to appear as mere dead corpses in the face of Christendom. It was May 5, 1514.

There are yet two characteristic circumstances noted as accompaniments of this the Council's recognition of the Witnesses' death: the one affecting *the slaughtered witnesses* themselves; the other, *its own friends and members*.

The *first* is thus stated: "And they from the kindreds and tribes, &c., *shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put into a tomb*."—The expression is of course *symbolic;* as having reference to *the two symbolic witnesses*, the Apocalyptic representatives of *many*. We have however already seen so much of the precision of the Apocalyptic figures, and their being drawn as it were *from the life*, that we may well suspect that such too was the case here; and that in some Bull or Edict of the Council, issued on the occasion, the indignity and outrage above mentioned may have been actually noticed, as that which legally attached to any such members of Christ's anti-papal witnessing body as might *individually* happen about that time to lie dead. And this indeed was the case. We find that an edict of reform and discipline was issued by Pope and Council, that

[1] In Martene ii. 89 the *Platea Lateranensis* itself, or Square before the *Lateran Church*, is noted. And it is perhaps worth notice that on the Pope's ancient solemn cursing of heretics each Maundy Thursday, from the Portico of the Lateran Church, it was into this πλατεια, or *Piazza*, that the torches or lights of the heretics were thrown down and quenched.

[2] "Hâc universi orbis speculâ." So the orator of the 6th Session. Hard. ib. 1687.

[3] There seemed now to be the fulfilment of that Picture which the reader may remember, of a shepherd fishing, and casting the bad fish into a fire, with the motto, "Non desinam usque ad unum:" the same that was exhibited in Rome on the day of Leo Xth's assumption, and noticed by me p. 56 suprà.—It will be recollected that the Pope, though the chief *pastor* of Christendom, still retained also the memorial of St. Peter's having been a *fisherman*, and issued his edicts, "*sub annulo Piscatoris:*" so that the conjunction of the two characters in the picture was perfectly appropriate.

selfsame day, just after the Preacher's oration of triumph; one declared object of which was *the perpetual elimination of all heresies from the Church visible:* and that, in order thereto, there were adjudicated against them, throughout Christendom, all the "*debitæ pœnæ*," or punishments imposed on heretics by former Bulls and Councils.[1] Among the which punishments there was one that pursued them even beyond death; I mean *the denial of burial to their bodies*,[2] as persons excommunicate, and barred even from the commonest rights of humanity:—an indignity this borrowed from those which had been sometimes inflicted by Pagan persecutors on the early Christian martyrs;[3] but of which the force and ter-

[1] The Decree is as follows: "Et ut omnes ficti Christiani, ac de fide malè sentientes, cujuscumque generis aut nationis fuerint, necnon *hæretiei*, seu aliquâ hæresis labe polluti . . à Christi fidelium cœtu penitus eliminentur, . . . ac *debitâ animadversione* puniantur, statuimus ut contrà eos diligenti inquisitione ubique . . procedatur, per judices per nos deputandos; et ejus criminis reos, et legitimè convictos, *debitis pœnis* puniri: relapsos vero, absque ullâ spe veniæ aut remissionis, affici volumus."—Hard. ix. col. 1757. Elsewhere too all former Decrees of the Popes, on both this and other points, were expressly renewed by the Council, and confirmed.

[2] I have already noticed some earlier exemplifications of this in the cases of Gottschalc, and of the 14 Canons of Orleans, who were condemned, and burnt at the stake, A.D. 1022. See pp. 241, 275, suprà. These, though the actions of inferior authorities, were yet according to the tenor of Pope Leo's excommunicatory sentence, "Illis cœlum claudimus, et *terram ad sepeliendum negamus:*" * and of Gelasius' consentient decree; "Si obstinato animo defuneti fuerint (excommunicati), nos illorum causam, juxta beati Leonis sententiam, divino judicio reservantes, quibus vivis non communicavimus mortuis non communicamus." (Hard. vi. ii. 1818.)—At length in the 12th century Christendom, as Christendom, moved in the matter. Thus in the 3rd Council of Lateran, A.D. 1179, Christian burial was denied to heretics: the same in the 4th Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, followed by the Decree of Gregory IX, A.D. 1227: (ib. vii. 22, 163:) the same again in Pope Martin's Decree, after the Council of Constance, A.D. 1422: (ib. viii. 303:) which Council ordered *Wieliff's* body to be exhumed; and that the ashes of *Huss*, instead of burial, should be collected and cast into the Lake of Constance.—Later still *Savonarola's* ashes were similarly cast into the Arno, A.D. 1498; and moreover, in the first Bull entrusted to the Cardinal Cajetan against *Luther*, as well as that afterwards, this was one of the declared penalties, that both Luther and his partizans should be deprived "ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ." See Merle d'Aub. i. 355; Foxe v. 667.

[3] For, in regard of the bodies of Christian martyrs, the old Roman heathen persecutors also sometimes, preventing burial, left the corpses to be torn and devoured by beasts and birds of prey; sometimes, having burnt them, scattered the ashes to the winds, or into rivers. A notable example of this is given by the Lyonnese Christians, in their account of the persecution A.D. 176 at Lyons: and they state that it was the object of their heathen enemies, thereby to deprive the martyrs of all their fond

* "Sintque cadavera eorum;" added Leo, "in escam volatilibus cœli, et bestiis terræ." (What Leo this was I know not; but I incline to think Leo IX. Gelasius' date is 1118.)—So too in the other old excommunications given in Martene ii. 323—325: "Nec habeant alteram quàm asinorum sepulturam;" &c.—In our prophecy the thing prohibited is the being put *εις μνημα*; i. e. into a *tomb*, or *sepulchre*, such as might be itself a memorial, or admit of a memorial tablet, in remembrance of the departed one. (See p. 409.) This could scarce be but in a public cemetery; and so with *ecclesiastical*, or at least *publicly permitted*, sepulture.

rors were under the Papal regime tenfold greater in general estimation, forasmuch as it was supposed to involve the eternal damnation of the wretch unburied.[1] So, I say, was there in the edict of the Lateran Council, on this very occasion, a recognition and an enforcement of this punishment:—an

hopes of a glorious resurrection.*—Aringhi, in his Book on the Roman Catacombs, gives various other examples from the persecutions under Diocletian and Julian: and he introduces his notice of them by stating that it was an outrage forbidden by Greek and Roman law, as well as Jewish; and, even among Gentiles and barbarians, held up to public hatred as monstrous.† From Pagans, as against Christians, the practice first past to Arians, as against Catholics; (so Theodoret H. E. iv. 22;) then to Catholics, as against so-called heretics.

[1] It was from the Pagans also, as appears further from Aringhi,‡ that the Papal practice was derived of *exhuming* the bodies of heretics already buried, as well as dead, with a view to similar indignities:—a practice begun as early as A.D. 536; (Hard. ii. 1337;) when the Council of Constantinople called for the digging up of the bones of Nestorians and Eutychians.

There was however one thing quite peculiar in the matter to the Papal, as compared with the heathen practice; I mean the form of *process*, ordained against *a dead body*, if after death suspected of heresy. The process is noted by Limborch on the Inquisition. It had three objects, he reports:—1st, the condemnation of the memory of the dead man; 2nd, the deprivation of the dead man's heirs of his property; 3rd, the authorization of the exhumation of the man's body, if buried; casting it out of holy ground, and burning, and scattering the ashes.§ From the case of Claude of Turin, narrated p. 238 suprà, the *process* appears to have then become a custom, i. e. A.D. 840. In the 3rd Lateran Council, A.D. 1179, this process was expressly enjoined against the corpses of all excommunicated ones that might have received Christian burial: (Hard. vi. ii. 1817:) and again A.D. 1234, 1254, in the Councils of Arles and Alby. (Ib. vii. 237, 462.) So accordingly in Wicliff's case; Foxe iii. 96.

* So Euseb. H. E. v. 1, ad fin. Παντι δε τροπῳ παρετηρουν . . . ει μη τυχοιεν ταφης. Τα ουν σωματα των μαρτυρων παντοιως παραδειγματισθεντα και αιθριασθεντα επι ἡμερας ἑξ, μετεπειτα καεντα και αιθαλωθεντα ὑπο των ανομων, κατεσαρωθη εις τον Ῥοδανον ποταμον πλησιον παραρρεοντα, ὁπως μη λειψανον αυτων φαινηται επι της γης ετι. Και ταυτ' επραττον . . ἱνα, ὡς ελεγον εκεινοι, μηδε ελπιδα εχωσιν αναστασεως.

† See Aringhi, vol. i. c. 4; pp. 13, 14. "Apud dissitas ubique terrarum orbis nationes, quantumvis barbaras," says he, "haud unquam mortuorum cadaveribus ex legum præscripto sepultura denegata est." And he cites Laetantius v. 2; "Quæ illa feritas, . . lucem vivis, terram mortuis denegasse." In the Jewish law he refers to Deut. xxi. 23, ordering that the bodies of those hung on a tree should be taken down and buried, the same day.

‡ Aringhi, ibid. pp. 18, 19, exemplifies the *exhumation* practised against the Christians by Julian, from Rufinus and Gregory Naz. in his Orat. against Julian. He also cites Chrysostom, exclaiming, on the exhumation of the martyr Babylas; "Quid scelestius his mandatis fieri possit? Insolitas Dæmon sepulchrorum exspoliationis leges invehit. Quis unquam mortuos ejectos audivit?"

One might have expected that the thought of all this would have excited his regret, if not indignation, against similar outrages by his own Church against the bodies of heretics. But not so. In his vol. ii. 226, this same Aringhi refers approvingly to Pope Alexander the IVth's Edict, excluding the bodies of *heretics* from Christian burial.

Malvenda, similarly, De Antichrist. ii. 136, recites Paul the IIIrd's indignant notice, in his Bull against our Henry the VIIIth, of his having exhumed the bones of Thomas à Becket, and burnt them:—an outrage this, he exclaims, "omnem planè cunctarum gentium crudelitatem superans, cum ne in bello quidem hostes victores sævire in mortuorum cadavera soleant." But not a word against the actual Papal laws existing and enforced, to the same effect, against so-called heretics!

§ Vol. ii. p. 277. (Ed. London, 1731.) The ejection of the corpse in Spain was to be made according to "the first Instruction of Seville, A.D. 1484, c. 20."

enforcement of it applicable to the corpses of heretics, if any such there were, (and history *does* record such,)[1] as might even then be lying dead, convict of heresy, in any part of Christendom. So that it was a fulfilment *to the very letter* of what was predicted; "They from the kindreds and tongues and people *shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put into a tomb.*"

The *other* act prophetically noted, as consequent on the Council's recognition of the Witnesses' death, is the *mutual congratulations* of its members, and other customary *signs of joy*, among them that dwelt on the Roman earth. "And they that dwell on the earth rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another;[2] because these two prophets troubled[3] them that dwelt on the earth."—And here too history does not fail to offer its illustrations. I take Pope Leo's own Bull for the dissolution of the Council, dated in March 1517, as the illustrator. It speaks of all the objects for which the Council had been called, (and the reader will well remember that amongst those objects was "the total extirpation of *heresies*," of *old* heresies

In Hewitson's Memoir, p. 163, it is mentioned that the indignity of *exhumation* was carried out in Madeira, as late as the year 1844, against the corpses of several converts from Popery. They were refused any place for interment but the public highway; and, after interment there, "the stones were taken up, and the bodies brought and burned under inspection of the police."

[1] The question on this fact has been pointedly asked by Dr. Keith and Mr. Barker. And very remarkably we find that within the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years' predicted exposure of the Witnesses' dead bodies, there were such cases.

First there was the case of some thirty heretics, hunted out A.D. 1514 from their concealments by an indefatigable Dominican inquisitor at Como, named Antonio De Casalis; and by him hung in the Square of the Cathedral, and then *burnt.**—Then there occurred the well-known case of the Wikliffite *Richard Hunne*, related by Foxe. Having first committed him to the Tower on a charge of resisting the priesthood, and then procured his being secretly hanged there, (which however, though vainly, they charged on him as suicide,) the Bishop of London, having found a Wikliff's Bible belonging to him, with the same anti-papal doctrines written in the margin as those which Wikliff had taught, instituted thereupon "a writ *against the dead body of Richard Hunne*," for these points of heresy. And, being adjudged a heretic, his body was delivered to the secular power; and on Dec. 20, 1514, *burned* at Smithfield.†

[2] *Χαιρουσιν επ' αυτοις, και ευφραινονται, και δωρα πεμψουσιν αλληλοις.* We may infer from the present tense here used, and the distinct notice immediately afterwards of the Witnesses appearing *depicted* on the Apocalyptic scene, viz. when risen and ascending, that at this point of the Angel's narrative a visible figuring of them appeared.

[3] *εβασανισαν.* I translate this word *troubled*, according to its use in 2 Peter ii. 8; where it is said of Lot that he *vexed* his righteous soul, *ψυχην εβασανιζεν*, at the sight and hearing of the evil that was passing in Sodom.

* So Fontana's Monumenta Dominicana, p. 417, ad ann. 1514. (Ed. Rom. 1675.)

† See the full account in Foxe iv. 186. It is also referred to by Bishop Burnet, in his Book i. on the Reformation.

as well as *new*,) as having been happily and successfully accomplished.[1] It reports not only the extinction of the Pisan schism or heresy, but the universal union of the Church: besides that there was every prospect of peace among the princes of Christendom, such as might enable them to make common cause against the Turks. "All which considered," says Leo, "our soul exults in the Lord: and we judge that thanks should be given to God for it; and that, *among all the faithful in Christ, there should be those signs of joy* which on similar occasions are wont to be observed."[2] So, "for the greater joy,"[3] a plenary Papal Indulgence was granted, and then the Te Deum sung. Nor, if the making merry in banquetings was another of the customary modes of expressing joy on public occasions of festivity,[4] was it omitted by Leo and his Cardinals; but acted out, very notably, on this auspicious occasion. The splendour of the dinners and fêtes given by Leo and the Cardinals on the triumphant close of the Council,—a splendour unequalled since the days of Pagan Rome's greatness,—is made the subject of special record by the Historian of Leo the Xth.[5] He records it as a matter characteristic of the age and of the occasion. And it is precisely in this point of view that I would here wish to set the prediction before the reader; I mean as being not merely a true prediction of fact, but one (like the Apocalyptic pictures generally) characteristic of the spirit and feeling of the times.—The more immediate subject of con-

[1] "Causis propter quas Concilium indictum fuerat juxtà votum terminatis." Hard. ix. 1849.

[2] "Quod mente animoque nostro subinde nobis revolventibus, exultat cor nostrum in Domino nostro Jesu Christo: ipsique super hoc gratias agimus; .... ac per omnes Christi fideles ea signa lætitiæ quæ in similibus fieri consueverunt .... agenda censemus." Ib. 1850.—In Raynald. ib. 77, we have a notice of the "publica lætitia Romæ celebrata," Sept. i. 1514, on occasion of peace between France and England; and, in sign of it, a public thanksgiving, feastings, and Papal indulgence. This illustrates the character of public rejoicings, as then celebrated at Rome.

[3] "cumulatiori gaudio." Hard. 1851.

[4] So Luke xv. 32; "It was meet that we should *make merry* and be glad." The expression is very generally connected with *feasting*.—In Esther ix. 19, 22, the interchange of *portions*, or gifts of that nature, is also mentioned in connexion with the Jewish feasts of joy. "Therefore the Jews . . made the 14th of the month of Adar a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of *sending portions* one to another."

Pareus observes on this passage, that when *heretics are burnt*, Papists keep holidays, celebrate feasts and banquets, sing Te Deum Laudamus, and wish one another joy. And so too *Bullinger* ad loc.

[5] Roscoe, iii. 138, on the year of the Council's dissolution, 1517.

gratulation and joy was indeed, as I have said, the healing of the Pisan *schism* or *heresy;* because the other *heretics* had been reduced so low by former crusades and inquisitions, as to be no longer the object of terror that they once were. Yet the remembrance of the vexation and trouble occasioned by them, and this in times not very far distant,[1] (even as by Elijah, the troubler of Israel, to king Ahab,[2]) could not have past away. In fact the very first Sermon before the Council, in terms tantamount to the Apocalyptic phrase, expressly records it.[3] Hence the mixing up of the victory over them, among the ingredients of the joy of those that dwelt on the earth. Altogether, as Dean Waddington describes the scene on the Council's closing, the feeling of joy, triumph, and self-congratulation at Rome was the exact counterpart to that described in the text:—"The pillars of her strength were visible and palpable; and she [Rome] surveyed them with exultation from her golden palaces." And again, of the assembled prelates; "They separated [from the Council] with *complacency and confidence;*" and with "*mutual congratulations* on the peace, unity, and purity of the Apostolic Church."[4]

[1] So Thomas Aquinas, De Antichristo, i. 57; "Cruciaverunt malos quorum damnationes prædixerunt, et ita cruciandos annunciaverunt; vel cruciaverunt eos contradicendo iniquitati eorum." This he says of the two Witnesses.

[2] "Art thou not he that troublest Israel?" 1 Kings xviii. 17. Probably there is an allusion to this in the passage before us.

[3] "*Officit nobis*, et nos universalemque ecclesiam *magnopere perturbat*, hæresis infidelitasque." Hard. ix. 1604.

[4] Wadd. H. E. iii. 392, 302.—And so again, with similar direct allusion to the state of things *as left by the Council of Lateran*, in his Book on the Reformation, i. 9: "Her repose was disturbed by no aggressions from without, no discord from within... No heresy of any threatening importance rent the vestment of St. Peter... The constitutional reformers of the Church, a party scarcely less obnoxious to the [Roman] See than its avowed enemies, were dispersed, and as it might seem disarmed. It was now sufficiently clear, whatever might be the principles asserted, or the schemes proposed, that the power of the Pope was *de facto* paramount in the Church."

The subject is so important that I will add yet a further testimony or two, to the same effect, with reference to the state of things left by the Lateran Council. They will be supplemental to the more general testimonies given before, pp. 430, 431.

1. *Merle* i. 64: "A l'epoque où la Reformation étoit pres d'éclater, Rome paraissait en paix et sureté. On eût dire que rien ne pouvait plus la troubler dans son triomphe. Les *Conciles Generaux* avaient été soumis:... les *Vaudois* et les *Hussites* avaient été comprimés: &c." So also p. 99.

2. *Neander*. "If we consider the external circumstances under which the [Roman] Hierarchy presented itself at the epoch of the Reformation, it appears at first view as if the edifice of an unlimited Papal monarchy had at that time come victoriously out of all the preceding fights, and established itself on a firm basis. Because in *the last Lateran Council* at Rome the principle of an unlimited Papal power was established,

And were their congratulations then, and their triumph, to be long continued? Very different was the predicted purpose of God respecting both them and the cause they had been oppressing. The next thing that I am called in the prophecy to mark and to explain is,

§ 3. THE SPEEDY AND WONDERFUL RESURRECTION OF THE TWO WITNESSES.

"And after the[1] three and a half days the breath of life from God entered into them; and they stood upon their feet."

But what the need of any explanation of mine to suggest the events that here answered to the prophecy? History speaks for itself. Not in the compass of the whole ecclesiastical history of Christendom, save and except in the case of the death and resurrection of Christ Himself, is there any such example of the sudden, mighty, and triumphant resuscitation of his cause and Church from a state of deep depression, as was exhibited just after the separation of the 5th Lateran Council, in the *protesting voice of Luther*, and out-burst of the glorious *Reformation*. The sudden contrast forces itself on every writer of history, whether of the Romish Church or Protestant. Take the Popish Annalist *Raynaldus*. "The fire ill-smothered," says he, [i. e. by Pope Leo and his Legate's measures of conciliation and repression,] at the close of 1513 and of 1514, was blown up again by Luther's bellows, and spread its flames far and wide, more than ever before."[2] Take the writer before cited from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. "Everything was quiet; *every heretic exterminated;* and the whole Christian world supinely acquiescing in the enormous absurdities inculpated on them [by the Romish Church], when, in 1517, the empire of superstition" received "its first attack [its death-blow almost] from Mar-

in opposition to the principle of the General Councils; and the Hussites and the Waldenses had no more any importance to fight against the Papal power." From his Lectures in 1824 at Berlin, communicated to me by Prof. Pfyffer.

[1] The definite article is in the original.

[2] "Sed male sopitum ignem flabello Lutheri postea, ingenti Catholicæ religionis et Germaniæ detrimento, latius flammas sparsisse suo loco dicetur." Raynald. xii. 35.

tin Luther." Take Mr. *Cuninghame;* who draws not his vigorous sketch, let it be observed, with a view to prove the coincidence in question, (his own views of the prophecy being different,) but simply as a matter of history:—"At the commencement of the xvith century Europe reposed in the deep sleep of spiritual death, under the iron yoke of the Papacy . . . There was none that "moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped:"—when, suddenly, in one of the universities of Germany the voice of an obscure monk was heard, the sound of which rapidly filled Saxony, Germany, and Europe itself; shaking the very foundations of the Papal power, and arousing men from the lethargy of ages."

But does the *chronology* suit? It was predicted that *for three and a half days* the Witnesses were to be looked on as dead: in other words, that there was to be the interval of *three and a half years* between the *first recognition of their extinction* by the assembled deputies from the states of Christendom, and *their resuscitation.* Was this the interval between that memorable day of the ninth session of the Lateran Council, on which the Orator pronounced his pæan of triumph over the extinction of heretics and schismatics, and the first and yet more memorable act of protestation by Luther? Let us calculate. The day of the 9th Session was, as we have seen, May 5, 1514; the day of Luther's posting up his Theses at Wittenberg (the well-known epoch of the Reformation) Oct. 31, 1517.[1] Now from May 5, 1514 to May 5, 1517 are three years: and from May 5, 1517 to October 31 of the same year, 1517, the reckoning in days is as follows;

May 5—31	27	August	31
June	30	September	30
July	31	October	31

in all 180, or half 360 days; that is, just half a year.[2] So that the whole interval is *precisely, to a day*, three and a

[1] See p. 100 suprà.—In Juneckner, pp. 284—321, there is an account of the celebration of the 1st *Centenary* of this October 31, and copies of the medals then struck in Germany, as the Centenary of the Reformation. In Pearson's Life of Swartz *his* annual celebration of the day is also noted. A 3rd Centenary was celebrated in Protestant Germany in 1817.

[2] In Apocalyptic reckoning a time, or year, = 360 days; ½ a time 180 days.

half years; *precisely, to a day*, the period predicted in the Apocalyptic prophecy!—Oh wonderful prophecy, is the exclamation that again forces itself on my mind! "Oh the depth of the riches of the wisdom and the fore-knowledge of God!"

So then "the *breath of life* from God entered into the slain Witnesses, and they *stood upon their feet*."[1]—The figure of a *revival, resuscitation*, or *resurrection*, is so natural as well as striking, and so evidently appropriate in the case of *Luther* and the *Witnesses preceding* him, that we cannot wonder at its having been perpetually applied in the case, by writers of whatever different creed and sentiments. Not by way of illustration only, but yet more on account of its beauty and historic interest, I must beg permission to subjoin one exemplification of it, given *anticipatively*, I may almost say *prophetically*, 100 years before Luther, by the martyr *Huss*. We are told that whilst in his lonesome dungeon at Constance, just but a few nights before his martyrdom, "he dreamt; and it seemed as if some pictures of CHRIST, that he had been painting on the walls of his oratory, were effaced by the Pope and the Bishops. The dream afflicted him. But the next night he dreamed again, and seemed to see painters more in number, and with more of effect, restoring the pictures of Jesus. He told the dream to his friends. 'I am no vain dreamer,' he said: 'but hold for certain that the image of Christ shall never be effaced. They wish to destroy it: but it shall be painted afresh in the hearts of gospel-preachers better than myself. And I, *awaking* as it were *from the dead*, and *rising from the grave*, shall rejoice with exceeding great joy.'"[2] His fellow-martyr *Jerome*, in spirit similarly prophetic, named the interval 100 *years*, after which their memory would be vindicated, their cause triumphant.[3]—On turning from

[1] Compare the life-giving, spirit-stirring charge of the divine Angel of the Covenant, Apoc. x. 11, to the apostle and seer St. John, in his representative character, "Thou must prophesy again before many peoples and tongues and nations;" commented on pp. 169, 173 suprà.

[2] Merle d'Aub. i. 79; from Huss. Epist. sub temp. Concilii scriptæ. It is given also by Foxe iii. 508, as in a letter to John de Chlum, and L'Enfant i. 446.

[3] "Vobis certum est me iniquè et malignè condemnare, nullâ noxâ etiamnum inventâ. Ego vero post fata mea vestris conscientiis stimulum infigo et morsum; ac

Huss and Jerome to Pope Adrian, Leo Xth's successor, we find a Commentator, such as they might have little expected, both on the martyrs' anticipations, and on the Apocalyptic prophecy. In 1523 he wrote thus, in a Brief addressed to the Diet at Nuremberg: "The *heretics Huss and Jerome* seem now to be *alive again* in the person of *Luther*."[1] —And indeed both in Bohemia itself, and in England, and in the Piedmontese valleys, the voice thrilled with electric effect; even to a partial revival there, very soon, of the old Hussite, Wickliffite, and Waldensic witnessings.[2]

There remains but one clause more for notice in the prophetic description. After stating the Witnesses' revival, and *standing upon their feet*, it adds; "and *great fear*

appello ad celsissimum simul et æquissimum Judicem, Deum Omnipotentem; ut coram eo *centum annis revolutis* respondebitis mihi." Narratio de Magn. Hieron. Hist. et Mor. c. ii. p. 531; ap. Gieseler iii. 353. This, I infer from Gieseler, was written by a *contemporary*. Now Huss was burnt in 1415, Jerome in 1416; and Luther's protest was in 1517.—In a letter of Huss, sent from Constance to Prague, the following passage occurs: "Prius laqueos citationes et anathemata *anseri* paraverunt; [*Huss* is the Bohemian for an *anser*, or *goose*;] et jam nonnullis ex vobis insidiantur. Sed quia anser, animal cieur, avis domestica, suprema volatu suo non pertingens eorum laqueos [non] rupit, nihilo-minus aliæ aves, quæ verbo Dei et vitâ volatu suo alta petunt, eorum insidias conterent."

Hence, says Gieseler, ibid. the reported prophecy of Huss; "Hodiè anserem uritis; sed ex meis cineribus nascetur cygnus, quem non assare poteritis." It is noticed, I see, by Malvenda, p. 61.

Medals exist which represent Huss at the stake, and have the legend round them, "Centum revolutis annis Deo respondebitis et mihi." A copy of one is given in Junckner, p. 24; also one of another of a more ancient type, p. 48. With regard to the latter, (here engraved,) the evidence of antiquity prior to the Reformation seems to me strong. See the opinions of Romanists, as well as anti-Romanists, in its favour. ap. Junckner, p. 39, and L'Enfant, Hist. of Council of Constance, i. 447.

[1] Milner, p. 800. From among later Romanist writers, who have applied the same figure to the Lutheran Reformation, let me note three.

1. *Thuanus.* "Cum huc illuc ab eo tempore dispersi ubique exagitarentur (sc. the Valdenses and Albigenses), tamen exstitere semper per intervalla qui *eorum doctrinam intermortuam renovarent*, Joannes Viclefus in Angliâ, in Bohemiâ Joannes Hussus, et Hieronymus Pragensis. Nostrâ vero ætate, postquam Lutheri doctrina obvio tam multorum favore accepta est, *reliquiæ illorum* ubique sparsæ colligi, et, crescente Lutheri nomine, vires et auctoritatem sumere cœperunt; præcipuè in regionibus Alpinis, et provinciis Alpibus vicinis." B. vi. p. 223, ap. Faber Wald. 512.

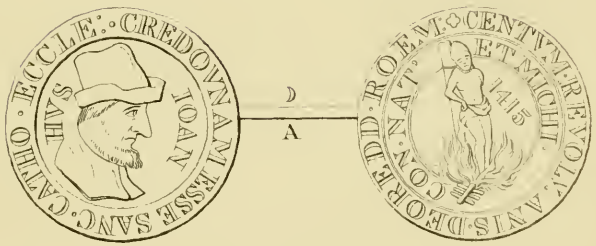
2. *Mariana*, in his Preface to Lucas de Tuy; "In quibus [sc. Lutheranis et Calvinianis] *revixisse* videntur Albigenses, majori impudentiâ." B. P. M. xxv. 189.

3. *Raynald*, Annal. Eccl. xii. 484, ad ann. 1524; much like Thuanus.

[2] Of the *Bohemians* Comenius thus writes. "Excitaverat Deus in Germaniâ magnanimum Lutherum, Papæ fulmen. Quo *velut expergefacti* in Bohemiâ Calixtinorum nonnulli, puriorem evangelii doctrinam amplecti animum induxerunt." Persec. Boh. p. 97.—Of the *Wickliffites* the now renewed executions for heresy speak with sufficient distinctness. See Foxe and Burnet: also Erasmus' Letter ap. Jortin, 116.—Of the *Waldenses* speaks M. Monastier. After noting their state of depression and *death*, (see pp. 447, 450 suprà,) he says; But God delivered his Vaudois Church, "en lui faisant parvenir la nouvelle de son triomphe sur l'Antichrist, par la REFORMATION."

Dr. Keith, by a strange mistake, has objected Luther's difference of doctrine from the Hussites. In my Vindiciæ, pp. 252, 253, I have shown how Luther on his part

THE ANCIENT
MEDAL OF HUSS' MARTYRDOM & PROPHECY.



From Junckner.

fell on those that beheld them."—Now it strikes me that there is a distinctiveness in the phraseology here deserving of remark. It is not said, "Great fear fell on *them*," επ' αυτους, in the pronominal accusative, with reference to the members of Council just before spoken of as contemplating their dead corpses: but επι τους θεωρουντας, upon "*such as beheld them.*" The Lateran Council in fact had separated, and the deputies returned home, a few months before Luther's Protest. So that the first impression from it was not the same on one and all. At Rome Pope Leo, in his golden palace, incredulous as to the possibility of anything occurring, especially from so mean an origin, to affect his supremacy and power, treated it at first as a mere passing ebullition of feeling and genius in the monk of Wittenberg.[1] But not so they that were on the spot, and *beheld*, when, like an electric shock, the voice of the revived gospel-witness thrilled through Germany. Not so, I say, Tetzel, Eck, Miltitz, Aleander. Of these each one, as they entered on the scene, and looked on, trembled in consternation.[2] For they saw that the very foundation of the whole Papal system was assailed; and that there was a power in the voice and the movement, (even as if from heaven,) that they could not withstand. And soon indeed Pope Leo himself realized the danger.[3]—It needs not that I here retrace what has been said before so fully of the subsequent successive steps taken towards the consolidation of the Reformation:—the recognition by Luther in their true character, and his consequent rejection, of the Roman Pope and his seven thunders; his intrepid standing up in defence of

soon recognised their common principles; and they, on theirs, soon symbolized with Wittenberg.

[1] "Brother Martin," he said, "is a man of fine genius."

[2] See my citations from Merle in the Vindiciæ, pp. 256, 257. To the same effect writes Waddington, Reformation, i. 191, 192, iii. 367.—Let me cite the reports about Miltitz and Aleander, as Dr. Keith has disputed the fact. "Miltitz brought with him Briefs for the election, &c.; others for the authorities of the different cities through which he might pass in his return; .. all designed *to protect himself from violence*, as well as his future prisoner from rescue. But scarcely had he crossed the Alps, when he found reason to fear that even these precautions would not serve him. As he made his further progress through the empire, sounding, as he advanced, the dispositions of the people, *his fears at every step were confirmed*," &c. So Waddington. And Merle, ii. 178, about Aleander's view of things, in his progress in 1521 to Worms; "*Une invincible terreur glaçait les partisans de Rome.*"

[3] So Ranke, Hist. of Popes i. 86.

the gospel before the Emperor and Cardinal at Worms; the general revival of gospel-preaching; the ecclesiastical constitution of a pure and reformed Church, and excommunication of the Roman Church as apostate, with the rod of the civil power assisting, throughout electoral Saxony, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries. It is sufficient here to state that at each step of advance, as the revival was confirmed, and the Witnesses stood more firmly on their feet, the fear of those that beheld continued, and increased in anxiety. Not least were their fears excited when, after ten years of vain schemes and agitation to put them down, the *Lutheran Reformers* proclaimed as it were before the world,—though all unconsciously and unintentionally,—that they were but the *Witnesses of Christ* resuscitated and risen up again:—I mean when in 1530, just after the memorable Augsburg Council, at which they had presented their Confession of Faith, and been repudiated by the Emperor, they united themselves collectively at *Smalcald*,[1] under the glorious adopted name of PROTESTANTS; an appellation the very same that, according to its Latin etymology, signifies WITNESSES.

And here the Angel seems to me to have ceased speaking. (I shall presently have to state the evidence of it.) His sketch of the two Witnesses' history had been brought down to that very chronological point in the vision prefigurative of the Reformation, at which he first interposed with his retrospective explanatory narrative. What remained of their history would most fitly be given, not retrospectively, or in explanatory narrative, but in the resumption and progress of the Apocalyptic scenic figurations. To these we now proceed. They will form the subject of our next Chapter.

1 "The Papists in Germany are filled with fear. As we returned from the assembly at Smalcalden, the priests at Erfurt inquired what was there concluded, whether for their ruin or safety." Luther's Table Talk, ii. 29.

CHAPTER IX.

ASCENT OF THE WITNESSES, AND POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

"And I heard[1] a great voice from heaven saying unto them, Come up hither! And they ascended up to heaven in the cloud:[2] and their enemies beheld them. And at that same time[3] there was a great earthquake. And the tenth part of the city fell. And in the earthquake were slain seven chiliads,[4] names of men. And the remnant were affrighted.—And they gave glory to the God of heaven." Apoc. xi. 12, 13.

It will be observed that I adopt the reading ηκουσα, *I heard*, instead of ηκουσαν, *they heard*, the reading in the authorized translation, at the heading of this passage. My reason is this. The *external* evidence of manuscripts and versions in so far favours it, that Griesbach places it in his margin, as of perhaps equal authority with the received ηκουσαν;[5] and Bengel and Wordsworth adopt it. Then we have this evidence from *analogy* in its favour, that, whereas there are about 20 examples of ηκουσα elsewhere in the Apocalyptic prophecy, there is not one of ηκουσαν. The figurative characters, shadowed out before the apostle's eye in vision, are nowhere described as *hearing* what passed on the Apocalyptic scene. They often spoke words indeed; and at times had words addressed to them.[6] But it was all, as well as the distinctive guise they wore, for the *apostle's* seeing, the *apostle's* hearing.—Thus, on the whole,

[1] The reading ηκουσα is taken, for reasons given presently.

[2] εν τη νεφελη.

[3] εν εκεινη τη ὡρᾳ. Griesbach has ἡμερᾳ, Wordsworth and others ὡρᾳ.

[4] χιλιαδες ἑπτα. On which more hereafter.

[5] So Scholz also.—Ηκεσα is in the Codex B, also in many manuscript codices of less value; also in the Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic versions:—versions probably of the 6th and 7th centuries. See Tregelles and Wordsworth's critical Editions.

[6] For example, they *spoke* in the songs of thanksgiving. Again *words were addressed to them* under the third Seal; "I heard a voice saying, See that thou defraud not in the wine and in the oil;" and under the fifth Trumpet; "It was said to them that they should not injure the grass." Apoc. vi. 6, ix. 4.

I hope the reader will agree with me that there is reasonable ground for preferring the *former*, as the true reading. Professors Ewald and M. Stuart have, on general grounds, preferred it also.[1]

The chief value of the observation, to my own mind, consists in this, that it determines a point, otherwise indistinctly defined, of much importance: viz. where it is that the descended Angel of the Covenant ends his elucidatory retrospective narrative; and that the Apocalyptic figurations recommence before St. John, in their usual form and course. For, supposing the reading ηκουσα, *And I heard*, to be the correct one, it marks of itself their recommencement. Other sounds now fell upon his ear that were to be recorded, other objects called for his immediate regard on the Apocalyptic scene, in place of the voice and address of the Covenant-Angel.[2]—At any rate the transition cannot be fixed earlier than the clause next before preceding, "And, after the three and a half days, the Spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell on those that beheld them;" seeing that the characteristic *future tense* of the Angel's narrative occurs immediately before it:[3] nor later than the clause next after following; for there and then the cloud that mantled the discoursing Angel, (so we shall see presently,) and of course the Angel with it, is said to have ascended upward from the Evangelist's presence.

And hence a new and twofold historical testing of the correctness of our historical exposition of this part of the prophecy. For, 1st, the Angel's retrospective sketch of the Witnesses in the *figuration*, and the Protestant Reformers' retrospective view of them in the *reality*, ought, on this hypothesis, to have brought up to about the time whence

[1] "Some codices read ηκησα, which with Ewald I deem preferable; as it varies the narrative, and makes it more graphic and lively. As John sees and hears all that is done and said, so ηκησα might well be here employed." M. Stuart.

[2] "And after the three days and a half, the spirit of life from God entered into them; and they stood upon their feet: and great fear fell on them which saw them." The reader will have observed what I have said of the present tense used by the Angel in depicting the dead state of the Witnesses, and rejoicing over them; as if they were then at length depicted on the scene. See my p. 454 Note [2].

"Hue usque," says Tichonius, after notice of the three and a half days of the Witnesses lying dead, "Angelus futurum narravit, et inducit factum quod futurum audit."

[3] ἔωρα πεμψασι. The future is in all the manuscripts.

we suppose the view taken: i. e. as we saw some time since,[1] to the epoch of the researches of Bale, Flacius Illyricus, Foxe, &c.; researches begun soon after the ecclesiastical constitution of the Reformed Church,[2] with the delegated ῥαβδος of authority, about 1542 or 1543:[3] 2ndly, the prefigurations next exhibited ought to answer to the events of importance next after that date ensuing in Protestant Christendom.—Now that our exposition well stands the first criterion may probably have already struck the reader. For the last point noted in the *Angel's retrospective narrative*, viz. the two Witnesses' firm standing upon their feet,[4] to the dismay of their enemies, after a sudden and most marvellous revivification from a state of death, was shown to have had fulfilment in the consolidation and firm attitude of the reformed body, when leagued together under the name of antipapal *Protestants*, or *Witnesses:* a union of defence against the hostile decree of the Augsburg Diet,[5] consolidated *ere the end of the year* 1530 at Smalcald; and which lasted in force (so as to include the precise epoch of 1542, 1543, about which I suppose the retrospective view to have begun) some 15 or 16 years after.[6]—Again, that the new prefiguration, introduced by the words "And I

[1] See 203, 204 suprà.

[2] *The ecclesiastical constitution of the Reformed Church* was begun and carried on, we saw, from A.D. 1525 to 1529, on the mandate of the governing authorities, in Saxony and other adjoining countries; and completed, we may perhaps say, by the solemn promulgation of its principles in the Confessions of Faith of those reformed Churches, presented to the Emperor and Diet, A.D. 1530, at Augsburg.

[3] Foxe's researches into ecclesiastical history, which expanded at length into his Martyrology, began as early as 1553. See his Biography by Townshend, p. 75.—Bale published his "Image of both Churches," or Apocalyptic Exposition, earlier; about A.D. 1545. In his list of Witnesses so far martyred, in illustration of the Apocalyptic passage on the death of the Witnesses, the latest named by him are Barnes, Jerome, Garret, Spencer, martyred A.D. 1540, 1541: (Foxe, v. 434, 443:) and, at the end of the Book, Henry VIII is spoken of as still reigning.

[4] The force of this expression is illustrated by Ezek. xxxvii. 10, "They lived and *stood upon their feet;*" said of the Jews' future restoration in national strength and vigour.

[5] See the close of my preceding chapter.

[6] Let me illustrate this chronological coincidence from Bale's own comment, about the year 1545, on that clause, "And after the three and a half days," &c. He says: "In the midst of their joy and triumph, when they (the Papists) think themselves well quieted, the heretics thus taken away, another storm falleth on them worse than the other. Many more ariseth out of their ashes, to their confusion, and to the chosen's comfort: and the same Witnesses they are again, giving the same testimony, though they be not the same persons." So far he explains the prophecy with reference to times past, and the time then present. Then he begins to expound of what *would* be: "These Witnesses stood upon their feet. In the time full past was this spoken for the certainty of the thing; *though much of it be to come.*"

heard," takes up the threads of either preceding prophecy, and, interweaving them, carries forward conjointly the further prophetic development of their grand and common subject, the REFORMATION, will appear just as clearly as we proceed.

"And I heard a great voice from heaven saying unto them, Come up hither! And they ascended up to heaven in the cloud: and their enemies beheld them." So begins the narrative of the resumed figurations. After which follows; "And at the same time there was a great earthquake. And the tenth part of the city fell. And there were slain in the earthquake seven chiliads, names of men." Thus in this prefiguration there were three things noted: —the *Witnesses' ascension;—the falling of a tenth part of the Papal City*, in a great contemporary earthquake;—and *the slaying of seven chiliads* in the earthquake. Each of these demands its separate consideration. And,

I. THE WITNESSES' ASCENSION TO HEAVEN.

It is to be observed that the *heaven* here noted in vision was a heaven visible to the enemies of the Witnesses,[1] and therefore not the spiritual heaven of the Divine presence. It seems evidently here, just as in the vision of the Woman and Dragon in the next Chapter,[2] and as in other earlier prophecies also,[3] to be the heaven of political elevation and dignity: the *ascent thither* being an advancement to such dignity and elevation;[4] and the *call* to the Witnesses, the *loud* call of summons thither, a call from persons high-

[1] For it is said both of their ascent, and of themselves after it, "And their enemies beheld them."—The reader may refer back, if he please, to some observations on the firmamental heaven of the Apocalyptic landscape in Vol. i. p. 103.

[2] So Todd, p. 230, on Apoc. xii. 1; "I infer that the scene of this vision is not that higher heaven, where was the throne of God, and the 24 elders, and the 4 beasts; . . but the lower heaven, where are the sun moon and stars."

[3] e. g. Isaiah xiv. 13. The king of Babylon is there represented as saying in his heart, "I will ascend into heaven; I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: . . I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High."

[4] The figure of *ascent into heaven*, in the sense of triumph and exaltation, was, like others in the passage before us, adopted unconsciously in the 5th Lateran Council. In the conclusion of Cardinal Cajetan's oration in the 2nd Session we find the words; "Sic namque hoc sacrosanctum Concilium *in cælum ascendet*, cùm Catholicâ Ecclesiâ quam refert; et quam Johannes civitatem esse sanctam, esse Jerusalem, novamque, atque de cœlo descendisse, contemplatus est." Hard. ix. 1623.

est for the time being in that lower heaven of political authority.[1]—Such seems to me the meaning of the prefigurative symbols. But could it be that the *Witnesses* so lately made war against, even to extermination, by the Wild Beast from the abyss, i. e. by the Popes and secular European powers under them, and which had been moreover rejoiced over, when apparently dead, by delegates from every part of Western Christendom, and even after their resuscitation aimed at afresh in hostile decrees, like those of Worms and Augsburg,—could it be, I say, that they should by any of those powers be called up, and that with a voice audible through all Europe, to political ascendancy and power?—It needs but little acquaintance with modern history to know that such was indeed the very fact; and this within little more than 20 years from the anti-Protestant Decree of Augsburg.

It was the embroilment with other nations of Charles the Vth, head of the Germanic Empire,—that great secular power in which the Popes most trusted to crush the rising heresy,—that God's all-ruling Providence made use of, (it is always instructive to trace its mode of operation,) as the primary means for effecting this predicted consummation. Scarce had two years elapsed after the passing of the Augsburg Decree, when the imminency of a long-threatened Turkish invasion, under the terrible Sultan Solyman, made the reconcilement of the Protestant States a point of obvious necessity for the preservation of the empire:[2] and induced from the Emperor and Germanic Diet a Decree, celebrated as the *Pacification of Nuremberg;* by which Decree full toleration was accorded to Protestantism, and a stop put to all suits against Protestants in the Imperial Chamber, *until the assembling*, then shortly expected, of *a General Council.* Thus, says Robertson,[3] "from having been viewed hitherto only as a religious sect, the Protestants of Germany came henceforth to be considered as a political body of no small consequence." It was their

[1] The expression "Come up *hither*," shows that the voice came from that same heaven to which the Witnesses were to ascend.—If it be preferred however to construe it as a *Providential* call, this will not affect my general explanation.

[2] See Robertson's Charles the Vth, generally, for the history.

[3] Ib. Book V. ad ann. 1531, 1532. Vol. iii. pp. 56 et seq.

first great step, and that on *the Imperial call*, to *political ascendancy*.—The embroilment with Turkey was followed by others of longer duration with France, and then with France and Turkey conjointly:—embroilments marked on the historic page by Charles's expeditions against Tunis and Algiers, and successive invasions of France on the side of its Southern and Northern Provinces. Nor, notwithstanding some intervening truces, did the Emperor feel himself sufficiently disembarrassed to attempt the reduction of the Protestants,—though by their firm attitude of independence they almost as much offended him, as by their religious heresy (so called) the Pope,—until the *Peace of Crespy* with the French King in September 1544.[1]—Concurrent with all this was the operation of the reluctance of two successive Popes[2] to the assembling of a General Council: as it delayed that which, by the terms of the Nuremberg Decree, was to constitute the terminating limit to the toleration of Protestants then agreed on. So that, in effect, for not less than 13 years, viz. from 1532 to 1545, the *Pacification of Nuremberg* continued in force in their favour:[3] and the only Decree or Treaty in the interval, (I refer specially to the Treaty of *Kadan*, agreed to in 1534 between the Emperor's brother and the Protestant Prince of Hesse,[4] and Decree by the Emperor himself and Diet of Spires issued early in 1544,) these, I say, instead of contravening or abridging the favourable enactments of Nuremberg, did but confirm and enlarge them.—But after the Peace of Crespy all was changed. The time was deemed by the Emperor to have come for the subjugation of the Protestants. Their requisition for recognition and toleration, not temporarily or contingently, (so as before

[1] Robertson's Charles the Vth, Books V, VI, VII.

[2] Clement VII, cousin to Leo X, and Paul III; the former Pope from 1523 to 1534, the latter from 1534 to 1549.

[3] It was in this interval, being in the year 1540, that the order of *Jesuits* was instituted. On which see Robertson ibid. ad ann. 1540, and Ranke's History of Popes (Austin's Translation), B ii. c. i. § 4 and 7; also the late Reprint of the Constitutions of the Order, and Sir J. Stephens' Essay on the subject.

[4] Ranke particularly notices this *Treaty of Kadan*. "It may be regarded," he says, "as the second great epoch of the rise of the Protestant power in Germany." B. i. c. 3, p. 123. In it there was contained the important article that the Supreme Court (the *Kammergericht*) should hear no more suits concerning *confiscated church property*.

till the meeting of a General Council,) but absolutely and permanently, was rejected. A hostile Decree followed against them. And just after two memorable though very different events had occurred, as if in preparation (so the Romanists might have fancied) for the subjugation of Protestantism in Germany,—I mean the assembling of *the Council of Trent* in January 1546, and the *death of Luther* in the February following,[1] the threatened war broke out. And, the Protestants being defeated at Muhlburg,[2] and their chiefs the Saxon Elector and Prince of Hesse made prisoners and detained in captivity, and the *Interim* anti-Protestant[3] Decree soon after promulgated, (the date was May 15, 1548,) it seemed as if not only the predicted ascendancy of Protestantism, but even the Protestant cause itself, was put in jeopardy throughout all Germany.—But in this case, just as so often in others, the epoch of depression, through God's gracious overruling for his people, did but precede and introduce that of more conspicuous elevation. New and unexpected agencies were suddenly brought into operation. The betrayer of the Protestant cause in the war just ended, Prince Maurice, was led to espouse it. (Let it be remembered that it is with the *political* bearing of the subject that I am now dealing.) Then followed the surprise of the Emperor Charles at Inspruck, and the consequent *Peace of Passau*, concluded August 12, 1552: that celebrated Peace (confirmed in 1555 at Augsburg) whereby in the fullest measure toleration was accorded to Protestantism; and Protestants, equally with Romanists, admitted to sit as judges in the Supreme Imperial Chamber.[4] In short, it was the fulfilment of the Apocalyptic prefiguration of the Witnesses' ascent into the political heaven in *Germany;*—in *Germany*,

[1] It happened peacefully at his native place *Eisleben*. I have a medal before me (Junckner, p. 174) struck on the occasion: which on the one side bears the face of Luther with his eyes closed in death: on the obverse the legend round the margin, "In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum: Redemisti me, Deus veritatis:" and in the body the distich,

Nona bis obscura lux Februa constitit ortu,
In patrio ut moreris, clare Luthere, solo.

It was indeed a marvel that a peaceful death should have been Luther's lot; and this in his native country and village. [2] Apr. 24, 1547.

[3] Though little indeed agreeable to the Romanists, as observed in my Note [3] p. 432. So Mosheim, xvi. i. 4. 3, 4; and Robertson, ib. 447. [4] Robertson, iv. 181.

the originating locality, under God, of this great revolution: and followed by their elevation almost contemporarily in some other countries, of which I shall speak presently.[1]—Nor, with reference to this consummation in the Germanic empire, must we overlook the predictive statement, "And *their enemies beheld them.*" It seemed to pre-intimate the presence of enemies on occasion of the Witnesses' *ascension,* just as before on occasion of their *resurrection:* even as if the result would be accomplished in the face of these enemies, and in spite of them. And so it was. At the passing of each Decree by which the Protestants rose into ascendancy, their enemies were present in the Diets and the Councils. As they sate in elevation afterwards in the Imperial Chamber, still their enemies were present, and beheld them.[2] This made the triumph more remarkable. Their language of thanksgiving might well have been that of one who was a witness for God in other and earlier times; "Thou hast prepared a table for us *in the presence of our enemies.*"[3]

There remains yet one point for remark in the description of the ascent of the Witnesses; I mean the circumstance of their ascent being "*in the cloud.*" I say in *the* cloud; for though our translators have rendered it "in *a* cloud," the original is as I have given it, εν τῃ νεφελῃ; "And they ascended up to heaven in the cloud."[4]—Now on this insertion of the definite article in the clause Bishop Middleton has remarked that it is most singular. "No cloud," he says, "had been mentioned: yet there is not any instance in the N. T. in which νεφελη has the article, where there is not *reference.*" But is it the case, I must ask,

[1] See the next head.

[2] "Throughout the whole of the Austrian dominions the Protestants stood armed with their old provincial rights, *face to face* with the Government." So Ranke ii. 96, of the somewhat later year 1579. And Guizot (Europ. Civiliz. Lect. xii); "An effect of the *religious revolution* was to create in Europe two classes of States, Catholic and Protestant, and *place them opposite each other.*"

Picart says; "Je prends le tems que le Concile de Trente finit (i. e. A.D. 1563) pour le veritable epoque de l'etablissement de la religion Protestante. On peut dire que des lors *l'Europe* commence de la *reconnaitre.*" Cerem. iii. 305.

[3] Psalm xxiii. 5.—Compare too Gen. xvi. 12: "He (Ishmael) shall be a wild man: his hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him: and he shall dwell *in the presence of all his brethren.*" Some of them *hostile* brethren.

[4] There is no various reading. Yet does M. Stuart translate "in *a* cloud:" nor have I seen any solution, or indeed scarce an attempt at a solution of the difficulty, by any other expositors of whatever school.

that no cloud, to which reference might be intended, has been before mentioned? Was it not in the *robing of a cloud* that the Covenant-Angel had descended on the Apocalyptic earth before St. John, in the vision of the xth chapter symbolizing the Reformation? And, as there is no mention made afterwards of his divesting Himself of it, must it not be understood that it was still in this same robing that He did all that was subsequently noticed of Him on the Apocalyptic scene:—that, invested with *it*, He swore that mighty oath about the time of the consummation; in *it* gave the open gospel-book to his disciple; in *it*, after placing the rod in his hand, commissioned him to measure the temple; in *it* began and continued the narrative of the Witnesses, only just before terminated? Assuredly such is the case: and, as it is so, "*the* cloud" here mentioned, with the definite article, must needs be this self-same cloud of the covenant-Angel's investiture.—But if so, why specified, it may be asked, in the prophecy? The object, I conceive, was two-fold:—1. to show that the ascent of the Witnesses, and its prefigured concomitants, was the result, the completing result, of Christ's special intervention; 2. to identify yet further, and more explicitly, the cause and triumph of the *Witnesses* with that of the great *Protestant Reformation*.

It is added, "And at the same time[1] there *was a great earthquake*." The events that have just been detailed involved of course a schism of those countries from the Popedom (and a mighty schism it was,[2]) in which Protestantism had been established as the state-religion;—viz. of Saxony, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark.—It was observable however of all these countries, (and the fact is certainly somewhat singular,) that they alike lay to the North of the Danube, the boundary line in that direction of the old Roman empire.[3] But the mighty moral and political revo-

[1] *εν εκεινη τη ὡρα*. Griesbach has *ἡμερᾳ*: but I prefer the authorised text: as do also Tregelles and Wordsworth. And I render it, "at that *time*," because *ὡρᾳ* is generally used in the Apocalypse in that sense.

[2] Writers of every creed agree in speaking of the Reformation as one of the mightiest of revolutions. So e. g. *Dr. Lingard;* "That religious revolution which... astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe." So *Guizot* (Europ. Civiliz. Lect. xii.) perpetually. And *M. Merle;* "Le Christianisme et la Reformation sont les deux plus grandes revolutions de l'histoire." i. 3.

[3] See Vol. i. pp. 361, 366.

lution, begun in Saxony, was destined almost immediately to extend further, and into other countries; and, together with the *ascent of Protestantism* there also, to involve the downfal and destruction of one very remarkable part (indeed of more than one) of what is called in the Apocalyptic prophecy the great city. "And *the tenth part*," it says, "*of the city fell:* and there *were slain* in the earthquake *seven chiliads*, names of men."—The development of this was to be the subject of our *second* Head.

II. The overthrow of a tenth part of the city, and the slaying of seven chiliads.

1. *The fall of the tenth part of the city.* "And the tenth part of the city fell."—To understand the intent of this prediction, nothing more seems necessary than to remember that the Apocalyptic great city included in its empire, according to the prophecy, just *ten kingdoms*;[1] and that the word *fall* is used in prophecy with reference to cities or countries conquered, and transferred to the dominion of a triumphant enemy.[2] It was the conquest and overthrow of the Papal empire in one of these ten kingdoms, apparently, that was the thing predicted. As to the hostile power by which it was to be overthrown, I think the context indicates that this would not be (so as in the previous judgments on "the third part of men," noticed in Apoc. viii. and ix.) either *heathen* or *Mahometan* invaders:[3] but rather the aggression of *Protestantism*, that most terrible of all enemies to Papal imposture; this being that from which the *earthquake*, or great political schism that has been spoken of, had its origin.[4] So that we have only to turn to history

[1] See Apoc. xvii. 12; and my historical elucidation in Part IV. chap. iv. § 2 infrà.

[2] So Isaiah xxi. 9, of the *fall* of the ancient Babylon, on its capture by the Persians. "There cometh a chariot.. with a couple of horsemen. And he answered and said, Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken to the ground" That the overthrow of the ancient Babylonian power in Babylon by the *Persians* was the event intended, appears from what is said of the agents in verse 2; "Go up, O *Elam!* Besiege, O *Media!*"

[3] Apoc. viii. 9; ix. 18.

[4] It is observable that *Jurieu*, supposing that *France* was the tenth part of the city here intended, and that the prophecy had yet in his time to receive its fulfilment, expressed his expectation that the revolution predicted would arise from France *breaking with the Pope*, and *becoming Protestant;* whereupon the Witnesses would so ascend

for the solution of the question: and to ask; Was there any one of the ten kingdoms of Papal Christendom,—and, if so, which,—wherein, about the same time as the great political exaltation of the Protestants in Northern Germany, the Papal Empire fell, overthrown by Protestantism?

And, in answer to the question, does not history, as with a finger-point, direct the inquirer to *England?* to England, one of the most notable of the ten Papal kingdoms?—The story of the great revolution that now befell it is soon told. By the teaching of certain Lutherans that visited its shores soon after Luther's return from his Patmos, in fulfilment of the commission given to him and them,—"Thou must prophesy before many kings, nations, and languages,"—by the teaching, I say, of these, and of such few survivors too as might remain of the *Wicliffites* or *Lollards*, the minds of not a few of the English had been secretly preparing for the change. But in this case *their* agency was at first less conspicuous and effective. Ostensibly the political movement had here precedence of the spiritual. God is a wonderful worker; and overrules alike the most opposite principles and characters, to effect his own purposes. The imperious and licentious Henry VIII was, at the time of Luther and the Reformation, king of England. In the year 1521 he had actually come forward to dispute with Luther, as the champion of the Papacy. Ere ten years had past, other motives swayed him. Dissatisfied with his marriage with Queen Catherine, and doubtful of its lawfulness, he sued the Pope for a Divorce. Unsuccessful, and revolted by the chicanery of Rome, he summoned his Parliament. Then the memorable act was passed by which *Papal supremacy* was renounced in England, and the king declared head (temporal head) of the church. So did *Papal England* fall in the earthquake; i. e. the Papal dominion in England.[1]—In point of *time*

into heaven, or power, and the Papists be affrighted. (ii. 265.) *Vitringa*, too, who similarly regarded the prophecy as unfulfilled, expressed a similar opinion on the manner of the fulfilment of the επεσε; as well as in regard of the tenth part of the city meaning one of the predicted ten kingdoms of the Popedom. pp. 669, 670.

[1] So Mosheim, xvi. i. 3. 11, 12, speaks of "*the downfal of the Pope's authority*, and *destruction of his empire*, in England." And Robertson (Charles V, ad ann. 1534); "That vast fabric of ecclesiastical dominion . . . was overturned in a moment."

Britton marks the day. "In the Parliament which commenced its Session Nov. 3,

the event synchronized with the earlier steps of the German Protestants towards ascendancy: the *first threatening* of separation between Henry and the Pope being in 1529, just when the German reformers united under the name of *Protestants;* and the *Act of Parliament* past in 1534, the year of the *Treaty of Kadan;* a year noted, we saw, as the second great epoch of the rise of the Protestant power in Germany.[1]—As yet, however, Protestantism was not established in England. Through the remainder of the reign of Henry Popery indeed lay in ruins; but no edifice of real evangelical Protestantism was erected in its stead. But in Edward the VIth's reign, which quickly followed, and which lasted till a little while after the Treaty of Passau, viz. from 1546 to 1553, this blessed consummation was effected. The English Protestant evangelic Church, thanks be to God, was fully organized and established on the ruins of the Papal.[2] The bloody Mary, on succeeding, for a few years threatened its subversion, and the restoration of Popery. But a speedy death terminated her projects. The sufferings and constancy of the Marian martyrs served effectually to endear the Reformation to the hearts of the people; and indeed this were needed for that great purpose.[3] The reign of Elizabeth followed. The half-re-constructed *tenth of the Papal City* fell again.[4] And the

1534, the important statute was past, by which all Papal authority in ecclesiastical affairs was 'utterly abolished out of this realm.'" So too Hume. [1] See p. 468, Note [4].

[2] With reference to this epoch of England's revolt from the Papacy, or *fall of the Popedom in England*, Pope Julius III struck a medal in the year 1550, a copy of which is given in the Plate opposite, with the legend, "*Gens et regnum quod non serviet tibi peribit.*" * On which Du Molinet thus comments. "Eo quo Pontificatum suscepit Julius anno, Catholicorum omnium Principum et Rerum-publicarum oratores (ut ait Onuphrius) publicis in consistoriis, vetere Romanæ Ecclesiæ instituto, ad præstandam sibi obedientiam admisit. *Unus defuit Angliæ rex Edvardus;* qui ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ et Romanâ, cum regni sui potiori parte, defecerat. Quam ob causam hoc numisma cusum videtur; quod ideo Angliæ ruinam et perniciem minatur his verbis, *Gens et regnum peribit quod non servierit tibi*, obsequio videlicet fidei captivante intellectum." See Bonanni, i. 242, 248.

Another medal, also given in my Plate, was struck by the same Pope on Queen Mary's accession, representing the Pope as helping up again *fallen England.* Ib. 250.

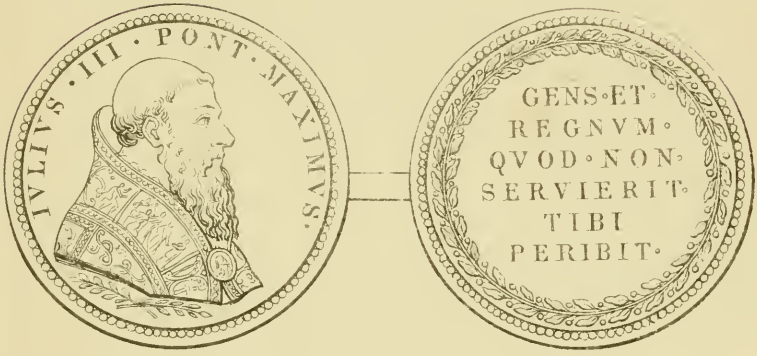
[3] See on this point Froude's lately published History.

[4] In the Zurich Letters we have one from Jewel to Peter Martyr, on the return of the former to England shortly after Elizabeth's accession, dated March 20, 1559, thus illustratively describing the then state of things: "The Roman Pontiff (I found on

* From Isa. lx. 12, where the prophet is speaking of the New Jerusalem, yet future. Compare the similar application to the Romish earthly Church of the prophecies respecting the New Jerusalem by the orators of the 5th Lateran Council, referred to pp. 80, 81, 442—444 suprà.

ANTI-ANGLO PAPAL COINS OF POPE JULIUS III

Protestant England, under Edward VI,
devoted by the Pope to ruin



Fallen England, on Papal Mary's accession
raised up again by the Pope



From Bonanni

Protestant or *witness* Church of England was then fully fixed in the heaven of political exaltation;[1] where it has ever since remained.[2]

2. A further result of the earthquake is thus predicted; "And there were slain in it *seven chiliads, names of men.*"[3]

The reader will observe that it is not the numeral adjective ἑπτακισχιλιοι that is here used; but, ἑπτα χιλιαδες, *seven chiliads*, or *thousands*. This is a point important to be observed; being that upon which, in my own judgment, the true solution of the prophetic intimation turns.

For, if we look to the use of the word χιλιας in the Septuagint, and that of its Hebrew original אֶלֶף, we shall find that, besides meaning numerically *a thousand*, (in which sense of the word no expositor has been able to give any satisfactory explanation to the clause about the *seven thousands* in the verse before us,[4]) the word also signified the

my return) was not yet *cast out.** No part of religion was yet restored. The country was still everywhere desecrated by the mass: the pomp and insolence of the bishops was unabated. All these things, however, are at length beginning to shake, and almost to *fall.*" p. 10, Parker Ed.

[1] "The heaven of influence and power, both in the Church and in the State." So Mr. Hislop in his "Red Republic," p. 215.—I cite him as being a writer of the Scotch Free Church; some of the ministers of which have objected to this view of the Apocalyptic symbol.

[2] See Burnet's History of the Reformation, on the general subject.

[3] Και απεκτανθησαν εν τω σεισμω ονοματα ανθρωπων χιλιαδες ἑπτα.

[4] Let me mention some of the explanations by expositors of the three chief different schools.

I. Of the *Historical* School.

Mede. Either about 7000 αξιωματα ανθρωπων, chief dignities of men; or 7000 "municipia, parœciæ, pagi, cœnobia, et similes communitatum humanarum tituli." —So too *Vitringa*; 648, 671.

Daubuz. The 7000 have an allusion to the 7000 that God had left to himself in Israel's apostasy, in the time of Elijah: and mean the secret faithful ones in Greek Christendom; who fell, so as not to rise again as Christ's Witnesses, under the Turkish yoke. (N. B. The tenth of the city that falls is made by Daubuz to be the Greek Church.)

Faber. The legalized exclusion of Papists from office in England, after William III's accession, secular or spiritual: 7000 being an expression for universality. S.C. iii. 51.

Cuninghame, much as Mede. "Or, perhaps, 7000 may be a mystical number for a great multitude, slain in the wars that followed the Reformation." p. 110.

II. The *Prœterist* School.

Eichhorn. "Ingens hominum agmen;" comparing 2 Kings xxiv. 16.

Heinrichs. "Nil nisi ingentem numerum."

M. Stuart. Tenth part of the city (Jerusalem) means "a comparatively small part:" 7000, involved in this destruction, comports with usage of this Book as to the number seven; and also with the probable proportion of inhabitants involved in a destruction of the tenth part of the city. Compare 2 Kings xxiv. 16; "And Nebuchadnezzar carried away all the men of might, even 7000."

* "But the court that is without *cast out.*" See my p. 198 suprà.

most notable *popular subdivision* in the Jewish commonwealth, under the larger division of a tribe.—It seems that it was first introduced into the Israelitish administrative system by Moses in the wilderness. We read in Exodus that he was counselled by his father-in-law, Jethro, to divide the nation into *thousands*, *hundreds*, and *tens;* in order to the appointment over each of rulers and officers, who might relieve him in part of the intolerable weight incumbent on him of judicial and administrative business. "So Moses," it is said, "chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people; *rulers of thousands*, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens."[1] Henceforth the *chiliad*, which numerically averaged about one fiftieth of a *tribe*, became a most notable subdivision in Israel:[2] and the *rulers of thousands* are mentioned, after the *heads of tribes*, as among the high officers of the host. They seem scarcely however at first to have attained to the dignity of being enrolled, and *called by name*, as members of the great national Council. It is of the *phylarchs*,[3] or *heads of tribes*, distinctively, that the statement is made, on the first numbering of Israel near the Mount of Sinai; "These were the *renowned* [literally, the *called by name*] of the congregation; princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of thousands in Israel. And Moses and Aaron took these men, which were *expressed by names*."[4] The chiliad in this instance was not as yet, in the *highest* sense of the word, an ονομα ανθρωπων, or *distinctive title* to the men that ruled it.—On the settlement of Israel however in the land of Canaan, two changes passed on the *chiliad:—first*, its *numerical augmentation;* the tribe multiplying, while the number of chiliads in the tribe remained the same, (as

Prof. Lee. "Some large indefinite number."

III. *Futurist* School.

Todd. Literally, 7000 persons killed in an earthquake at Jerusalem, on occasion of the risen Witnesses' ascent to heaven.

[1] Exod. xviii. 21, 25.

[2] So in Numbers x. 36; "And when the ark rested Moses said, Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands (χιλιαδας μυριαδας, the innumerous chiliads) of Israel."

[3] The Septuagint has, in regard of these tribunal chieftains, an indistinctness of designation which is not in the original. For it calls them *chiliarchs*, as well as *heads of tribes;* for example in Numb. i. 16, quoted above, and Josh. xxii. 14, 21; whereas the original, rendered χιλιαρχος (chiliarch) in the Septuagint, is רֹאשׁ אֲלָפִים, the head of *thousands*, not of a *thousand*.

[4] Sept. τους ανδρας τουτους τους ανακληθεντας εξ ονοματος. Numb. i. 16, 17.

seems probable,) each of them embracing the families originally numbered in it:[1]—*secondly*, its *territorial endowment:* a portion of territory belonging to the tribe being allotted to each one of its constituent chiliads; so that, like the *hundred* in an English county, these chiliads became identified with *districts;* each with its little capital, or chief town or village, included in it.[2]—It would seem too as if the *chiliarch* now derived from his *chiliad* more of the ονομα, i. e. a higher name and station in the commonwealth; being so noted both in Zech. ix. 7,[3] and in St. Matthew's version of the prophecy in Micah. For the Evangelist's, "Thou art not the least among the *princes* of Judah," (εν ηγεμοσιν Ιουδα,)[4] is in the Hebrew original, as observed in a Note preceding, "the least among the *chiliads* of Judah."

Such being the *Jewish original*,—and the propriety of explaining the *chiliads* here mentioned by reference to *this* original being inferable, as I conceive, from the previous Apocalyptic figuration of the population of Roman Christendom under the symbol of the *twelve tribes of Israel*,[5]—what we have to do, in order to the solution on this principle of the prophetic clause before us, is simply to inquire for some *septenary of subdivisions*, popular and territorial, in the commonwealth of Western Christendom; which, bearing proportion thereto each one somewhat the same as the Hebrew chiliad to all Israel, and constituting therein more markedly than their prototype titles of high office, dig-

[1] So Gesenius gives as the second meaning of אֶלֶף; "Family, subdivision of a tribe; consisting originally of *a thousand*, but afterwards without any reference to that number, i. q. מִשְׁפָּחָה." He cites, among other examples, Judges vi. 15; "Behold my family," or *chiliad*, אַלְפִּי (it is *Gideon* that is speaking), "is poor in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house;"—also 1 Sam. x. 19; "Present yourselves before the Lord by your tribes, and by your *thousands;*" a passage followed by an account of the Israelites assembling accordingly; and first the *tribe* of Benjamin being taken; then out of that tribe the *tribal subdivision* (Heb. here מִשְׁפָּחָה) of Matri; then out of it the *family* of *Kish;* and then *Saul* as the *individual* of the family:—also 1 Sam. xxiii. 23; "If he be in the land I will search him out, throughout all the *thousands* of Judah."

[2] So Gesenius, exemplifying from the well-known passage in Micah v. 2; "Thou *Bethlehem Ephratah*, though thou be little among the *thousands* of Judah," &c.: (Sept. ολιγοστος ει εν χιλιασιν Ιουδα;) Bethlehem being the representative and chief village of that particular *chiliad-district* in Judah.

[3] "And he shall be for our God; and he shall be as a *governor* (Hebr. אַלּוּף, Sept. χιλιαρχος) in Judah."

[4] Matt. ii. 6.

[5] Apoc. vii. See Vol. i. pp. 259—263. Compare also p. 438 suprà.

nity, and command, were conjointly destroyed *as members of the Papal kingdom:* (*political* slaughter being here, as elsewhere,[1] the apparent meaning of αποκτεινω:)—destroyed in the same political earthquake, attendant on the Reformation, in the which Papal England fell; by the same hostile agency too, it would seem in the main, viz. that of Protestantism; and not very long after it in time.—Such are the prophetic conditions that have to be satisfied in history. Nor, as we look therein for the fulfilment, does it seem to me possible to mistake its directing us to that memorable revolution, by which, during the English Queen Elizabeth's reign, the *seven Dutch United Provinces* were emancipated from the Spanish yoke, and at the same time the Papal rule and religion destroyed in them.—Let us consider the case, and compare.

For their first constitution then as *provinces*, we must refer back to the early record of the invasion and conquest of Roman Gaul by the Frankish tribes. The *Netherlands*, including what was in later times called *French* Flanders, as well as *Dutch* Flanders, formed part of the new Frank empire; and were soon divided into seventeen Provinces, constituting as many partially independent states, fiefs of the empire; viz. the four *Duchies* of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, Guelders, the *Marquisate* of Antwerp, the seven *Counties* of Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Namur, Zutphen, Holland, Zealand, and six *Lordships* of Malines, Utrecht, Overyssel, Friezeland, Groningen:[2]—each being an *allodium*, or territorial domain, assigned to some chieftain and subdivision of a tribe, in nearly independent sovereignty, just like the *territorial chiliads* assigned to the tribual subdivisions of *Israel* on its settlement in Canaan; and furnishing to the chief, whether as its *Lord*, *Count*, *Duke*, or *Marquis*, his title of dignity and command.[3]—In

[1] απεκταν θησαν. Compare Apoc. ix. 5, 15, 18, 20, where the *slaying of the third part of men* is said of the *political extinction* of the Greek empire.—So also Ezek. xxxvii. 9; "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, [i. e. on the Jews, slain as *a nation*,] that they may live."

[2] Rees' Cyclopædia, Art. *Netherlands*.—Cambresin afterwards added, made eighteen.

[3] See Watson's *Philip the Second*, Book 3, ad init.—Also on the *allodia* and *beneficia* allotted to the chieftains by the superior Head, Robertson's Charles V, Appendix, Note II.—Compare the Tabular Scheme of Fiefs and Titles (as of Duchies, Counties, &c.) into which France was divided at the end of the 10th Century, given by Guizot in the Hist. of Civil. of France, ii. 281. (Ed. Hazlitt.)

the course of the 700 years that intervened between Charlemagne and Charles the Vth, many changes of course occurred affecting them. In the xvth century at length they had become attached to the Dukedom of Burgundy, then passed by marriage to the Austrian Emperor Maximilian; and so to his grandson Charles V, and afterwards his great grandson Philip the IInd: but still as Provinces separate and distinct; and constituting titles of dignity and command, ονοματα ανθρωπων.[1]

Now into these Provinces of the Netherlands the doctrines of the Reformation soon found their way. Ere the year 1524 Luther had the satisfaction to hear, not only of the gospel being preached in them, but of martyrs sealing the truth of what was preached with their blood.[2] Still the leaven worked, the new opinions continued to spread, and martyrs to suffer in the Netherlands;[3] though the fires of the Inquisition, and the strong arm of power, prevented a popular religious outbreak. At length under Philip the IInd political oppressions were added to religious; and war began.[4] The earthquake, under which the tenth kingdom of the Popedom had just before fallen, began to convulse and threaten its supremacy in these lesser districts. The commencement of the war was in 1569. In 1579, (the other Provinces adhering to Spain and the Papacy,) the union of the *Seven United Provinces* was formed by Deputies from Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friezeland, Groningen, Overyssel,[5] Guelderland. To human eye the cause of the Protestant insurgents might well have seemed hopeless.[6] For Philip's was the mightiest monarchy in Europe: and

On the general subject I rejoice to be able to refer to the History by Mr. Motley, published since my 4th Edition, as doing justice to one of the most extraordinary, interesting, and momentous revolutions in the history of the world.

[1] Vitringa, p. 648, construes the ονοματα ανθρωπων as *men of name and celebrity*. But on Apoc. iii. 4, having the similar expression ολιγα ονοματα to explain, he makes distinction between the phrase *men of name*, and *names of men*: "Aliud est *nomen hominis*, ac *homo nominis*."

[2] See Milner on the year 1523, pp. 798, 816.

[3] It has been said that 50,000, and even 100,000, suffered as heretics, ere the insurrection broke out. So Watson ibid., who cites *Meteren*, *Grotius*, and *Father Paul* as authorities.

[4] See on all this Watson, or Motley.

[5] *Groningen* and *Overyssel* being soon substituted for *Brabant* and *Flanders*. The seven specified above are named in the final Spanish recognition of their independence.

[6] On their first struck coin was *a ship without sails and oars*, struggling with the waves; and the motto, "*Incertum quo fata ferant*." Russell, Mod. Europe, Vol. iii. p. 11.

the seven Provinces, besides defect in all military organization and armament, bore, in regard even of *territory* and *population*, scarce so great a proportion to it, as seven of the Hebrew *chiliads* to the largest of the *tribes* of Israel.[1] But the energy and fortitude imparted to them by religion was indomitable. It was felt by the Spaniards at the sieges of Haarlem and Leyden. Moreover the example of England, now Protestant under its Queen Elizabeth, was before them; and its sympathy, and partial succour,[2] at hand: —a sympathy and succour well repaid by the struggling Provinces soon after, at the crisis of Protestant England's extreme peril on the imminent conjunction, as intended, of the Spanish Armada and army under the Prince of Parma, with a view to its invasion.[3] Above all, God's support was

[1] In Miller's *Companion to the Atlas*, I find the following view of the *territorial extent* and *present population* of Holland, as compared with that of those other kingdoms that made up the old Roman or Western Papal Empire.

Countries.	Extent in Square Miles.	Population in Millions.
U. P. of Holland	13,000	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Great Britain ..	118,000	24
France	205,000	32
Spain	183,000	11
Portugal	39,000	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Switzerland ..	15,000	2
Belgium	11,000	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Austria	230,000	32
Italy	130,000	19

Thus the *territorial extent* of Holland is to that of the rest of Papal Christendom, within the old Roman limits of the Danube and the Rhine, as 13 to 931, or 1 to 72; its *population* as $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 127, or 1 to 50.—Now, with regard to the Hebrew *chiliads*, since *one* was a 600th part of the 600,000 that constituted the whole male population of the 12 tribes, when the division was made, therefore *seven* chiliads would have been to that whole population as 1 to 80; a proportion that may be supposed, in the absence of particular information, to have held also territorially.—If the other kingdoms of the Papacy, previous to the Reformation, were included in the table, I mean of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Prussia, and other States of the North of Germany, a territory would be added of above 400,000 square miles, and a population of 50 millions; making the proportion of Holland $1\frac{1}{2\,0}$ in regard of territory, $\frac{1}{7\,0}$ in regard of population. On either reckoning there is, I believe, no Jewish *popular* or *territorial* division that would at all so nearly represent the proportion to the rest of Christendom;—i. e. of *Roman* Christendom: *Greek* Christendom being regarded in the prophecy as politically defunct, (Apoc. ix. 18,) and so left out of the calculation.

[2] How partial and ineffective was the English succour has been shown by Mr. Motley, more clearly than before. And hence the fact of the intervention of God's Providence in favour of the revolted Provinces, in the terrible war they had to sustain in defence of their Protestant religion and their liberty, appears the more strikingly.

[3] See Motley's continuation.

with them. His purpose (if I rightly judge) had been declared that *seven chiliads* of the Papal city, as well as one of its ten kingdoms, should be overthrown. After a protracted and bloody war of 37 years the impossibility of recovering the seven Provinces to itself, and to the Popedom, was fully recognised by Spain. In 1609 their independence was virtually acknowledged by it:[1] and, out of the ruins of the *seven old Papal Lordships and Counties,* (now slain, just like the third of men, or Greek Christendom, in their political character,[2]) there arose the Protestant Republic of Holland.[3]

Such were the two grand and permanent political changes in Europe, that arose out of the earthquake attendant on the Reformation.—It was fondly hoped by the persecuted French Protestants,[4] when Henry the IVth, himself at that time a professing Protestant, obtained the crown and kingdom, that the same would be the result in France. But it had not been predicted, and it took not place. King Henry, soon after his accession, abjured Protestantism. And though by his *Edict of Nantes*, promulgated in 1598, civil liberty and rights were secured to French Protestants, yet it was with certain restrictions appended that excluded the idea of the Witnesses having

[1] In 1609 a truce of 12 years was agreed on; in 1648 took place the final recognition of their independence. [2] See p. 478, Note [1].

[3] I was not aware, till long after I had concluded on the above explanation of the clause respecting the *seven chiliads*, that it had ever been proposed before. But I learn from Vitringa, p. 656, that nearly the same, and on the same ground of the use of the Hebrew word אֶלֶף, was proposed long since by the learned *Cocceius*. In connexion however with it, he explained the *fall of the tenth part of the city* to mean *the toleration of Protestantism in France*, after Henry the Fourth's Edict of Nantes; * and the previous *slaughter* and *exposure of the Witnesses* for 3½ days, as their state of *persecution* and *depression* throughout the 1260 days:—these two periods being made by him equivalent; the 3½ *years*, and the 3½ *days*.

Vitringa justly excepts against the view of France, in which Popery still held government, being the tenth of the Papal city fallen; and against the still stranger notion of 1260 days and 3½ days meaning the same period. And hence it is, I presume, and through this evident error of Cocceius in respect of its *adjuncts*, that his correct explanation (as it seems to me) of the *chiliads* came to be forgotten.—Against the exposition of the *seven chiliads* itself Vitringa has no objection to make, worth the notice.

[4] So too by others, as *Cocceius*. See the Note preceding.

* "*Decima pars civitatis* ecidit quando Gallia Henricum IV regem accepit, qui Remp. constituit: et in terræ motu occisa sunt *septem millium hominum*, quando, in fœdus coëntibus Septem Belgii Provinciis, septem ceciderunt episcopi, et ipsorum ἡγεμονιαι." He had previously observed; "vocem Hebræam אלף, respondentem Græcæ χιλιας, non tantum *mille*, sed et *familias* significare, sive ἡγεμονιας: posse præterea denotare titulos, et αξιωματα της ανθρωπινης κτισεως." Ib. 657.

there ascended into the political heaven. Moreover, after some 80 or 90 years, the edict was revoked by Louis XIV; and Protestants thenceforward put *out of the pale of the law*, in the French kingdom.—And let me not here pass on without observing, that the predictive verse before us seems to me to embrace in its comprehensive sketch a period reaching downward as late as that selfsame memorable epoch of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[1] For not until near about it did the results predicted receive in Northern Germany and England their final settlement. In 1629, the Emperor Ferdinand II having issued the terrible *Restitution Edict*,—an Edict by which German Protestants were required to restore to the Church of Rome all the possessions they had become masters of in consequence of the *Religious Peace* concluded in the preceding Century,—a war arose in defence of Protestant rights, in the which Gustavus Adolphus fell victorious, A.D. 1632, at Lutzen. Nor was it till 1648 that they were re-established on a firm and permanent basis by the *Peace of Westphalia*.[2] Again in *England*, by Charles the IInd, and yet more by James his brother and successor, advances were made to the restoration of Popery: until at length in 1688, through God's gracious favour to this island, William of *Orange* superseded James the IInd in the Government. In him, at that critical conjuncture, *the Seven Chiliads* paid back a second time to the *separated Tenth of the Great Roman Papal Civitas* the aid they had earlier received from it in the battle of religious truth. And thus, just when Louis was ruthlessly crushing Protestantism and Protestants in France, the political establishment and elevation of Protestantism was finally secured and confirmed in England;[3] and eventually in Holland also.[4]

In either case, whether in England or Holland, "*the*

[1] A.D 1685.

[2] "It was between this epoch (of Luther's burning the Pope's bull) and the year 1648, the date of the treaty of Westphalia, that the life of the Reformation was comprised." Guizot, Hist. of Civilization in Europe, Lect. 12.

[3] So Ranke, iii. 181, speaks of the effect of William's expedition to England as being "the deliverance of Protestantism from the last great danger that menaced it, and to secure the English throne for ever to that Confession."

[4] I allude to Louis the XIVth's long-continued projects against Holland; which were mainly frustrated by its union with England under William.

remnant," or Papists that remained in them, after the fall of the Papal power, and victorious ascendancy of Protestantism, were, as the sacred prediction describes it, "*affrighted*."[1] Penal enactments were passed against the Romanists.[2] The popular feeling too was against them. Times were when they dared not show their faces. And very soon too the immense majority conformed to the Protestant faith; and in that act did outwardly, just as had often been done by imprest but unconverted Jews of old,[3] "*give glory* (if this be the nominative to the next following Apocalyptic clause) *to the God of heaven*."[4]—But, after careful consideration of the clause, I adhere to my original im-

[1] *Mr. Faber*, somewhat peculiarly, explains this statement, and the λοιποι of whom it is predicated, of "the *Protestant* remnant," contradistinctively to the Papists politically slain in the earthquake. Sac. Cal. iii. 51. But did the expression εμφοβοι εγενοντο, *were affrighted*, characterize the feelings of the emancipated Protestants in England?

[2] It is to be regretted that, though the law of self-preservation justified many of the penal enactments in our kingdom, yet the duties of Christian charity were sometimes forgotten by the Protestant legislature and Protestant people.

[3] So, for example, in Old Testament times, at Mount Carmel, on the fire coming down from heaven, and consuming Elijah's sacrifice; 1 Kings xviii. 39. So, in New Testament times, on occasion of the healing of the paralytic, Luke v. 26; a case where fear and amazement are connected with the act, as here: "And amazement seized on all; and they glorified God; and they were filled with fear, saying, We have seen strange things to-day." Also ib. vii. 16; Matt. ix. 8, xv. 31, &c. Compare Acts v. 13, where οἱ λοιποι must be construed, I conceive in contradistinction to the πιστευοντες of verse 14, and as in apposition with ὁ λαος: such *as believed* joined themselves to the apostles and the Christian body; while the rest of the people, though deterred from this by fear of the fate of Ananias and Sapphira, yet magnified the apostles.

[4] We must in any case, in "this remnant" not include Romanists of the other Papal kingdoms, that were still unoverthrown and standing. For it seems to me to be contrary to the *whole tenor* of the Apocalyptic descriptions of those enemies of Christ and his Witnesses, to represent *them* as *giving glory to God*. Their character, when most smarting under God's judgments, is on the contrary thus described in chap. xvi. 9: "And they repented not to give God glory."—Nor does any Commentator that I have seen advance an explanation of it (thus understood) that is in my opinion at all plausible. What are we to think, for example, of *Mr. Cuninghame's* explanatory suggestion, that "since the Reformation the Romish clergy, and even Popes, have assumed a decorum of conduct, and decency of morals, less unbecoming profest ministers of Christ?" In the Council of Trent, in the development of Jesuitism, in the proceedings of the Inquisition, &c. &c., there was then exhibited an enmity against Christ's cause and Witnesses, and consequently a dishonouring of God, never exceeded.

Some, as *Woodhouse* and *Keith*, referring the statement to *all* surviving Papists in Europe, consider it decisive against all application of the Witnesses' resurrection and ascension to the Reformation, or any other past event. "At none of these periods could it be said that the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to God. For Popery continued to be the religion of *the greater part of Europe*, and is so at the present day." Woodhouse, p. 235. They have not observed that οἱ λοιποι by no means necessarily signifies the survivors in the other nine-tenths of the great city. It is surely most natural to construe it of the survivors in the part affected by the earthquake; i. e. of those in the tenth part of the city, and the seven chiliads.

pression that it is rather the ascended Protestants, or Witnesses, the subject of the main previous narrative, that are the parties here again intended.[1] And history bears striking testimony to the manner in which *they* "gave glory to the God of heaven." On their deliverance in England through the bloody Queen Mary's death, and Elizabeth's accession,—on the defeat of the Armada, sent to resubjugate the kingdom to Rome,—and again, long after, on the accession of the Protestant William III, solemn thanksgivings, both individual and national, were rendered to "the God of heaven:"—to the "*God of heaven*" observe; not, as aforetimes in England, and as then still in other Papal countries, to the *Saints*, or the *Virgin Queen of heaven.*[2] By sovereign and by people, it was publicly acknowledged in each case as the Lord's doing, and to Him the glory rendered.[3]—And as in England, so also, on the Protestant

[1] The borrowing of a nominative, not from the sentence next, but that next but one preceding, especially if one of prominence in the general narrative, is far from uncommon; above all in the interchange of *pronouns*. Take the following examples. Gen. xv. 13; "Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs (and they shall serve them, and *they* shall afflict them) four hundred years;" where the second *they* applies to a different nominative from the former *they*. 1 Cor. xv. 42; Οὑτω και ἡ ανασταsις των νεκρων· σπειρεται εν φθορᾳ, &c. "*It* is sown;" not the ανασταsις, or *resurrection*, but the *body*, mentioned some verses before. Also among many others, 2 Kings v. 5, Isa. vii. 13, Mark viii. 24, 25, Luke vii. 15, xv. 15, 16, xxii. 6, 8, John ix. 22—24, xxi. 15, 16, Apoc. ix. 5. We may multiply examples ad lib. Let me just add Gen. xiv. 10, 11, as offering an exact equivalent to the οἱ λοιποι, here prætermitted, according to my view of the passage. Εφυγε δε βασιλευς Σοδομων, και βασιλευς Γομορρας, και ενεπεσαν εκει· οἱ δε καταλειφθεντες εις την ορεινην εφυγον. Ελαβον δε την ἱππον πασαν την Σοδομων και Γομορρας. "*They* took;" viz. not the *remnant*, which is the preceding nominative; but the victorious kings, who are the nominative in verse 7.*

"Illi dederunt claritatem Deo," says Tichonius on the passage, "qui suprà petram ædificati sunt, et.. cadere non potuerunt."

[2] The contemporary building of the *Escurial*, in gratitude to *St. Lawrence*, as the author of *Philip's* victory over the French in 1557, at St. Quentin, may be remembered by the reader, as one of many in contrast.

[3] So Elizabeth on her accession and the restoration of Protestantism; "As Daniel out of the den of lions, so was I only by thee delivered; therefore to thee only be thanks, honour, and praise for ever." (Book of the Church, p. 383.) So again Bishop Jewel in his sermon on Josh. vi. 1—3, preached on some early anniversary of Elizabeth's accession. On this day, the 17th day of this month, God sent his handmaid, and delivered us.. No creature can claim part of this glory.. This is the day that the Lord hath made. It is the Lord's doing, and is marvellous in our eyes." Works, Vol. iv. pp. 973, 985. Strype, in the Preface to his Annals, adds, among other extracts to the same effect, the following from Bishop Carleton's *Thankful Remembrance:* "Elizabeth, left as a prey to the strongest that would invade her, but preparing her heart, and *giving God the glory*, was in a few years made strong against

* In my Exposition of Dan. xi. in the last part of this Commentary, the necessity and use of this principle of interpretation of the pronoun will abundantly appear.

successes, in Germany and in Holland.[1]—The notice, we must see, is most significant. It marks what was a sign of the times: a sign of the vindication of God's honour having begun.

And let me add that the echo of their triumphs and thanksgivings was wafted over the sea, both West and East, to the continents of America and Asia. For commercial and maritime power flowed in upon England and Holland; and colonies in those distant regions were formed dependent on them, after their overthrow of the Papal religion.[2]—And now it began to appear why the rainbow-crowned Covenant-Angel, in his visionary descent, prefigurative (as I showed) of the Reformation, was represented as planting his *right* foot on the sea, his *left* only on the mainland.[3] For England, *insular England*, was already in Elizabeth's reign conspicuous as the chief bulwark of Protestantism in Europe; and seemed preparing too, as a colonial power, to be the chief propagator of its true Christian doctrine, in antagonism to that of the colonies from Spain and Portugal, as well as of the multitudinous Romish missions that soon followed,[4] beyond the seas. And at length under William, its colonies having multiplied, a direct Protestant Missionary Society was instituted;—that for the Propagation of the Gospel.—Much more was England's

her enemies." Further, in his chapter vii., Strype gives beautiful extracts from a Thanksgiving of the English Protestant exiles, on the same event, *addressed to Christ:* "Ad Christum Anglorum exulantium Ευχαριστικον."

On the defeat of the Armada, Elizabeth's going in state to St. Paul's to return thanks, is noted in Rapin, Aikin, &c. Moreover, she had a medal struck, which represented a fleet beat by a tempest, the ships falling foul of each other, with this inscription, "He blew with his winds, and they were scattered." So, as Barthe says in his Summary of History, p. 364, "When the invincible Armada had been .. destroyed, both the Queen and her subjects *gave God the glory* for their deliverance."

The Thanksgiving for William's accession continued, till very lately, in our Prayer Books.

[1] See Watson's Philip the Second, Motley, and other Histories of the Times.

[2] It was under Elizabeth that the first English Colony was founded in Virginia, the germ of the United States of America; and that Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the world. "The English," says Mosheim, xvi. ii. 4, "who towards the conclusion of this century sent colonies into the Northern parts of America, transplanted with them the reformed religion which they themselves professed: and, as their possessions were extended and multiplied, their religion also made a considerable progress among that uncivilized people."

[3] See p. 40, 87, &c., suprà.

[4] It was in A.D. 1540 that the Jesuit Order was established; and its mighty missions commenced, under the auspices of Spain and Portugal, to the Eastern and the Western heathen hemispheres. See Mosheim, xvi. ii. 1, 2, 3.

high missionary vocation apparent, when yet a century later, as figured in a subsequent Apocalyptic vision,[1] it gave itself to be the carrier abroad of the everlasting Gospel. Then, at length, on as mighty a scale as that of the *Papal Antichrist's* pretensions to universal dominion, already long since spoken of,[2] there was carried out the assertion of the claims of the *Lord Jesus Christ* to that dominion, and the declaration of his pure gospel-truth, against Papal lies, usurpation, and corruptions. It was all, I say, by the instrumentality very principally of this same favoured island-kingdom, once the tenth part of the Papal Empire:—even as if the impulse given by the Angel's foot-press still continued; and there had never ceased within it the influence and the blessing of his visitation.

So closes the prediction of the ascent of Christ's Witnesses, and of the political establishment of Protestantism and the Reformation. It remains but to answer *an objection*, ere concluding this Chapter.—Supposing the Witnesses to have accomplished their ascent to the political heaven at the time to which I have referred it, and consequently before the termination of their appointed 1260 years of sackcloth-prophesying, it follows that they must *even after their ascent* have worn sackcloth. Now can we suppose, it has been said by one,[3] an *impropriety* like this *in the Apocalyptic figure;* conjoining, as it does, the *sackcloth-robing* and the *place in heaven*, two things so incongruous? And again by others; Can there be that in the *facts of the history* of ascendant Protestantism, which will reconcile such apparent inconsistencies?

Now, with regard to the alleged *impropriety of figure*, the reply seems to me quite ready at hand. Besides the general answer that the nature of symbols involves necessarily at times strange and unnatural combinations, we may point the objector to *a precise parallel* with the one

[1] See my Part V, Ch. viii. § 2, in the 3rd Volume, on Apoc. xiv. 6.

[2] See my historic sketch pp. 70—75 suprà.

[3] *Elements of Prophetic Interpretation*, by the Rev. J. W. Brooks, p. 459; an objection alluded to by Mr. Cuninghame, p. 357.

here objected to, in the very next Apocalyptic Chapter.[1] There a woman (the representative of the Church) is depicted as seen *in heaven;* and yet as, in that heaven, *crying out from the paroxysm of pain* in her travail.[2]

Next, as to the *fact doubted*, viz. whether after the political ascent and establishment of Protestantism, true Protestants, in other words Christ's true Witnesses, might notwithstanding have still had reason to prophesy in sackcloth, it will, if I mistake not, only need, in order to the resolution of the doubt, to suggest the two following considerations.

First, those were not all *true* Protestants that zealously professed Protestantism, whether in England, Holland, or Northern Germany: nor did even the same general zeal long continue in any of those countries, for the pure gospel-doctrines of Protestantism. In our own country the reign of Elizabeth had scarcely ended when efforts were made by high ecclesiastical authorities to induce a retrogradation to *semi-Popery;* and this not without disfavour to such as still held fast to the Gospel. An influx of *fanaticism* succeeded; which was followed, as might have been expected, by a too general *religious lukewarmness* and *infidelity*. Christ's Witnesses were but a comparatively small and often neglected number of the church and nation; though the church itself, by its evangelic Articles and Formularies, still constituted an eminent witness-church for Christ.—The same was the religious deterioration both in Holland and Protestant Germany.—The fact is one, I believe, expressly held forth to notice in a vision chronologically parallel with part of that which we have just considered.[3] And thus, and on this account, in those kingdoms, the Witnesses, though ascended, did yet still prophesy in sackcloth.

Secondly, there is to be remembered, the state of the scattered members of the witness-body in other countries of Christendom. The persecutions and oppressions *they*

[1] xii. 1, 2.

[2] It will be observed too that there is no notice of any putting off their sackcloth by the Witnesses; either on occasion of their resurrection, or (as by Elijah) on that of their ascent.

[3] See the Comment in my 3rd Volume on Apoc. xiv. 3.

had to experience is a fact mournfully engraved on the page of history. In *Italy, Spain, Portugal*[1] they were mercilessly hunted out, destroyed, and suppressed by the Inquisition. In *Austria* the spirit of the *Restitution Edict* still animated the state-councils, even after the Peace of Westphalia:[2] nor, till the Imperial Edict of 1783, was toleration there accorded to Protestants. In *France* the *massacre of St. Bartholomew's day*, A. D. 1572, showed the feeling of both king, nobles, priests, and people towards the Huguenots, or Protestants, before Henry IV's accession and the Edict of Nantes. Even then the Edict, as we have seen, was not always acted on, though a law; and it was by Louis the XIVth repealed.[3] After which repeal the remnant of Protestants in France were a body without the pale of the law: and sad indeed is the picture drawn of their miseries, even up to the year 1788, just immediately before the Revolution.[4]—Under these circumstances, and when such was the state of their continental brethren, could the more favoured witnesses in England, Holland, or Germany put off their sackcloth? It is well observed from Hume by Mr. Cuninghame,[5] that after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, when the French Ambassador came to court, "nothing could be more awful and affecting than the solemnity of his audience. A melancholy sorrow sate on every face. Silence, as the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment. And the courtiers and ladies, ranged on either side as he passed, *were clad in deep mourning*."—The same again was the feeling in England and Holland after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Whilst one member so suffered, how could the others but sympathize with it!—No! The 1260 days were not yet ended. Its *true* Protestant Witnesses, though participating in the national ascent of Protestantism into the political heaven, had not yet put off their sackcloth.

[1] See M'Crie's Reformation in Italy and Spain.

[2] See Michiel's "Secret History of the Austrian Government and its systematic persecution of Protestants," lately published. [3] A.D. 1685.

[4] See Wilks' *Persecution of the French Protestants*, Ch. i.: also an abstract from *Rulhiere* in No. 71 of the Edinburgh Review. The Edict of 1787 did but allow the Protestants a legal existence in France; not the enjoyment of civil privileges.

[5] p. 357. This was the French Ambassador's own report.

CHAPTER X.

TERMINATION OF THE SECOND OR TURKISH WOE, AND SOUNDING OF THE SEVENTH TRUMPET.

"THE second Woe is past: behold, the third Woe cometh quickly.—And the seventh Angel sounded: and there were great voices in heaven, saying; 'The kingdom of this world [1] is become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever.'—And the four and twenty elders, which sate before God on their seats, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God, saying; 'We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast; [and art to come:] [2] because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned.[3] And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead to be judged; and that of giving the reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and to them that fear thy name, small and great; and that thou shouldest destroy them that destroy the earth.'[4]—And the temple of God was opened in heaven;[5] and there was seen in his temple the ark of his covenant. And there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail."—Apoc. xi. 14—19.

The two subjects here described will not detain us long. The one, *the cessation of the Turkish woe,* is a prediction too plain in itself, and too plainly fulfilled in history, to need much inquiry or illustration. The other, *the sounding of the seventh Trumpet,* and anticipative sketch of the

[1] *εγενετο ἡ βασιλεια.* So A, B, C: instead of *αἱ βασιλειαι.*

[2] The clause *και ὁ ερχομενος* is omitted in A and C.

[3] Or "taken the kingdom:" *εβασιλευσας.* See Vitringa.

[4] *διαφθειραι τους διαφθειροντας την γην.* Perhaps, "that *corrupt* the earth:" as observed in a Note p. 413.

[5] Wordsworth comments on this, as if, *ὁ ναος του Θεου ὁ εν τῳ ουρανῳ,* with the article *ὁ,* were the true reading. But such is not the case. I do not find it in any of the critical editions; whether of Griesbach, Scholz, Hahn, Tregelles, Heinrichs, or Wordsworth himself. Moreover, in the parallel passage Apoc. xv. 5, Wordsworth, as well as all the others, reads *ηνοιγη ὁ ναος . . εν τῳ ουρανῳ.*

momentous events that were the result under it, will be best discussed when we come to consider the fuller development of the same events, given in a subsequent portion of the Apocalyptic Book. Thus a mere passing notice of them will for the present suffice.

I. THE CESSATION OF THE TURKISH WOE.

It deserves well to be observed how distinctly the *second half* of the Turkish woe,—I mean that measured from the fall of the Greek empire,—is Apocalyptically defined as including within it the rise, progress, and political establishment of the Reformation. It was just after the prophecy of the slaying of that third part of men, by the fire and smoke and sulphur that issued from the mouths of the Turkman Euphratean horsemen, and immediately consequent declaration of the ineffectiveness of the catastrophe to induce repentance in the men of the other part of Christendom, that the vision was exhibited of the descent of the Covenant-Angel, betokening the *commencement* of the Reformation. It is just after the prophecy of the political earthquake that arose out of the Reformation, and consequent fall more particularly of *the tenth part*, and of *seven chiliads* also, of the great Papal City,—in other words of the overthrow of the Papal dominion in England and in the seven Dutch Provinces, whereby was completed the *political establishment* of the Reformation,—it is just after this, I say, and not before, that there is made the statement in our text, "The second Woe is passed."—Now the chronological correctness of this *second* prophetic intimation is as clearly verified in history as that of the *former*. Throughout the period of the earlier progress of the Reformation the Turkish Woe continued imminent. In the course of the 20 years from 1517 to 1540, both Rhodes and Hungary in Christendom, as well as the Mameluc empire of Egypt, fell under it; and Christendom continued in alarm. It was not till the great naval battle of *Lepanto* that any at all effectual check was interposed against its progress. And what the date of this battle? It was A.D. 1571, *just a year or two* only after the *insurrection of the Dutch Provinces*. Even after Spain's full and

final acknowledgment of the independence of those Provinces in the Treaty of 1648 the Turks were still most formidable. In 1669 Candia, one of the bulwarks of Christendom, was taken by them. It was not till their great war with the German Empire in the last quarter of the xviith century,—a war illustrated by the victories of *John Sobieski* at its commencement, and of *Prince Eugene* near its conclusion,[1]—that the woe could be with any reason regarded as near its end. And this was just after the final settlement of the Reformation in England, through the accession of William III.—Even then the famous *Peace of Carlowitz* was negotiated on terms of less inequality than might have been anticipated. Its energy of aggressive progress and destruction had passed from the Turkman Empire : but it seemed still,—just like that of the Saracens, after the termination of *its* predicted 150 years of *intensity* of woe,—a mighty and formidable power. Decay however had begun irretrievably within it. And the next great war which, after a long peace with Christendom, called it again into the battle-field, I mean that of 1769—1775 against Russia, and yet more that of 1787 against united Russia and Austria, a war signalized by victory after victory on the part of the allied forces, and which was ended in April 1791 by a Peace humiliating to Turkey,—proclaimed to the world, in language too clear to be mistaken, that the Turkman power was no longer a *woe* to Christendom, but Christendom to the Turkmans. The dissolution or conquest of its empire had become thenceforth, it was evident, only a question of time and European policy. The Second Woe had passed away.[2]

And what then next ? The Apocalyptic prophecy thus announced the coming future. "The Second Woe hath passed away. *Behold, the third Woe cometh quickly.*" The annunciation was followed,—doubtless after a brief pause, corresponding with the term *quickly* in the announcement, —by the *sounding of the seventh Trumpet.* It would seem

[1] The war began A.D. 1682; soon after which followed John Sobieski's famous victory. In 1697 Prince Eugene gained his great victory at Zenta. In 1698 followed the Peace of Carlowitz.

[2] Hence another argument in proof of the Witnesses' death and resurrection, which precedes the passing away of the second woe, not being an event yet future.

that no new external judgment, no new eventful changes, worthy of Apocalyptic prefiguration, were to pass upon the face of Roman Christendom, before the breaking forth of that third Woe, the Woe of the last Trumpet: which, whether by a longer process of judgment, or a shorter, was appointed in the divine councils to prepare for, and to issue in, *the great consummation.*

II. THE SOUNDING OF THE SEVENTH TRUMPET.

Who can read the prophetic description of the events that were to occur under this Trumpet, and not be struck with their unspeakable importance and interest? "The seventh Angel sounded: and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdom of this world is become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ; and He shall reign for ever and ever."—It does not appear clear, *thus far*, whether these voices were from the heavenly ones in the inmost part of the mystic Temple; or, like other voices said to sound in heaven also,[1] from servants of God elevated into the political heaven of human ascendancy and power. We may not improbably suppose the latter; and that they proceeded from the Witness or Protestant body, elevated into political ascendancy ere the close of the former Trumpet. If so, then the song would only indicate the strong prevailing impression of the times, *correct* or *incorrect*, as felt by what we might call the religious world of the great Protestant powers. But the song was instantly taken up by other and less equivocal voices; those of the *twenty-four elders which sate before God:* the representatives, as we have seen, of the spirits of the just made perfect, the church in Paradise.[2] And what said they? "They fell upon their faces, and worshipped God, saying; We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast, [and art to come,] because thou hast taken to thyself thy great power, and assumed the kingdom. And the nations were angry; and thy wrath is come; and the time of the dead to be judged; and that

[1] Compare the song in Apoc. xii. 10, 11; which will come under consideration in my next Chapter: also the cry of the travailing woman in heaven, Apoc. xii. 2.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 93.

thou shouldest give the reward to thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and to them that fear thy name, small and great; and shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth."—Thus by the blessed spirits also this seventh Trumpet was recognised (and so it was indeed anticipatively referred to in the oath of the Covenant-Angel of the Reformation [1]) as that under which was to be indubitably accomplished that glorious event, towards which from the earliest ages, accordantly with their Lord's own direction,[2] there had been directed the prayers and longings of the saints of God;—I mean the establishment of Christ's blessed kingdom. In full certainty of this being the result, and of events now beginning that would in it have their consummation, they speak of it, after the manner of prophecy, in the *past tense*,[3] by preference to the *present*, even as if already accomplished. But at the same time they add words of significant import, showing that other and awful events must first happen;—the *wrath of the nations* (the *paganized nations* [4]) of Roman Christendom, clearly against Christ and his Gospel, even as if evidenced in some paroxysm of malignity;—the out-pouring of *God's destroying wrath* upon them;—and last, not least, the arrival of the *time of the dead to be judged*, and coincidently with it, of that of *God's prophets and saints and servants receiving their reward*.—But what dead? What judgment? What reward?—It is not here the place to discuss the great questions of the nature and time of the *first resurrection*, of the *judgment*, and of the *appearing* and *kingdom* of the Lord Jesus. But this I cannot but say on the present occasion, that,—forasmuch as no *symbolic* characters are here referred to, like as in the narrative of the two symbolic witnesses,[5]—by "*the dead*" mentioned it seems most natural to understand the *dead* literally, by *the judgment* their

[1] See p. 128, &c., suprà.

[2] "After this manner pray ye: . . may Thy kingdom come; may Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven!"

[3] Compare Exod. xv. 13; "Thou *hast guided* them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation:" said by Moses of Israel's then future but assured entrance into Canaan. So again 1 Samuel xv. 28: "The Lord *hath rent* the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, &c.:" Luke i. 68, "He *hath visited and redeemed* his people:" and elsewhere not infrequently.

[4] *εθνη*. So Apoc. xi. 2.

[5] I beg attention to this distinction.

judgment literally, and by *the reward to the saints* the reward elsewhere spoken of as that which is to be *personally* communicated to them at Christ's coming.[1] Certainly whatever explanation would affix a figurative meaning to those striking phrases, *the dead, to be judged, reward*,[2] must be allowed to be less natural, *primâ facie*. And so too certain other explanations which, making the 7th Trumpet to include not the momentous events alone that are preparatives to the introduction of Christ's predicted reign, but the millennial reign itself, and all other events foretold as to happen beyond it, would construe what is said of "*the time of the dead having come to be judged*," as referring *to a far distant post-millennial period*, and to the judgment of the great white throne not till *then* occurring.[3]—Presuming however that the more natural and literal sense of the clause is the true one, how near to the time now present does it seem to fix the consummation! Surely the thought ought to be felt by us as very solemn.

In any case *Christ's kingdom* was to be established, as the result of the events of this Trumpet. And how, we may think, must the heart of St. John have beat with desire, to see the glorious things, thus anticipatively celebrated as the result of the events of the 7th Trumpet, developed fully in the vision ensuing! But ere this development, he

[1] Compare on "the reward" Apoc. xxii. 12, Matt. v. 12, &c. See too p. 128 suprà, and the Note there cited from Bishop Butler.

[2] I may illustrate from *Launœus*, who explains *the dead* of persons *afflicted*, and as it were *given up to death*; and *Cocceius*, who refers the phrase to people once acquainted with the truth, now relapsed into the *death* of error and apostasy. ap. Vitringa ad loc.

Again *Grotius*, *Vitringa*, *A. Clarke*, &c., explain κρινειν in the sense of *to vindicate*, and *the dead* as distinctively the *dead saints and martyrs*. "*Judicarentur mortui*: hoc est *martyres*, qui mortem oppetierant causâ religionis, illo tempore *vindicarentur*; quod, stylo Scripturæ V. T., est *judicari*: ut Psalm l. 4; 'Clamabit ad cœlos supernè, et ad terram ad judicandum populum suum;' h. e. judicandam vindicandamque populi sui causam, et hostes ejus ulciscendos." So *Vitringa*, the ablest and most learned expounder probably of the anti-premillennial view, p. 678.

Again, on the *reward* to be given to the saints he writes; "Illi cùm sperarint et prædixerint eventura esse tempora, quibus regnum Christi . . illustri modo se per totum orbem conspiciendum exhiberet, sensu mystico . . *mercedem* dicuntur *accipere*, quando his illorum prædictionibus et expectationi satisfit." p. 679. Does this *mystic* sense of the saints' reward, or μισθος, let me ask, seem natural, or probable?—But I reserve the discussion, as before observed, to my 4th Volume.

[3] So Scott, &c.

could not, I think, but also feel that one particular and most important point of information needed to be first supplied him. Who those *destroyers*, or *corrupters of the earth*,[1] that were now to be destroyed by God Himself from off it? Must not that *Beast from the Abyss*, which had been just once before passingly mentioned as pre-eminently the warrer against, and slayer of Christ's Witnesses,[2]—must not he, or it, be specially included in the number? But if so, what that Beast's history? Whence originating and how? Where and when established? And whether and how identical with *Daniel's fourth Beast* in its last ruling form, (for surely this thought of identity could not but suggest itself,) and consequently also with the predicted *Man of Sin*, or *Antichrist?*—Behold, as if on purpose to answer these obvious questions, the forward progress of the prefigurations is here suddenly interrupted. A new and parenthetic series of visions begins, having this for their one grand subject. And the brief descriptive verse and symbol now occurring,—viz. of "the temple of God being opened in heaven, and there being seen in his temple the ark of his covenant,[3] and that there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake and great hail,"—a verse and scenic figuration which depicted, as I conceive, in a general way what was to happen after the Trumpet's sounding, both as regarded the *reformed church's* opening or manifestation in heaven,[4] and as regarded the commotions, wars, and earthquake, that were contemporarily to shake the *world*,—this same figured scene being, after a long and marked interruption, pointedly repeated again in Apoc. xv. 5 [5] serves well as a sign of connexion; and to show where there is a resumption of the present

[1] Τους διαφθειροντας την γην. [2] Apoc. xi. 7.

[3] και ωφθη ἡ κιβωτος της διαθηκης αυτȣ· rendered in our authorized English version, "there was seen in his temple the ark of his *testament*." But I believe that both here, and almost always (if not always) elsewhere in the New Testament, the word διαθηκη should be translated *covenant*. See on this point a Paper by the late Sir Lancelot Shadwell, at the end of the Appendix in this Volume.

[4] It is to be remembered that the symbolic temple in the foreground of vision before St. John must have appeared *reformed* after his action of measuring and casting out described Apoc. xi. 1, 2.

[5] "And after that I looked; and behold the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony (της σκηνης τȣ μαρτυριȣ) was opened in heaven."

thread of vision, and where the development of the great events of the seventh Trumpet is intended to begin. The resumed vision will call for our attention in Part V of my Commentary. The parenthetic Visions in Apoc. xii., xiii., xiv., will be the subject of my IVth and next following Part.

APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

No. I.

ON THE USE OF ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ, DÆMONS, APOC. IX. 20.

(*See page* 9.)

We have the advantage of two elaborate dissertations on this subject; the one by *Mede* in his Treatise on the Apostasy of the Last Times (Works, p. 623, &c.); the other by *Dr. Campbell*, in the sixth Preliminary Dissertation prefixed to his work on the Gospels. It is from these, for the most part, that I abstract what follows. And I think there are two heads under which I may most conveniently class my observations from them: the first and principal having reference to the Scriptural use of δαιμονιον, more especially as contrasted with διαβολος, in both the Old and the New Testament; the *second* to its use in the *Christian Church* afterwards.

I. As to the Scripture use of δαιμονια, and the distinction uniformly observed between διαβολος, *devil*, and δαιμονιον, *dæmon*.

1. Διαβολος, *devil*, from its derivation means *an accuser*.—In this sense it is in the New Testament three times applied in the *plural*, and *without the article*, to *men* and *women* given to slander; viz. in 1 Tim. iii. 11, 2 Tim. iii. 3, Tit. ii. 3.—It is also once applied to a man, in the same or a cognate sense, in the *singular*, but still *without the article*: viz. to Judas; who was probably Christ's false accuser before the Chief Priests, as well as the traitor that lay in wait for him. So John vi. 70.—But in the *singular number*, *with the article*, in which form it occurs some thirty times in the New Testament, it is uniformly used of the *One great Evil Spirit;* the same that is also, and often associatedly, called ὁ Πονηρος, Σαταναϛ, ὁ Αντιδικος, ὁ Οφις ὁ αρχαιος, ὁ Δρακων ὁ μεγας, ὁ Αρχων του κοσμου τουτου, ὁ Αρχων της εξου-

σιας του αερος· i. e. The Evil One,—Satan,—the Adversary,—the Old Serpent,—the Great Dragon,—the Ruler of this World,—the Prince of the power of the air.—In its application to him it might be presumed that the term, according to its proper meaning, was intended to characterise him as an *accuser*. And such is the fact. In Apoc. xii. 9, 10, the Devil is expressly spoken of as "the accuser of the Brethren," ὁ κατηγορος των αδελφων.—The fact is made clearer by reference to the *Septuagint;* from whence this, as so many other terms in the New Testament, is borrowed. It is there the equivalent of the two Hebrew words שָׂטָן and צָר, *Satan* and *Tsar*, *adversary* and *enemy*. Of the *accusatory* force of which *latter* word, its application to Haman in Esther vii. 4, and viii. 1, is proof sufficient. And that of the *former*, *Satan*, is well illustrated by its use in Job i. 6, &c., and Zech. iii. 1, 2. The course of this world is there represented as a *judicial drama:* with man's cause pending in it before the Eternal One; and the Old Serpent,—him who was originally man's *tempter*,—now acting as his *satan* or *accuser*. Indeed, in the passage from Zechariah, וְהַשָּׂטָן עֹמֵד עַל יְמִינוֹ לְשִׂטְנוֹ the appellative noun and its explanatory verb, occur together, "Satan to act the satan's part;" i. e. that of accuser.[1]—Thus then διαβολος, *devil*, is the appellative of the *one* great evil Spirit, as by way of eminence our *accuser:* to whom, in the grand pending judicial drama, there is opposed, through God's mercy, one greater, *Jehovah Jesus*, our παρακλητος or *advocate:* our advocate in *person*, as God-man, to silence his accusations before God! our advocate by his *Spirit*, (who is thus the *Comforter*,) to silence his accusations in the believer's own conscience. There is no such word, says Dr. Campbell, as διαβολοι, *devils*, in the plural, with reference to unearthly spirits, either in the Septuagint or New Testament. And so too Dr. A. Clarke, on Psalm cvi. 37: "Devil is never in Scripture used in the plural. There is but one *devil:* there are many *dæmons*."

2. "Next as to δαιμονιον, *dæmon*. This is a word used both in the

[1] Just as with the Greek word διαβολος, so with the Hebrew שָׂטָן, the article is almost always prefixed where it is applied to our great adversary Satan. So in some fourteen instances in Job, and three in Zechariah, where the reference seems undoubted. The only exceptions, I believe, if such they be, are 1 Chron. xxi. 1, "And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel;" where, however, some other and earthly adversary of Israel may have been intended: and Psalm cix. 6, "And let Satan stand at his right hand;" where also the reference to Satan himself seems doubtful.

Septuagint and New Testament, alike in the *plural* as the *singular*, in two senses.

In the *Septuagint* its *first* and clearest signification is as a simple designative of the *imaginary heathen gods*. So in Psalm xcvi. 5; οἱ θεοι των εθνων δαιμονια εισιν· "the *gods* of the heathen are *dæmons*;" also in Deuteronomy xxxii. 17; εθυσαν δαιμονίοις, και ου Θεῳ· "they sacrificed to *dæmons*, and not to God:" and again Psalm cvi. 37; εθυσαν τας θυγατερας αυτων δαιμονιοις. In these passages the Hebrew words corresponding to δαιμονια are אֱלִילִים and שֵׁדִים: the one, according to Gesenius, signifying *vanities*; the other, *lords* or *rulers*.[1] So that there is nothing in *them* to fix on these spirits the character of *devilish*, or *satanic*; as the word *satanim*, or some indubitable equivalent, would have done.[2] Nor, though the tone of the two latter statements be deemed objurgatory, does there need any such explanation of the word to account for it. It is sufficiently explained, on the hypothesis of its simple meaning, by multitudes of parallel Scriptural passages: in the which Israel's sin is depicted as made up of two evils; viz. 1st, forsaking God; 2ndly, forsaking Him (not for devilish or satanic spirits, but) for them that were *no gods*, but profitless *idol vanities*. (Deut. xxxii. 21, &c.)—Thus, there being nothing implied of devilish, or satanic, in the original Hebrew, so neither, we may reasonably infer, as it seems to me, in the δαιμονια of the Septuagint translation. It is plain that the Alexandrine translators used the word in its popular meaning, simply to signify the *gods* or *dæmons* of heathen mythology; Alexandria being a place where the Platonic philosophy had necessarily made that meaning most familiar to them.—Nor must I forget to remind the reader, that there was one particular notice in the Hebrew Scriptures on the subject of the heathen gods or dæmons spoken of, which must have appeared to the Seventy to make the word δαιμονια peculiarly appropriate in the translation. For, just as the δαιμονια of the Greek religion were recognised by the Platonics, agreeably with the doctrine of all their older

[1] In 1 Chron. xvi. 26 the former of these two Hebrew words also occurs; but in the Septuagint it is rendered ειδωλα, instead of δαιμονια. Buxtorf derives שֵׁדִים from שָׁדַד, *vastavit*: whence the word in Psalm xci. 6, noted in the next page.

[2] Compare too 2 Chron. xi. 15; where it is said of Jeroboam, κατεστησεν ἑαυτῳ ἱερεις των ὑψηλων, και τοις ειδωλοις, και τοις ματαιοις, και τοις μοσχοις, ἁ εποιησεν· answering to our authorized version, "priests for the *devils*, (*dæmons*,) and for the calves which he had made." Heb. שְׂעִירִים; the same word as in Is. xiii. 22, xxxiv. 14, referred to overleaf.

poets and philosophers, to be the spirits of *dead men*, raised to the rank of demigods,[1]—so the Hebrew Scriptures declared that the *Baalim*, or *gods*, to whom Israel turned aside to worship, were also *dead men deified :* as it is said in Psalm cvi. 28 ; "They joined themselves to *Baal-peor*, and ate the *sacrifices of the dead ;*" Hebr. מֵתִים, Septuag. *των νεκρων*.—(Compare Numb. xxv. 2, 3.)—The same fact is also intimated in Isaiah viii. 19, lxv. 4 ; in which latter passage the heathen worship is further described as celebrated at the *tombs* of the dead.

Such is the *primary* use of the word in the Septuagint, and in passages where heathen worship is the direct subject.—Besides which, (passing over its use in the prophecies of Isa. xiii. 21 and xxxiv. 14, where the Hebrew radical is *a goat*, and the sense too obscure and disputed to rest upon,) I must just add, *secondly*, that in Psalm xci. 6, ("Thou shalt not be afraid of the destruction that wasteth at noonday,") where the Septuagint Greek is *δαιμονιου μεσημβρινου*, the word is used with a *malignant* sense attached to it ; and apparently of some spiritual malignant being, acting destructively against man. (See Dr. A. Clarke's Note on the verse.)

In the *New Testament* the word *δαιμονια* is similarly used in *two* sense

First, it is used as a simple designative of the *imaginary heathen gods*. So in the narrative of St. Paul's visit to Athens, Acts xvii. 18, 22, by the Athenians *directly ;* "He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange *dæmons*, or *gods ;*" *ξενων δαιμονιων* : also *impliedly* by St. Paul ; "I see that ye are *δεισιδαιμονεστεροι*, very much given to worshipping *δαιμονια*, dæmons, heathen gods." His comment on which, as well as on the idol-inscription he had seen, is not to be forgotten ; "Him, whom ye ignorantly worship, [*God*, not the *dæmon*,] declare I unto you." The same, I believe with Dr. Campbell, is the meaning of the term in 1 Cor. x. 20, 21 ; "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice *δαιμονιοις*, to *dæmons*, and not to God." For by Corinthians, as by Athenians, such would, I conceive, be understood as the mean-

[1] So Plato in his Cratylus, § 33. *Λεγει αν καλως και ὁτος* ('Ησιοδος), *και αλλοι ποιηται πολλοι, ὡς, επειδαν τις αγαθος ων τελευτησῃ, μεγαλην μοιραν και τιμην εχει, και γιγνεται δαιμων.*

And in his Symposium, § 27. *Παν το δαιμονιον μεταξυ εστι θεου τε και θνητου. Τινα δε δυναμιν εχον ; Ἑρμηνευου και διαπορθμευον θεοις τα παρ' ανθρωπων, και ανθρωποις τα παρα θεων, των μεν τας δεησεις και θυσιας, των δε τας επιταξεις και αμοιβας των θυσιων . . . . Θεος δε ανθρωπῳ ου μιγνυται· αλλα δια τουτου (του δαιμονιου) πασα εστιν ἡ ὁμιλια, και ἡ διαλεκτος, θεοις προς ανθρωπους.*

ing of the word. St. Paul's representation of the case of the heathen, so understood by them, would then precisely agree with that given in Deut. xxxii. 17, already commented on; and indeed with the Apostle's own notice of it at Athens.—Nor, as to his argument against intercommunion in respect of things offered to heathen gods, would it be rendered nugatory by this view of them as mere idol vanities; any more than in the appeal made elsewhere in the epistle, "What communion hath the temple of God with (not a *devil* but) an *idol?*" 2 Cor. vi. 16. There is certainly no *necessity* here for the sense of *devil*, so as Dr. Maitland would have it, on this ground. And indeed Dr. C.'s remark seems unanswerable:—that the heathen could not be said to have sacrificed to *devilish satanic spirits*, either *abstractedly* considered, or in respect of *intention;* seeing they had not even a notion of the Devil, or Satan, of Holy Scripture.

On the other hand, *secondly*, in the narratives of Christ's miracles while on earth, the *malignant* sense strikingly and continually attaches to the word δαιμονια; viz. as *unclean and evil spirits*, *real* though *invisible*, that possessed and tormented the unhappy beings thence called *dæmoniacs*.

In regard of these remarkable cases the question has arisen wherefore these evil spirits, just during the time of our Lord's ministry and that of his Apostles, should have been permitted, as they were, so to vex the bodies of men. Nor can we doubt but that, while intended to furnish opportunity for the more signal display of Christ's power and mercy to save, it was intended also that evidence should be thereby given both of the real existence of evil spirits, of their conversancy with men, and of their *malignity* of character and influence:—evidence such as none could mistake; and which *unmasked* them, so as nothing else could have done, to the very eyes, ears, and senses of men.—Besides which, and in connexion more direct with our present subject, another question arises on the case: wherefore a term that had been previously for the most part applied to those imaginary figments, the gods of heathen worship, should be now so markedly applied to real living evil spirits? Nor can we well err in assigning in part the following answer; viz. that by the selection of the word δαιμονια, *dæmons*, to designate the actors in these possessions, the Holy Spirit would show that, though the objects of heathen worship were mere *fictions*, there were yet real and malignant spirits that acted in and upheld it. Thus, I say, malignant evil spirits were shown to be connected with

the heathen dæmonolatry; the δαιμονια in the more lawful sense of the word, with the δαιμονια in the less lawful.—An example from Acts xvi. well illustrates the union. A woman, it is said, had the spirit of *Apollo* (Πυθωνος), or of divination. Here is the phraseology of the fictions of heathenism. The Pythian Apollo was supposed to speak oracles through her;—a heathen δαιμονιον neither imagined of, nor worshipped, as a malignant spirit: (far from it:) but rather as a being to whom attached a certain benevolence of character, and the credit of supposed victories over an evil serpent. But the miracle of the apostle evoked a real living evil spirit, a δαιμονιον in the malignant sense of the word, from the woman thought to be possessed by *Apollo.* It showed that, instead of Apollo, there was a πνευμα πλανης, a spirit of malignancy and lies, actually speaking in and by her.[1]

It must be added to this explication of the New Testament use of the word, that all these malignant dæmons, spirits in numbers numberless, as the story of the Legion suffices to show,—are represented as subordinate, for purposes of deception and evil, to that great individual evil Spirit, the Devil, Satan. He is the Prince of the power of the air; they his αγγελοι. (Rev. xii. 9.) Hence the meaning of the statement in Acts x. 38; "He went about healing τους καταδυναστευομενους ὑπο του Διαβολου, those that were oppressed of *the Devil;*" though it was only inferior *dæmons* that possest them. And hence too the point of the argument used by our Lord respecting his miracles on dæmoniacs; "If Satan cast out Satan," &c. Matt. xii. 26.

Now then, such being the *twofold* Scripture use of the word δαιμονια, when applied to the objects of Gentile worship,—it being in its *direct* and *primary* meaning simply a designative of those objects, the heathens' *gods* and *goddesses*, very much as an adoption of their own phrase, and with their own ideas of the term attached to it,—but conveying *secondarily*, and by inference from its use elsewhere, the further idea of the agency of real *malignant spirits*, not as worshipped in the system, but as suggesting, acting, and deceiving in it,—such, I say, being its Scriptural use in regard of the Gentile idolatries then prevailing, the same ought evidently to be the meaning assigned it in any prophetic description, such as that before us, of idolatrous systems at a time then future. Thus it is not to be set aside as inapplicable to the *Romish canonized saints*, because the latter are not *devils.*

[1] So Milton, P. L. i. 367, "And devils to adore for deities." The sequel is a learned comment on the topic I am speaking of.—See too Gibbon ii. 287, &c.

Rather, considering the correspondency of the Papal hagiolatrous system in its principal features with that of the heathen mythology,—considering that it is one in which the imaginary spirits of dead men are similarly worshipped, spirits imagined sometimes as of character not very unlike the pagan demigods,[1] and of offices also similar, viz. that of guardian-spirits to their worshippers, and mediators and intercessors for them with the Supreme God,—considering that it is thus a system the suggestion of living malignant spirits, as truly as heathenism, and over which they may well equally rejoice,—I say, since all this is the case, the word is evidently most appropriate in its application to them. Indeed I may confidently ask, whether there be any other word in the Greek language that would so appropriately, so comprehensively, depict both the imaginary objects, and the real suggestors of the Romish worship, as the word δαιμονια?—It is for objectors against our application of the word to the papal dæmonolatry to suggest another word as fit, *if they can*. If they cannot, it only remains that both they, and we, view the term objected to as Mede has: that is, as in itself constituting a remarkable evidence of the intended application of the Apocalyptic passage before us, (as well as of that in 1 Tim. iv. 1 also,) to the great dæmonolatrous apostasy in Greek and Roman Christendom.

In alluding to objectors, I have had Dr. Maitland more especially in view: (see his Remarks on a Review in the Christian Guardian, p. 110, &c.:) and I trust that, though indirectly, every objection that he makes from Scripture has been in the above observations sufficiently answered. Indeed I may say that, though plausible on a first and hasty perusal, his objections appear both superficial and incorrect on examination. The distinction is not made by him between *dæmon* and *devil*, δαιμονιον and ὁ διαβολος. In his inquiry into the Scripture meaning of δαιμονιον, he makes no reference whatever to the *Septuagint;* though the term was thence derived into the Greek New Testament. In his mention of its use at Athens, (Acts xvii.,) he omits the apostle's δεισιδαιμονεστεροι; which of itself refutes his denial of the apostle's non-employment of it, except in the sense of *devil*. In his notice of the passage in 1 Cor. x., he contends that that meaning of the word can alone give sense to the passage; to which I have already shown the contrary. Further,—while, without the least regard to the *heathens'* own appellations, ideas, or intentions, in regard

[1] See p. 12 suprà.

of the spirits they worshipped, he will have *them* all to be *devils*,—he yet, with not very even-handed justice, yields to the spirits or beings noted for worship in the *Romish* calendar the full benefit of the appellation that their worshippers give them: and, without inquiry into their character, will have them to be real *saints*, because they are called *saints;* indeed to be *the* saints (fictions though they be) whose name they bear. Thus is it that at p. 116 he speaks of the *Paul* of Romish worship, as one with whom Protestant prophetic expositors would be glad to hold fellowship. But this, even as regards Dr. Maitland himself, I must beg to doubt. For the *St. Paul* of the Papacy, (in common with his brother *Peter*,) heading as he has, with his name and with his wrath, the anti-heretical fulminations and anti-heretical crusades of the 13th and following centuries, has drunk deeper and more savagely of blood than even the heathen Moloch: and none, I am persuaded, more sincerely abominates the horrors of those wars than Dr. Maitland; or would shrink more resolutely from fellowship with the authors of them. But even though such a change should come over him as that Dr. M. should desire fellowship with this St. Paul, the latter disclaims, and will have no fellowship with Dr. Maitland. He has already, in the Papal Bulls of excommunication against the Protestants, specially against the Protestant Clergy of England, denounced Dr. M. as a heretic, and doomed him to perdition.—No! names are not things. The *real separate spirits* of apostles and saints are one thing; the *ideal* sainted spirits of the Roman Calendar quite another. And if ideal impersonations of vice and wickedness as objects of worship, in the name and with the garb of Christianity, are worse than the same without it, then is the dæmonolatry of the Romish and Greek apostate Churches, (for both alike are referred to both here, and in 1 Tim. iv. 1, though Dr. M. has strangely overlooked this,) not only in other respects the close resemblance of its Pagan predecessor, but one over which evil malignant spirits must even more rejoice than they did over that of the ancient heathenism.

The above, which is chiefly from *Dr. Campbell*, is sufficient to establish, on the ground of its *scriptural* use, the propriety of the application of the term δαιμονια to Romish canonized saints.

II. I must now advert with *Mede* to the use of δαιμονια, *after the apostolic times*, by writers of the early Christian Church. There seems

to me to be in this something really almost providential: since to the application of the term just given it furnishes both an illustration, and a confirmation, the most convincing and remarkable.

For 1st, it is to be observed, that up to the time when the new dæmonolatry took place of the old, the application of the word δαιμονια to real or imaginary *spirits of dead men*, as well as to malignant spirits of hell, was understood and kept up. I give a few illustrations in proof, from various fathers of early date.—First *Ignatius*, early in the second century, or (if the Syriac three epistles only be of Ignatius' own writing) the *Pseudo-Ignatius* a century perhaps later, in an Epistle to the Smyrneans, relates, that when Christ came to Peter after his resurrection, he said, Λαβετε, ψηλαφησατε με, και ιδετε ὁτι ουκ ειμι δαιμονιον ασωματον· "See that I am not an *incorporeal dæmon*, or *spirit*." The writer did not suppose, with Dr. Maitland, that *devil* was the only proper or apostolic use of the word. Again, in the *Acts of the Martyrdom of Ignatius*, ch. 3, it is said, ει μη την των δαιμονιων ελοιτο λατρειαν· i. e. unless the Christian body should embrace the worship of the *heathen gods*.—Next *Justin Martyr* (who elsewhere also uses the same phrase as Ignatius, δαιμονια ασωματα, in his Dial. cum Tryph., pp. 309, 310) speaks of many having been induced by the Gospel καταλιπειν δαιμονια οἰς εδουλευον.—*Tertullian* too, in various places, expresses a similar view of the word. So in his De Spectac. c. 12; "In mortuorum idolis dæmonia consistunt." So again in his Apology, ch. 32: where, after speaking of Christians not swearing by the "genios Cæsarum," he observes; "Nescitis genios *dæmonas* dici, et inde diminutivâ voce *dæmonia?*" Adding, with reference to the real evil spirits that delighted in that worship of *dæmons*, or *dead men;* "Cæterum dæmonas, id est genios, *ad*jurare consuevimus, ut illos de hominibus exigamus; non *de*jerare, ut illis honorem divinitatis conferamus." And in ch. 21, just before noting Socrates' *dæmon*, he speaks of that which, "delitescens sub nominibus et imaginibus mortuorum, quibusdam signis et miraculis et oraculis fidem Divinitatis operatur."—*Athenagoras* in his Apolog. c. 23, refers to the philosopher Thales' view of the δαιμονας, as ουσιας ψυχικας; and to Plato's, who reckoned among them Cœlum, Terra, Oceanus, Saturn, Jupiter, &c.—Similarly the *pseudo-Sibyl*, cited by Lactantius, Inst. i. 11;

Δαιμονας αψυχους, νεκυων ειδωλα καμοντων.

Also *Jerome*, in Hos. ii. 16, speaking of Baal, says; "Didicimus exor-

dium *dæmonis;* imo hominis in dæmonem consecrati: omnia enim idola ex mortuorum errore creverunt." And so elsewhere also.— Finally, let me give examples from *Augustine.* In his Civitas Dei, written near the beginning of the fifth century, the Book viii. c. 18 is headed with "Qualis sit religio in quâ docetur quod homines, ut commendentur Diis *bonis, dæmonibus* uti debeant advocatis;" and another chapter, 21, with "An *dæmonibus* nuntiis et interpretibus Dii utantur." Also, in ch. 26 of the same book, he cites Hermes, saying; "Quoniam animas facere non poterant, evocantes animas *dæmonum,* vel angelorum, eas indiderunt imaginibus sanctis, divinisque mysteriis, per quas *idola* et bene faciendi et male vires habere potuissent." Further, in yet another passage of the C. D., ix. 17, we read; "Ad consequendam vitam beatam non tali mediatore indigere hominem qualis est *dæmon,* sed tali qualis est unus *Christus.*"— Surely, when the worship of departed martyrs and saints was insteal-ing, the familiarity of professing Christendom with this use of the word in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries was of itself well suited to awaken misgivings, lest the prophecy of the great future dæmonolatry here given, I mean in Apoc. ix. 20, if not also that in 1 Tim. iv. 1, might have reference to *it.*

2. But, yet more, it so happened that when the church was fast verging into the worship of departed saints and martyrs, the very fathers who helped to introduce or to establish it, noted (as if by way of comment on the prophecies, as well as of warning to themselves and others) its parallelism, as more and more completed, with the heathen dæmonolatry of Greece and Rome. So, at its early beginning in the fourth century, *Eusebius,* in his Evang. Præpar. xiii. 11. After quoting Plato's sentiment, that he would have the *souls of men* that died valiantly in battle to be accounted for *dæmons* after death, and their sepulchres and coffins to be visited and adored as the sepulchres of dæmons, he thus makes transition to the Christian festivals at the tombs of *saints* and *martyrs:* Ταυτα δη ἁρμοζει επι τη των θεοφιλων τελευτη, ὑυς στρατιωτας της αληθους ευσεβειας ουκ αν αμαρτοις ειπων, παραλαμβανεσθαι· ὁθεν και επι τας θηκας αυτων εθος ἡμιν παριεναι, και τας ευχας παρα ταυταις ποιεισθαι, τιμᾶν τε τας μακαριας αυτων ψυχας. "These things do befit at (or after) the decease of the favourites of God; whom if thou shalt affirm to be taken for the champions of the true religion, thou shalt not say amiss. Whence it is our custom to go unto their tombs, and to make our prayers at them,

and to honour their blessed souls."—Similarly, about the *close of the fourth century*, and when the worship of departed saints was more matured, *Theodoret*. Addressing the Pagan Greeks, he says :—"If the poet call good men, after their decease, guardians and preservers of men from evil," (he had just quoted Hesiod's lines about *dæmons*,) "and the best of philosophers hath confirmed the poet's saying, and would have their sepulchres respected and honoured, why then find fault with what we do? For such as were eminent for piety, and for the sake thereof suffered death, we also call preservers and physicians. We do not call them *dæmons;* God forbid we should be so mad! but the *friends* and kindly disposed *servants of God*. . . That the souls of holy men, even when out of the body, are in a capacity of taking care of men's affairs Plato affirms in the xith Book of his Laws. . . He bids men believe even the vulgar reports [evidencing it]. But you not only disbelieve us, but are unwilling to hearken to the loud voice even of the events and effects themselves. . . The martyrs' temples are famous for their beauty and greatness. They that are in health (there) pray for the continuance thereof: they who have long been sick with any disease pray for recovery: the childless pray for children; they that are entering on a journey for companionship and guidance: . . . not going to them (*the martyrs*) as gods, but making application to them as to *divine men*, and asking them to be advocates on their behalf. (ὡς θειους ανθρωπους αντιβολουντες, και γενεσθαι πρεσβευτας ὑπερ ̓σφων παρακαλουντες.)—Now that they who make faithful prayers obtain their petitions, appears from the offerings made by the votaries in acknowledgment of their recovery. For some present [i. e. to be hung up in the churches] effigies of eyes, others of hands; some of gold, some of silver. . . In truth the martyrs have abolished, and blotted out of the minds of men, the memory of those who were called gods. The Lord hath introduced his own dead (the martyrs) into the place of your gods; and the latter he hath dismissed, and hath given their honour to his martyrs. For, instead of the feasts of Jupiter and Bacchus, and other such, there are now celebrated the festivals of Peter and Paul, Thomas and Sergius, &c., and other holy martyrs.—Wherefore, seeing such advantage from the honouring of the *martyrs*, flee, my friends, from the error of *dæmons;* and, using the martyrs as lights and guides, follow the way which leads to God."

I cite from Mede, p. 642, who gives the original;[1] and who to

[1] I have a little altered his translation here and there, to make it more literal.—

these two approvers of saint-worship adds an extract in a different tone from a near contemporary of Theodoret, Epiphanius. The latter, in rebuke of the Collyridians, who offered cakes to the Virgin Mary as Queen of heaven, says: Πληρουται επι τουτοις το, Αποστησονται τινες της ὑγιεος διδασκαλιας, προσεχοντες μυθοις και διδασκαλιαις δαιμονιων· εσονται γαρ, φησι, νεκροις λατρευοντες, ὡς και εν τῳ Ισραηλ εσεβασθησαν· "That saying of the Apostle is fulfilled of these; 'Some shall apostatize from the sound doctrine, giving heed to fables and doctrines of *dæmons:*' for, saith he, they shall be worshippers of the *dead;* as dead men were worshipped in Israel. (Mede 636.) In which last clause there is an evident reference to Psalm cvi. 28, already quoted in this Paper; and an actual application of that prediction in Timothy, respecting a great dæmonolatrous apostasy in the Church, to one branch of the dæmonolatry of departed saints then begun.[1]

On the whole, considering how the *Scriptural* use of δαιμονιον has been the ground-work of our argument on the word, and history, both ancient and modern, shown to be illustrative and confirmatory of it, may I not, in conclusion, adopt substantially Mede's confident appeal to his readers: and say; "Now judge whether (not only, as he, διδασκαλιαι δαιμονιων, 1 Tim. iv. 1,[2] but also) προσκυνησις δαιμονιων, in Apoc. ix. 20, hath not been fitly applied."

Gieseler, i. 286, 288, gives the same extracts nearly. "A sort of omnipresence," says Gieseler, "being ascribed to the martyrs, as by the heathen to their dæmons."

[1] 'As an evidence from modern history, not a little striking, of the fitness of this word δαιμονια, the appellative of the heathen gods, to designate the canonized saints of the Romish calendar, let me remind my readers how, at the maturity of the apostasy, just before the Reformation, (the priests, bishops, cardinals, and popes of the Romish Church approving,) the two classes of dæmons, *Pagan* and *Papal*, were by poets and painters grouped together, as meet associates and participators of the same ideal heaven. See p. 54 suprà.

[2] A genitive signifying persons, after διδασκαλια, is generally the genitive of the *teacher*, not the *subject;* but not always. E. g. Titus ii. 10, adduced by Mede; διδασκαλια τῃ Σωτηρος ἡμων.—Otherwise a genitive of the *subject-matter of teaching* is not very infrequent. So in Origen adv. Celsus, Lib. vi.; την αρχην του Χριστιανισμου διδασκαλιας· Eusebius II. E. iii. 18, ἡ της ἡμετερας πιστεως διδασκαλια· ib. vi. 2; βδελυττομενος τας των αἱρεσεων διδασκαλιας· Theodoret, Vol. v. p. 1040, την τῃ βαπτισματος διδασκαλιαν, &c.

APPENDIX.

No. II.

ON "THE ALTAR" IN APOC. XI. 1, AND ELSEWHERE, BEING THE BRAZEN ALTAR OF BURNT SACRIFICE.

(*See pp.* 183—186.)

In a Work published in 1848 by Mr. Hislop of Arbroath, under the title of "The Red Republic," I am charged with "a stupendous mistake" in explaining "*the altar*" both elsewhere in the Apocalypse, and more especially in Apoc. xi. 1, where it was to be measured by St. John, as being the *great brazen altar of burnt sacrifice.* Mr. H. (p. 248) thus exprest himself. "Says Mr. E., 'The great brazen altar of sacrifice was in the open court, next the sanctuary: and that that court therefore was necessarily and expressly included' [in St. John's measurement]. Here there is certainly a stupendous mistake..... Does not Mr. E. perceive that his argument proceeds on the Romish supposition that there is *still* an *altar of burnt-offering* under the Gospel? ... Under the Christian dispensation there is only one altar, *the altar of incense.* Throughout the whole of the Apocalypse wherever an altar is mentioned, *it* is '*the* altar;' implying that there is one and one only. Now where stood the altar of incense? In the sanctuary or holy place."—Mr. H. at first stated it as "my *object*, in thus enlarging the spiritual temple, to get within its limits the hierarchy of the Church of England:"—a charge which he subsequently modified, on remonstrance, to that of including the reformed visible Churches, contradistinctively to Christ's true spiritual invisible Church, which Mr. H. would have to be meant by the symbol, simply and alone. A difference of view this as to the symbol's intended meaning, which every intelligent reader will see to be of great importance. Hence the desirableness of more particular inquiry into the matter.

In a brief primary notice accordingly of the subject, in the vth No.

of the Quarterly Prophetic Journal, I observed in answer,—that *the altar*, *το θυσιαστηριον* (with the article), is spoken of in its *literal* sense ten times in the other New Testament books; viz. in Matt. v. 23, 24, xxiii. 18—20, 35; Luke xi. 51; 1 Cor. ix. 13, x. 18; Heb. vii. 13; and *in every case* in the sense of *the great brazen altar of burnt-offering* in the temple-court:—that once too, viz. in Heb. xiii. 10, where the definite article is not prefixed, if used *figuratively*,[1] it is still in the same sense of *the great brazen altar;*—and moreover that in the two notable notices of "*the altar*" in Apocalyptic visions preceding the one in question, viz. in that of *the souls under the altar* in Apoc. vi. 9, and that of the Angel priest "standing at *the altar*" in Apoc. viii. 3, and receiving incense, "that he might offer it, with the prayers of all saints, at the golden altar that is before the throne," it was evident from reference to the Levitical rites in either case alluded to,[2] that the great brazen altar was in either case intended.—Mr. H. having replied to this,[3] I wrote as follows, in fuller discussion of the subject.

Extract from the Quarterly Journal of Prophecy.[4]

I have now to answer Mr. Hislop on the question as to "*the altar*" in Apoc. xi. 1, whether it was the *brazen altar of burnt sacrifice*, or the *golden altar of incense*.

On this question I observed at the close of my Letter in your last Number, that "Mr. H. had so little met my argument that I might, I believed, consider a reply almost superfluous."[5] For what was the nature of my argument? It was this:—that, 1st, wherever in the *extra-Apocalyptic* parts of the New Testament the phrase "*the* altar, *το θυσιαστηριον*, occurred by itself, undefined by any specific notification to mark which of the two it was, in the immediately preceding context, it would uniformly be found to designate the great brazen altar of sacrifice, not the golden altar of incense: a reference being made, in proof, to all the ten *extra-Apocalyptic* New Testament passages in which the phrase occurs.[6] Whence, on the first mention of "*the altar*" in the *Apocalyptic* drama, supposing the phrase to be

[1] "We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat that serve the sanctuary." My present impression is that it is not here used *figuratively*. See my Note p. 512.

[2] Comparing, on the *former*, Lev. iv. 7, 18, 25, xvii. 11; and, on the *latter*, Lev. xvi. 12, 13, vi. 13, x. 1.

[3] The substance of his reply will appear in the Paper following.

[4] No. viii. p. 383.

[5] Ibid. No. vii. 262; meaning the arguments of which I have just above given an abstract.

[6] So too, with scarce an exception, I believe, in the Septuagint.

thus undefined, a strong presumption would arise in favour of its meaning there also, and from the mere fact of such its appellation, the brazen altar of sacrifice. Besides which, 2ndly, in the two previous *Apocalyptic* notices of "*the* altar," (I mean previous to the contested passage in Apoc. xi. 1,) viz. in the vision of the fifth Seal, Apoc. vi. 9, and in the incense-offering vision, Apoc. viii. 3, there was, I averred, that stated in the context which fixed the meaning of the phrase in them too to the same brazen altar.[1]

And first then, as regards the ten New Testament *extra-Apocalyptic* passages, what is Mr. H.'s reply?[2] Does he contest the fact asserted by me? Not so, as to *nine* out of the ten passages. But he sets aside the larger number of them, as if having no bearing on the point in dispute, because they refer, not to *Christian* worship, but to the worship and "literal altar" of the *Jewish* law; a principle of reasoning on which I may have to remark subsequently. Then, as to one out of the only two or three remaining, which have an express Christian reference, he virtually, indeed I may say all but distinctly, allows the truth of my view of the altar there intended as being the great brazen altar of sacrifice, viz. in 1 Cor. ix. 13; and I think too in another, 1 Cor. x. 18. It is only on the last of the ten that he disputes my view, viz. on Heb. xiii. 10: a passage to which consequently I must now invite the reader's attention.

And I cannot, I think, better prepare them for a correct judgment about it, than by citing the passage from 1 Cor. ix. 13, on the which, as I just now stated, Mr. Hislop seems to admit being at one with me. "Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at *the altar* are partakers with *the altar?*" A passage thus paraphrased by Macknight; "The priests which wait at the altar, do they not share *in the sacrifice* with the altar?" And, with evident allusion to which, Mr. Hislop thus writes; "Where it is in reference to the maintenance of the gospel ministry that Paul speaks, Mr. Elliott's argument will be appropriate."[3] Bearing in mind which admission by Mr. H. as to 1 Cor. ix. 13, turn we now, as proposed, to Heb. xiii. 10; "We have *an altar* whereof they have no right to *eat* which serve the tabernacle: for the bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin are burned

[1] Quarterly Journal, v. 583, 584. [2] Quarterly Journal, vi. 134—136.
[3] Quarterly Journal, vi. 134.

without the camp." Surely one might have thought that Mr. Hislop, after just admitting that in the Corinthians the altar from which parts of certain sacrificed beasts were said to be taken by priests and Levites, and *eaten*, agreeably with the injunction of the Jewish law, was the *brazen* altar, would have little hesitated at admitting that the altar wherefrom it was said in the Hebrews that certain other sacrifices, viz. those for sin, might *not* be taken to be *eaten*, was the same brazen altar also: seeing that in the Jewish law that general permission as to eating of the sacrifices, and that specific prohibition, had reference to the sacrifices offered on the great Jewish *brazen* altar, simply and alone. Indeed the mention here of burnt *sin-offerings*, in evident connexion with the altar spoken of, does so fix the meaning of the altar, that unless I had actually read it in Mr. Hislop's Letter, I should have deemed it all but incredible that any man at all versed in the Bible could have had a doubt on the subject cross his mind. Yet so it is, that Mr. H. not only doubts, but denies all allusion to the brazen altar of sacrifice in this passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews. Nay, he specifically affirms that the altar spoken of as to be eaten from was the golden altar of incense; and sees no difficulty in the eating from it mentioned. "The altar of which St. Paul speaks *can be none other than the altar of incense.* It may be said indeed, But how can we *eat* of *incense?*" Ay; how indeed? "But," he adds, "the answer is easy." It is to the effect that no one figure or type can adequately represent Christ in his various offices and benefits to man:—that thus at one time he is figured as a *sacrifice*, at another as *incense*, at another as *food* for the soul:—"in relation to his heavenly Father as *incense* of sweet savour acceptable to God; in reference to the wants of man as the *bread of life*, the *hidden manna*." All very well. But is it under the figure of *incense*, according to this statement by Mr. H. himself, that Christ is set forth as *food to be eaten* by his people; or under that of *bread* and *manna?* The same if we suppose him figured as an *altar* to be *eaten from*, and the "*we* have an altar" in Heb. xiii. 10, be explained of Christians as the eaters,[1] Mr. Hislop, in the sentence just cited,

[1] My present impression is that as Paul was addressing Christian *Hebrews*, and the Hebrew or Jewish Temple was at that time still standing at Jerusalem, the word "we" in this verse means simply *we Jews*.* So the general sense of the passage, with its context, will be consistently explained as follows.

* Just as in 1 Cor. x. 1, "All *our* fathers were under the cloud;" i. e. the *Jewish* fathers.

has written accordantly with common sense; and in thus writing has answered himself, in so far as Heb. xiii. 10 is concerned, and put his case out of court.

Next as to *the two Apocalypticass pages*:—the *primary* one being that in Apoc. vi. 9, respecting the souls under the altar; "When he had opened the fifth seal I saw *under the altar* the souls (ψυχας) of them that had been slain (εσφαγμενων) for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held." Here, again, the local connexion of victims slaughtered, as in sacrifice, with the altar spoken of might seem, one would have thought, sufficiently to define that altar as the Jewish *brazen* altar of sacrifice; especially considering, as I mentioned both in the 'Horæ,' and in my Letter, that the blood of the victims (that blood which was the life, or ψυχη) was wont to be poured out at the base of the brazen altar.[1] To which what replies Mr. Hislop? He takes exception against my argument from the blood; because, says he, it was poured out *at* the base, not υπακατω, *under* it. Surely there is a little splitting of straws in this. Must not the blood so poured out be supposed in part to have drained under the altar?—But Mr. H. shall have a further illustration, and one yet more precise, from the place *of the ashes* of the burnt sacrifices offered thereon. For this was God's injunction to Moses about its structure, in Exod. xxvii. 3—5: "Thou shalt make its pans to receive *its ashes;* and thou shalt make for it a grate of net-work of brass: and thou shalt put it under the compass of the altar *beneath*, (υποθησεις αυτους υπο την εσχαραν του θυσιαστηριου κατωθεν,) that the net may be even *in the midst of the altar*." A passage thus explained by Scott:—"Over the hollow in the middle was placed a brazen grate to receive the fire and the sacri-

"Be not led aside by the Judaizing tendencies of some Jewish Christians, to make much of the distinctions of meats, as if still religiously obligatory so as in the ceremonial religion associated with our temple worship. Remember, even in that very ritual there is what may well teach us the little virtue attaching to such observances in themselves. If, to typify one great truth respecting *Christ*, the great and real sacrifice for sin, Moses ordered that both priests and people should in certain cases *eat* of the altar, or altar-sacrifices,* yet not so in all. 'We have an altar,' or altar-sacrifice, viz. that for sin, of which the charge laid down in Moses' law is that neither priests nor people should partake. The bodies of those sacrifices are all burned without the camp, as accursed;—a type in that respect of Jesus Christ. And if, for non-Judaizing in respect of old ceremonial observances, we incur obloquy among Judaizing Christians, let the example of Jesus, so typified, make us willing to incur it; and to go, as it were, with him without the gate bearing his reproach."

[1] Lev. iv. 7; "The priest shall pour all the blood of the bullock at the bottom of the altar of burnt-offering." Deut. xii. 23; "The blood is the life." Sept. οτι αιμα αυτα ψυχη.

* All, of course, sacrifices of *clean* animals.

fices; being full of holes as a net, through which the ashes might fall *down under the altar*." May I hope that this will satisfy Mr. Hislop? He must surely be aware that such a thing was never heard of in the Jewish ceremonial as a taking away of the *ashes* of sacrificed burnt-offerings from the brazen altar, and depositing them under the altar of incense: nor, indeed, as a pouring out of their *blood* at the bottom of the incense altar; for there was only a sprinkling of the blood on that altar's *horns*, on the comparatively rare occasions on which, as we shall see presently, that rite was observed.[1]—But, exclaims my opponent, if we understand the altar so as Mr. Elliott, "The souls must be represented as crying to God from the scenes of their martyrdom: and how can this be reconciled with God's answer, 'It was said to them that they should *rest* yet for a little season;' the rest namely of them that die in the Lord?"[2] To which the reply is obvious:—just as we know the fact of Abel's blood *crying from the ground* to be reconcilable with the fact of *his* soul's *resting in the Lord*.[3] And, indeed, how Mr. Hislop's supposed location of them *under the incense altar* would better agree with his other expressed supposition of their being seen by St. John "in their heavenly rest, in the paradise of God, in the presence of Christ," seems to me marvellously hard of comprehension. Had the two alternative hypotheses been that of their appearing *under the brazen altar*, and that of their appearing *among the twenty-four elders, sitting round the heavenly throne*, I could have understood his reasoning. But, when the question is merely as between a location *under* the one altar in God's symbolic temple, or location *under* the other, I must confess my inability to discern much difference, with reference to the mooted point, between the two positions. However Mr. H. sums up, on the strength of it, thus triumphantly; "The altar then under which the souls were seen is *proved* (!) to be the *altar of incense*."

Once more we have to consider that other Apocalyptic passage, Apoc. viii. 3, where it is said of the Angel-priest that "he stood by

[1] "And the priest shall put some of the blood upon the horns of *the altar of sweet incense* before the Lord, which is in the tabernacle of the congregation; and shall pour all the blood of the bullock at the bottom of *the altar of burnt-offering*, which is at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation." Lev. iv. 7. Partially cited before.

[2] Quarterly Journal, vi. 135.

[3] The parallel passage about Abel is especially important to attend to, as showing that there is not meant any actual cry for retribution and avenging, on the part of the souls of the martyrs against their enemies; (such could not issue from the spirits of the blessed;) but the cry, as it would *seem* to issue from the scenes of their martyrdom, to the ears and hearts of their surviving brethren. See my Vol. i. p. 224.

the altar having a golden censer ; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all the saints upon *the golden altar which was before the throne.*" And here, as indeed before, I must request the reader to have before him for comparison, as I proceed, my original remarks on this point, and those in Mr. H.'s reply. As regards then my first argument in favour of both the two altars being here meant, drawn from the different designatives given them in the text itself,—to the one that of "*the altar*," to the other that of "*the golden altar before the throne*,"—Mr. H. replies by citing 1 Thess. i. 9, "Ye turned to *God* from idols, to serve *the living and true God;*" [1] where, of course, the latter phrase is simply exegetic or amplificatory of the former. But were there *two Gods* in the Christian system, I here beg to ask, (so as there were *two altars* in the Jewish,) that St. Paul might be supposed making allusion to: and a designative attached by the Apostle to him that was noted in the *first* clause, which in common parlance attached to the *one* of those two gods; another designative to him that was noted in the *second* clause, which in common parlance attached to the *other?* Nothing of the kind; and so Mr. H.'s counter-parallel wholly fails.—Further, I argued from the appointed mode and order of the particular rite of incense-offering, as involving a ministration at *both* altars, in the Jewish ceremonial. So Lev. xvi. 12: "And he (the priest) shall take a censer of burning coals of fire from off the altar before the Lord, and his hands full of sweet incense, and bring it within the vail; and he shall put the incense upon the fire, before the Lord." Mr. H. does not contest the fact thus asserted by me of the fire being taken by the high-priest from the brazen altar of sacrifice in the altar-court:—how could he, with the Scriptural evidence and authorities which I placed before him in my Letter? But he argues from its being said of the Apocalyptic angel-priest that "he came and *stood* at the altar," that this altar must have been the one where "*he took his station for offering up the incense;*" viz. the golden altar in the sanctuary. Indeed he is *positive* of the conclusiveness of the argument. "Therefore the altar in the first clause refers, and can refer only, to *the altar of incense.*" But stop a moment. Was it after the Levitical ministering priest had taken his station at the *golden altar* that *the incense was wont to be given him;* so as the thing is described in the Apocalyptic vision? Mr. H. must have read the

[1] Quarterly Journal, vi. 136.

passage in Leviticus very carelessly, if he did not observe that the priest had *to carry both incense and coals of fire from the brazen altar* in the court *to the golden altar* within the vail of the sanctuary. Had Mr. H. been one of the ancient Jewish priesthood ministering, he would have had to *stand* at the *brazen* altar in order to take therefrom coals of fire into his censer; and to receive (from attendant Levites, as I conceive) the incense to be burnt, which incense we know from other Scriptures to have been the offerings of the worshipping people:[1] and then to go through the intervening part of the court, and "*bring* the incense (as well as the fire) within the vail;" and then to put the censer, with its embers or ashes of fire, upon the *golden* altar there; and then upon the fire in the censer, so placed upon the golden altar, to pour the sacred incense, that it might ignite, and send up the fumes of sweet savour.

So ends my notice of the several disputed passages on this head. And, in concluding, I cannot but express my surprise that an intelligent person, like Mr. Hislop, should have been so rash as not merely to commit himself to such erroneous statements about them, but to have charged me, and indeed with but little modification repeated the charge, with having made a "stupendous mistake" for stating the thing otherwise and correctly.[2] The rather so, because in this I have not innovated; but only followed some of the best known and most learned expositors before me.[3] It seems to me traceable, in the main, to two apparent points of defect in Mr. H. as an Apocalyptic expositor:—the one a want of adequate acquaintance with the old Jewish ritual; the other, a want of clear discernment of the nature and proprieties of Scripture symbolization.—In illustration of each and either

[1] Numb. vii. 14, 20, &c.

[2] In his Letter to me, printed in the "Quarterly Journal," vii. 265, Mr. H. partially modifies his original charge, as made in the "Red Republic:" and which was really as extraordinary as unjustifiable; because my application of the symbol was notoriously *general*, to *all* the Churches of the Reformation. In his Letter to me Mr. H. says that "he had no thought of charging me with *intentionally* violating the scriptural symbol:" but still speaks of my (imagined) mistake as "a very important one."

[3] So, *e. g.* Vitringa on Apoc. vi. 9, the first of the two Apocalyptic passages discussed:—"Altare *holocausti* hic intelligendum esse patet, quia absolutè dicitur θυσιαστηριον, מזבח. Quod nomen ἁπλως ubique per Scripturam sacram altare holocaustomatum notat, et constanter in hâc ipsâ Apocalypsi: cum altare Sancti passim vel aureum, vel suffituum, dicatur; quæ certa Launæi observatio est." And, again, on the other Apocalyptic passage, Apoc. viii. 3:—"Hunc (angelum) vidit stetisse ante aram: non utique *aram auream*, in quâ adolebantur suffitus in Sancto, cujus mox mentio injicitur; sed *holocausti* in atrio." And then he blames the expositors who, from ignorance, "*ex imperitiâ*," had construed it, like Mr. H., of the *golden* altar. (Vitringa, pp. 359, 441.)

of these, let me call attention to the following passages in Mr. H.'s Letter.[1] "Mr. E., it seems, holds as firmly as ever that under the gospel there are still two altars;—an *altar of burnt offering* as well as *altar of incense*. Now this . . . seems to me, the more I think of it, a very extraordinary mistake." "Mr. E. says most truly, that without Christ's expiatory sacrifice no incense-offering of prayer or praise can be acceptable to God. But does that require an *altar of burnt sacrifice*, as distinct from the *altar of incense?* Does not Mr. E. know that, under the law, the high-priest once a year, on the great day of atonement, went into the sanctuary with the blood of the sin-offering, and *sprinkled that blood on the horns of the altar of incense?* What did that signify? It shadowed out this grand truth, that, when once the great sacrifice was offered, of which the Levitical sacrifices were merely types, then the altar of incense *alone* should possess all the virtue of both altars." So Mr. Hislop. Now I am certainly not unaware of the fact to which he alludes respecting the ceremonial of the great day of atonement; and have indeed made much use of it, in illustration of the symbolization involving the horns of the golden altar in Apoc. ix. 13.[2] But, as regards the signification and intent of that particular rite, I have been taught by Moses and St. Paul something very different from Mr. H.'s explanation: for they teach that it was for the purpose of "*cleansing* the altar (sc. the incense altar), and *hallowing it from the uncleanness of the children of Israel*, and *reconciling* the holy place and the altar:"[3] even the most holy things being thus marked as unclean, and as only to be cleansed and reconciled by bloodshedding. Such, I say, and so different from Mr. Hislop's, is the inspired explanation of this particular in the Jewish ritual. Where can he ever have got the notion of such a significancy and purport as he here predicates?—And then, as regards the right construction of Scripture types and figures, surely what God has joined essentially together in type, it is not for man to rend asunder, so as Mr. Hislop would here do, in application to the Christian antitype. The great antitypical High Priest, receiving the incense of his people's prayers and praises, still offers up that incense before the Father, mixed with the memorial of his own sacrificial suf-

[1] Quarterly Journal, vi. 134.

[2] Hor. Apoc. i. 481—485.

[3] Lev. xvi. 19.—Compare Heb. ix. 21; "Moreover he sprinkled with blood both the tabernacle, and all the vessels of the ministry. And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission."

ferings: whereby it is made to come up before him acceptably; and, as it were, exhaling fragrant odours. So has every part of the Jewish typical rite of incense-offering its own proper place in the Christian antitypical explanation. Assuredly there is nothing more evangelically Christian in the incense altar than in the altar of sacrifice; rather the contrary, we might almost say, if Christ crucified be the essence of the gospel system: nothing more Romanistic (though Mr. H. has strangely so represented it)[1] in the sacrificial altar, than in that of incense. Can anything be imagined more erroneous in the construction of Scripture types than the intimation expressed in the concluding sentence of his Letter; to the effect, that the retaining the sacrificial altar in the Apocalyptic scenery "militates against the grand truth of the gospel, that Christ by his one offering hath for ever perfected them that are sanctified?"

On the whole, I trust that I have sufficiently proved my point respecting the meaning of "*the altar*," both elsewhere, and in the two Apocalyptic passages discussed; and consequently justified my so explaining it in that other Apocalyptic passage (Apoc. xi. 1), in reference to which my views have been so unfortunate as to have incurred Mr. Hislop's censure.[2] The point is one of especial importance in that passage; as it furnishes a marked *evangelic* completion to the symbolization in Apoc. x. 1—xi. 2, of the history, external and internal, of the great Protestant Reformation.[3]

[1] As if quite forgetting his own notice, at p. 20 of his Red Republic, of the incense in the Roman Catholic worship.

[2] So Vitringa again, on Apoc. xi. 1, "Rise and measure *the altar*." "Per altare *ipsum altare holocausti* intelligendum est; cum subdiali areâ in quâ hoc altare locatum est." Mr. H. will be aware that Vitringa was no member of the Church of England. I the rather cite from him on this account; as well as on account of his being perhaps the most learned, certainly one of the most learned, of Apocalyptic expositors.

[3] Let me observe ere concluding this Letter, with reference to St. John's measuring of the temple, that I view it in no other way than accords substantially with Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Candlish's avowed principles: * not to the effect that Mr. Hislop has, at p. 79 of his "Red Republic," by a very unwarrantable misrepresentation, ascribed to me.—In fact my view is quite accordant with the view laid down in Ch. xxiii. of the Confession of the Church of Scotland, "Of the Civil Magistrate." "The Civil Magistrate . . hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order that . . . the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, *all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed.*" As Scriptural warrant for this, the Confession refers to Is. xlix. 23; Ps. cxxii. 9; Ezra vii. 23, 25—28; Lev. xxiv. 16; Deut. xiii. 5, 6, 12; 2 Kings xviii. 4; 1 Chron. xiii. 1—9; 2 Kings xxiii. 1—26; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 33; xv. 12, 13.

* See my Letter to Dr. Candlish, pp. 25, 26.

To the above Extract from the Quarterly Journal of Prophecy it may be well to add a remark on another and connected point; viz. on the argument urged by another critic against my explanation of the *temple* and *altar* in the Apocalypse as always the same: it being argued that here, in Apoc. xi. 1, it is a temple *on earth;* (the *restored Jewish temple*, my objector would say;) but elsewhere a typical temple *in heaven*.[1]

Now, in proof that it is one and the same temple that is meant here and elsewhere, let the following marks of identity be observed. In Apoc. xi. 1 the temple and altar are identified by *the true worshippers*, there specified, with the temple and altar in Apoc. viii. 3; where also *the saints* ("all the saints") are mentioned as presenting incense and prayers, through the Angel-priest, *in worship*. Again, by mention of the incense being taken by the Angel-priest to the golden altar, and there offered *before the throne*, that temple of Apoc. viii. is connected with the inner temple-scene which had the throne in its most holy place, and the 24 elders round it, that is so often mentioned elsewhere:—whence too indeed alike the Trumpet-Angels, and Vial-Angels, and other Angels specially commissioned by God, are on various occasions depicted as going forth *into the altar-court* of the Apocalyptic temple, in execution of their several missions of judgment.[2] The identification, I believe, will be found decisive and complete.

[1] So, I think, Mr. Barker has somewhere argued against me.

[2] Compare Apoc. viii. 2, 3, ix. 13, xi. 19, xiv. 17, 18, xv. 5—8.

APPENDIX.

No. III.

LANDULF'S ACCOUNT OF THE TURIN HERETICS, CONDEMNED AND BURNT A.D. 1028.

(*See Page* 246 *suprà*).

De Girardo Hæretico, cum sociis de Monteforte hæreticis.

Ea tempestate, cùm Dominus Heribertus omnes fere jam visitasset civitatum B. Ambrosii suffraganeos, quorum gratiâ Italiam circuiverat, illos in omnibus bonis adhortans, Taurinum bonorum agmine clericorum, ac militum copiâ strenuissimorum, vallatus devenit. Ubi cum per aliquot dies sedisset, cohortatus Episcopum, clerum civitatis, et populum totius urbis, propheticis et apostolicis admonitionibus, ut tanto decebat viro, quandam hæresim inauditam, quæ nuper in castello supra locum qui Monsfortis vocatur convenerat, audivit. Quod cum Heribertus audivisset, illico jussit ex ipso castro hominem illius hæresis, ut verius rem ipsam cognosceret, sibi repræsentari. Qui cum ante ejus vultum venisset, promptissimum gerens ad passionem animum, lætus si vitam suppliciis gravissimis finiret, vultu alacri ad omnia respondere paratus astitit. At Heribertus, cum ipsum tantâ constantiâ paratum vidisset, seriatim et studiosè vitam, et mores, ac illorum fidem sciscitari cœpit. Igitur licentiâ datâ, et silentio imperato, dicens Girardus adorsus est; 'Deo omnipotenti, Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto gratias refero immensas, quod tam studiose me inquirere satagitis. Et qui vos ab initio in lumbis Adæ cognovit animat; ut sibi vivatis, sibique moriamini, et cum ipso per sæculorum sæcula regnantes gloriamini. Vitam meam, et meorum fratrum fidem, qualicunque animo ea sciscitetis, vobis edicam. Virginitatem præ cæteris laudamus, uxores habentes. Qui virgo est virgini-

tatem conservat; qui autem corruptus, datâ a nostro Majori licentiâ, castitatem perpetuam conservare liceat. Nemo nostrûm uxore carnaliter utitur; sed quasi matrem, aut sororem, diligens tenet. Carnibus nunquam vescimur: jejunia continua: et orationes indesinenter fundimus. Semper die ac nocte nostri Majores vicissim orant; quatenus hora oratione vacua non prætereat. Omnem nostram possessionem cum omnibus hominibus communem habemus. Nemo nostrum sine tormentis vitam finit, ut æterna tormenta evadere possimus. Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum credimus, et confitemur. At illis vero, qui potestatem habent ligandi et solvendi, ligari ac solvi credimus. *Vetus* ac novum Testamentum, ac Sanctos Canones, quotidiè legentes tenemus.'

Cumque hæc et multa alia Girardus ingenio acutissimo dixisset, quibusdam magna ac terribilia videbantur. Interea Dominus Heribertus, ejus astutiam et ingenium agnoscens pravum, de singulis verbis quæ ipse prædixerat, qualiter aut quomodo sentiret, ac socii ejus, evidenter aperire præcepit: et maxime qualiter de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto sentirent, et præterea de singulis, præcepit aperire. Quo audito Girardus lætabundus infit: Quod dixi Patrem, Deus est æternus, qui omnia ut [est?] ab initio, et in quo omnia consistunt. Quod dixi Filium, animus est hominis a Deo dilectus. Quod dixi Spiritum Sanctum, divinarum scientiarum intellectus, a quo cuncta discretè reguntur. Ad hæc Heribertus respondit; Amice, de Christo Jesu Domino Nostro, qui natus est de Maria Virgine, Verbum Patris, quid dicis? Respondit: Jesus Christus, quem dicis, est animus sensualiter natus ex Maria Virgine; videlicet natus est ex sanctâ Scripturâ: Spiritus Sanctus sanctarum Scripturarum cum devotione intellectus. Heribertus: Quare conjuges accipitis, nisi ad sobolem procreandam, unde humanum genus nasceretur? Respondit: Si universum genus humanum se conjungeret, ut corruptionem non sentiret, sicut apes sine coitu genus humanum gigneretur. Heribertus: Peccatorum nostrorum absolutio in quo est? In Apostolico, aut in Episcopo, aut in Sacerdote aliquo? Respondit: Pontificem habemus non illum Romanum, sed alium, qui quotidie per orbem terrarum fratres nostros visitat dispersos; et quando Deus illum nobis ministrat, tunc peccatorum nostrorum venia summa cum devotione donatur. Heribertus: Vita vestra quomodo in tormentis finit? Respondit: Si nos per tormenta a malis hominibus nobis ingesta deficemus, gaudemus: si autem aliquando nos ad mortem natura perducit, proximus noster,

antequam animam damus, quoquomodo interficit nos. Cum hæc omnia Heribertus auribus intentis audivisset, tacite mirans, cæteris autem sua capita nutantibus, si in fidem catholicam quam Romana Ecclesia tenet, et baptismum, et vere Filium Dei, qui natus est ex Maria Virgine secundum carnem, crederat, et illud esse verum corpus, et verum sanguinem, quem sacerdos Catholicus, quamvis peccator, per verbum Dei sanctificat, eum sciscitatus est. Respondit: Præter nostrum Pontificem non esse alium Pontificem; quamvis sine tonsurâ capitis sit, nec mysterium.

Quo audito, ut fama illorum erat, rei veritas apparuit. Et mittens Heribertus quam plurimos milites ad illum Montemfortem, omnes, quos invenire potuit, cepit. Inter quos cum Mediolanum duxisset et præ cæteris Comitissam castri illius in hac hæresi sentientem, et per multus dies, et per suos sacerdotes, in fide catholica eam redintegrare desiderans laborasset, timens ne gens Italiæ hujus hæresi contaminaretur, perplurimum dolebat. At ipse nephandissimi, et à quâ orbis parte in Italiâ fuissent eventi inscii, quasi boni sacerdotes, quotidie, tamen privatim, rusticis, qui in hac urbe eos videndi causâ convenerant, falsa rudimenta a Scripturis divinis detorta seminabant. Quod cum civitatis hujus majores laici comperissent, rogo mirabili accenso, cruce Domini ab altera parte erectâ, Heriberto nolente illis omnibus eductis, lex talis est data, ut, si vellent omni perfidiâ abjectâ crucem adorare, et fidem quam universus orbis tenet confiterentur, salvi essent; sin autem, vivi flammarum globos arsuri intrarent. Et factum est, ut aliqui ad crucem Domini venientes, et ipsam confitentes fidem catholicam, salvi facti sunt: et multi, manibus ante vultus missis, inter flammas exilierunt, et miserè morientes in miseros cineres redacti sunt.[1]

[1] The above is from Landulf's History of Milan.

APPENDIX.

No. IV.

ON THE CHARGES OF MANICHEISM, OR MANICHEAN MARCIONITISM, AGAINST THE PAULIKIANS.

(*See page* 315 *suprà.*)

Among the charges of heresy urged against the Paulikians, none has been made more strongly or generally than that of *Manicheism.* "If we are not disposed to set up our own conjectures against contemporary testimony,"—such is the concluding clause of Mr. Dowling's Pamphlet on the subject, "and to make antiquity bow to our prejudices, we must admit the correctness of the common opinion, and regard the Paulikians as a *Manichean* sect."[1]—It is this particular charge, first in its more *direct* form, secondly in the *modified* form of *Marcionitic Gnosticism* under which Professor Gieseler has urged it, that has been reserved for separate examination here in the Appendix: the charge being of a character involving so much of extraneous matter, as would have made it in our main text rather an interruption.

1. The direct charge of Manicheism.

As a preliminary to the whole discussion I subjoin an extract from Mosheim's account of Manes and the Manichæan doctrine.[2] For the

[1] And so, as observed in my Note p. 314, Dr. S. R. Maitland.—Mr. C. Maitland more recently designates them as semi-Manichæans.

[2] *Manes* was a Persian educated among the Magi who worshipped the Sun. Mixing with Christians, he set forth a system corrupting Christianity, and combining Christian phrases and doctrines with the Magian. He supposed *two material principles* of things, the element of *light* pure and subtil, of *darkness* gross and evil; each with its presiding *Ruler*,—alike sentient, independent, eternal, hostile,—one good, the other evil,—God and the Dæmon (or Hyle): each one the producer of many natures, or beings, like themselves; and with a kingdom also extended on either side in space. In a conflict of the two kingdoms, portions of the element of light were carried off by the Evil One, and mixed with the material of darkness. After this the Prince of Darkness made *man;* with a *body* formed out of the evil matter, and two *souls:* the one soul animal and sensual, infused by the Evil One; the other rational and immortal, being a particle of the divine light previously carried off by him, and immersed in the grosser matter.

On this the good God (through the ministry of one of his agents) formed the earth

correctness of the account his well-known character for learning and candour will be of itself, to most readers, a sufficient guarantee: and he who has had the opportunity of consulting Augustine's Treatises on the subject will find in them abundant confirmation of it.[1]

out of the evil matter for man's habitation; his design being to rescue and extract from men's bodies the good souls, daughters of light, thus degraded and confined in them. With a view to help and promote his object, He formed from Himself two dignities:—*Christ*, the same as the Persian Mithras, of purest light, the habitant of the sun, which Manes supposed animate: and the *Holy Spirit*, infused in ethereal atmosphere, itself animate; which enwraps and cherishes the earth, warms and enlightens the minds of men, and gradually attracts upward, and extricates, the imprisoned particles of light. Further, in order to hasten the extrication of souls, and their return to their heavenly country, He sent Christ, after other teachers, down to earth for their instruction. The human shape that he wore was but form and shadow; and his crucifixion by the Jews, the agents of the Prince of Darkness, only visionary. His mission fulfilled, he returned to the sun, his habitation; declaring however that he would send the *Paraclete*, to give them fuller instructions, and dispel all errors. This Paraclete was *Manes;* and his doctrine of life as follows:—

That the *body*, being evil, was to be weakened and mortified by the deprivation of everything pleasant and comfortable; and the instincts, appetites, and lusts of the *sensual soul* to be also renounced and mortified:—that with this view a diet was to be adopted simply of herbs, fruits, bread; abstinence to be practised from flesh, eggs, fish, milk, wine, or other intoxicating liquors, as also from marriage and sexual intercourse, together with a renunciation of all property, and a life passionless and without labour. —Such was the rule for the *elect* or *perfect*, out of whom alone were to be the *ministers* of the sect; viz. the twelve *Masters*, the seventy-two *Bishops*, the *Presbyters*, and *Deacons:* there being one supreme *President* of the whole body, who represented Jesus Christ.* And by this a *purification* of the ethereal soul was to be begun from the filth of the evil matter in this life; the which after death was to be completed by a further purification, or purgatorial process, for a fortnight in the waters of the *moon*, afterwards in the fires of the *sun:* then the *souls* to return to their original land of light; the *body* having been left to moulder for ever into the evil matter, whence it was formed.—Besides these *elect*, Manes admitted *Auditors*, or *imperfect Christians*, also. For these he framed a less rigid rule of life; and made allowance of marriage, meats, and earthly possessions, in moderation. But for them, and especially for all who might neglect the purification of the soul, a *transmigration* of the souls into *animals*, &c., was to follow death; and some to be even given up to the dæmons in the air for a temporary torture:—until, at length, the larger number of ethereal souls having been extricated, the earth was to be destroyed by fire from its inward caverns, and an eternal separation made between the original worlds of light and darkness; the souls unextricated, or lost, being ranged as guards round the world of darkness, so as to prevent all possible egress from it of the evil spirits, its inhabitants, for ever after.

In order to gain credence to this his system, Manes rejected almost all the sacred Books of the Christians; affirmed the Old Testament to be the work, not of God, but of the Prince of Darkness; and said that the four Gospels were either not written by the Apostles, or had been grossly corrupted and interpolated by deceitful men, and amplified with Jewish fables. The Epistles of St. Paul he declared to have been similarly adulterated. The Acts of the Apostles he totally repudiated. And, in place of the Gospels, he substituted another of his own, called *Erteng;* dictated to him, he said, by God.—So Mosheim, iii. 2. 5. 2—10.

[1] See especially Augustine's De Hæres. § 46, the Acts of his Dispute with Felix, and his Dissertation contrâ Faustum.—I may also refer to a brief notice of Manes and

* "Toti Manichæorum cœtui unus præerat, *qui Jesum Christum ipsum repræsentabat*." I beg my readers to observe how here, as among the Gnostics, the principle

Now in every system of religion propounded to man, the points to be looked to as most important, and most characteristic, seem to me the following:—1st, its account of the *origin of man*, and causes of his present state and character of *mixed good and evil;*—2ndly, its statement of *the mode of his deliverance* from the evil;—3rdly, the *future prospects* opened in it beyond death, both for such as embrace the plan of deliverance, and such as reject or neglect it;—4thly, the *authority* on which these its doctrines are propounded, and by which sanctioned.—In these four several points then let us compare the *Manichean* system and that of the *Paulikians*.

And the *Manichean* doctrine on them appears from Mosheim to have been as follows:

1. That an *Evil Being*, co-eternal with God and independent, was the maker of *our first parents;* forming man's *body* out of his own evil matter, animating it with a *sensual* and *evil soul* also from himself, and using it as a kind of prison-house in which to confine certain particles of divine light forcibly stolen by him from above, which, being animate and sentient, constituted within men a *second* and *good soul;* [1]—further, that the *earth* was formed by *God* out of the grosser and evil matter, as an habitation for these new-created men; and an arena on which to carry on his plan for extricating the particles of Himself so imprisoned.

2. The theory above stated of man's origin and constitution doing away with all idea of *moral guilt* in men,[2] and all idea too of any consequent *judgment from God* on the guilty,—it followed that the only *deliverance* supposable was the extrication of these good souls, or animated particles of the divine substance of light, from their imprisonment. Accordingly the Manichean doctrine was that (while God had his own independent and unseen plans in action for the purpose)[3]

Manichæism in a Tract on heresies, to which I have once already referred, (see p. 298, Note [1],) by Timothy, Presbyter of Constantinople.

[1] So Augustine in his Confessions: "All this time I looked on Thee as an immense lucid body, of which I was myself the fragment." B. iv. ch. 31.

[2] So again Augustine in his Confessions: "With them (the Manichees) I considered myself perfectly sinless; laying the blame of the evils committed on another nature that sinned within me." v. 10.—See too, on this, Augustine's argument in his Treatise Contrà duas Epistolas Pelagianas, B. ii. C. 2: "Manichæi carnis concupiscentiam, non tanquam accidens vitium, sed tanquam naturam ab æternitate malam vituperant," &c.

[3] I have already referred in my Note [1] to passages in Augustine which relate this. Of the Manichæan statements there are some too blasphemous and disgusting to transcribe.

of *Antichrist*, in the word's most proper sense of *Vice-Christ*, was devised and acted out.

man was required and enabled to assist:[1] the method of his so doing being by mortification of the body and of the sensual appetites,—by continency and refraining from marriage,—by abstinence in diet from flesh, eggs, milk, fish, wine,—as also abstinence from bodily labour, and all passions of the mind, whether of love or hatred: the result being that of macerating the evil body, mortifying the evil soul, and so loosing the bonds, and partially purging away the received pollutions of the heavenly soul.

3. That, in the case of those who might thus help forward the purifying process, the good soul would pass immediately on death to the *moon*, and thence to the *sun*, for completion of its *purification* in the *purgatorial* waters of the one, and fires of the other, and after that to its original land of primæval light; the body meanwhile dissolving into its elements, never to rise again:—whereas the ethereal souls of others would pass at death, by *transmigration*, into animals, trees, &c.; and some even into the hands of dæmons, to be tormented: until, at length, the greater number of these souls having been extricated and restored, the earth would be destroyed by fire from its inward caverns, and the kingdoms of light and darkness remain for ever separate.

4. As to *authority* for these his doctrines, the assertion of Manes was that Christ, an emanation from God,—after having descended on earth to teach men the right way, clothed in shadowy human form, not real, and only in shadow and appearance been thereon crucified,—did, before re-ascending to the sun, his habitation, foretell the coming of the *Paraclete*, who should teach men all truth, and free them from all error; and that *Manes* was this *Paraclete*.—Thus, as one invested with full power from on high, Manes framed for himself sacred books; rejected, as spurious, the Old Testament, the Acts of the Apostles, and whatever interfered with his system in the Gospels and Epistles, declaring them to have been interpolated and corrupt; and to what he retained of them added his own *Gospel*, and *other* writings, as dictated to him by God Himself.

Such was the Manichean doctrine on the four cardinal points of religion. Does then that of Paulikians appear, on their enemies' own showing, even to have resembled it?[2] Let us see.

[1] Augustine justly observes that, according to the Manichean doctrine, *man* was constituted the redeemer of *God*, not *God* of *man*. "Tales sunt *electi*, (i. e. the Manichean elect,) ut non sint salvandi a Deo, sed salvatores Dei." In Psalm cxl. 12.

[2] I append to this Paper a Tabular View of the charges against the Paulikians, as

1. The first point is the doctrine of *man's origin and creator*. And

made by Photius, Petrus Siculus, and Cedrenus, also with that part of the Formula of Abjuration for Paulikian recreants, returning to the Catholic Church, which concerned them; the earlier part referring to the older and original Manichæism. It is given in Coteler's Patres Apostolici, i. 537—539. It will be useful of course for consultation, not merely here, but with reference to the more general charges of heresy urged against them; as noticed in my Part iii. Ch. vii. § 5.

PETRUS SICULUS.

I. Πρωτον εστι το κατ' αυτους γνωρισμα το δυο αρχας ὁμολογειν, πονηρον Θεον και αγαθον· και αλλον ειναι τουδε του κοσμου ποιητην τε και εξουσιαστην, ἑτερον δε του μελλοντος. . . . Ειπε μοι, φασι, τι εστι το χωριζον ἡμας εκ των Ῥωμαιων; (ἑαυτους οἱ ασπονδοι και αχρηστοι. . . . Χριστιανους αποκαλουντες, ἡμας, δε τους αληθως επωνυμους Χριστου του αληθινου Θεου ἡμων, Ῥωμαιους ονομαζοντες.) Λεγουσι δε τουτο ειναι το χωριζον αυτους, ὁτι εκεινοι μεν αλλον Θεον λεγουσιν ειναι τον του κοσμου ποιητην, και ἑτερον Θεον, ὁν και πατερα επουρανιον λεγουσι, μη εχοντα δε εξουσιαν εν τῳδε τῳ κοσμῳ, αλλ' εν τῳ μελλοντι αιωνι· ἡμεις δε τον αυτον ἑνα Θεον ὁμολογουμεν, και παντουργον, και παμβασιλεα, και παντοκρατορα. Και ὑμεις, φασι, πιστευετε εις τον κοσμοποιητην· ἡμεις δε εις εκεινον περι οὐ εν Ευαγγελιοις ὁ Κυριος λεγει, ὁτι ουτε φωνην αυτου ακηκοατε, ουτε ειδος αυτου ἑωρακατε.

II. Δευτερον, το την πανυμνητον και αει παρθενον Θεοτοκον μηδε κἀν ψιλῃ των αγαθων ανθρωπων ταττειν απεχθως απαιριθμησει· μηδε εξ αυτης γεννηθηναι τον Κυριον, αλλ' ουρανοθεν το σωμα κατενεγκειν· και ὁτι μετα τον του Κυριου τοκον και αλλους, φασιν, ὑιους εγεννησεν εκ του Ιωσηφ.

In *Cognœsius*' examination. Δια τι ου σεβῃ και προσκυνεις την ἁγιαν Θεοτοκον; Ὁ δε φησιν; Αναθεμα τον μη προσκυνουντα την παναγιαν Θεοτοκον, εν ᾗ εισηλθεν ὁ Κυριος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος, την μητερα παντων ἡμων. Ελεγε δε ταυτην ειναι την αιν Ἱερουσαλημ, εν ᾗ προδρομος ὑπερ ἡμων εισηλθε Χριστος.

III. Τριτον, το την θειαν και φρικτην των ἁγιων μυστηριων του σωματος και αἱματος του Κυριου και Θεου ἡμων μεταληψιν αποτρεψαι· ουμονον δε, αλλα και

PHOTIUS.

I. Δυο μεν αρχας ὁμολογουσιν, ὡς οἱ Μανιχαιοι. Φασι δε ἑτερον μεν ειναι Θεον, τον επουρανιον πατερα, ὁν και της τουδε του παντος εξουσιας ὑπεροριζουσι, του μελλοντος μονον το κρατος αυτῳ εγχειριζοντες· ἑτερον δε τον δημιουργον του κοσμου, ᾧ και το κυρος του παροντος αιωνος χαριζονται. (Και τους μεν αληθως οντας Χριστιανους Ῥωμαιους οἱ τρισαλιτηριοι ονομαζουσι· ἑαυτοις δε την κλησιν, ἡς αλλοτριοι παντελως καθεστηκασι, των Χριστιανων περιαπτουσιν.) Λεγουσι δε Πατερα και Υιον και Ἁγιον Πνευμα, λεξεις μεν ευσεβεις. . . Αλλα τας λεξεις εκειθεν αποσπαραξαντες δυσσεβεσταταις εννοιαις ταυτας επιφημιζουσι. Και φασι προθυμως ὡς αναθεμα ειησαν, ὁσοι μη πιστευουσιν εις πατερα και νἱον και ἁγιον πνευμα· πατερα ευθεως, ου τον παντοκρατορα και ποιητην ουρανου και γης, ὁρατων τε παντων και ἀορατων ανακηρυττοντες, αλλα πατερα φαμενοι τον επουρανιον επισυναπτουσιν, ᾧ και την εξουσιαν του ουρανου τε, και των εν αυτῳ ουδαμῃ ουδαμως επιτρεπουσι. Τινες δε του μεν ουρανου την επιστασιαν αυτῳ εγχειριζουσι, των δε εμπεριεχομενων ουκ ετι.

II. Βλασφημουντες δε την ὑπεραγιαν δεσποιναν ἡμων θεοτοκον, ἁ μητε γραφῃ μητε ακοῃ θεμιτον παραδουναι, ου πεφρικασιν οἱ τρις ουχ ἁπαξ απολωλεναι δικαιοι, λεγοντες, Πιστευομεν εις την παναγιαν θεοτοκον εν ᾗ εισηλθεν και εξηλθεν ὁ Κυριος. Και τοις ῥημασι τουτοις την ανω ὑποβαλλουσιν Ἱερουσαλημ, και φασιν εν αυτῃ προδρομον ὑπερ ἡμων εισελθειν τον Χριστον, ὡς και ὁ θειος Αποστολος εφη· εσθ' ὁτε δε συνελαυνομενοι διομολογειν εκ της παρθενου προελθειν τον Χριστον, επειδαν ὁλως συναναγκασθωσιν, αιωθεν μεν το σωμα συγκατενεγκειν αυτο τερατολογουσιν, δι' αυτης δε ὡς δια σωληνος διεληλυθεναι, και ταυτην την ασπιλον και καθαριν παρθενον μετα τον σωτηριον τοκον ἑτερους ὑιους εκ του Ιωσηφ παιδοποιησαι.

III. Ὡσαυτως δε την κοινωνιαν του τιμιου σωματος και αἱματος Χριστου του Θεου ἡμων μυριαις ὑβρεσι πλυνοντες, αποδεχεσθαι φασι σωμα και αἱμα, τερα-

here by one and all their Manicheism is asserted. "They held with Manes the *two Principles*."—But does it consist with the truth of this charge (I am obliged to repeat here somewhat of what has been stated in my general Paulikian argument) that in the earliest record of a Paulikian's examination on charge of heresy,—I allude to that of

FORMULA OF ABJURATION.	CEDRENUS.
I. Anathema to those who say that the Father is not the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things in them, visible and invisible,—but only the Father of heaven, having merely authority over the world to come; inasmuch as that the present state, (αιων,) and the world, were not made by Him, but by his Adversary the Evil One, the ruler of the world.	I. They hold the prime heresy of the Manichæans, acknowledging, as they do, the two Principles. They say, There is only one thing which separates us from the Romans: (for they call themselves *Christians*, us *Romans*:) viz. We say that the Heavenly Father is one God, and has no authority in this world, but in that which is to come; and that the Maker of the world is another, and has authority over this present. To those who know them not they readily say, We believe on Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the Heavenly Father; and utter an anathema against him who does not so believe. But, when they say Father of heaven, they do not add, The only true God, who made heaven and earth and all things therein.
II. Anathema to those who insult the holy Mary, mother of God, pretending to honour her:—whereas they mean instead of her the Jerusalem above, into which, they say, the Lord entered, and from which He went out.	II. They immoderately blaspheme the very holy Mother of God. Whenever they are forced by us to confess her, they say allegorically, 'I believe on the holy Mother of God, into which the Lord entered, and from which He went out.' But they mean the Jerusalem above, into which Christ the forerunner is for us entered; and mean not in truth the holy Mary, Mother of God, nor that the Lord was incarnate of her.
III. Anathema to those who reject the communion of the precious body and blood of Christ, feigning to receive it: whereas they mean, instead of it,	III. They blaspheme against the divine mysteries of the holy communion of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, saying, 'The Lord said,

Gegnæsius, called Timothy, before the Constantinopolitan Patriarch,—there should not be even a mention of it?[1] Does it consist with the

PETRUS SICULUS.	PHOTIUS.
. . ὁτι ουκ ην αρτος και οινος ὸν ὁ Κυριος εδιδου τοις μαθηταις αυτου επι του δειπνου, αλλα συμβολικως τα ῥηματα αυτου αυτοις εδιδου ὡς αρτον και οινον. In *Gegnæsius'* examination. Δια τι ου μεταλαμβανεις του αχραντου σωματος και του τιμιου αἱματος του Κυριου ἡμων Ι. Χριστου, αλλα ατιμαζεις αυτο. Ὁ δε λεγει, Αναθεμα τον μη μεταλαμβανοντα η ατιμαζοντα το σωμα και αἱμα του Κυριου ἡμων Ι. Χριστου· ελεγε δε τα ῥηματα αυτου.	τολογουντες τα δεσποτικα ῥηματα, ἁ και φασι μεταδιδοντα τοις Αποστολοις ειπειν, Λαβετε, φαγετε, και πιετε· αλλα ουκ αρτον ποθεν η οινον προσφεροντα.
IV. Τεταρτον, το τον τυπον και την ενεργειαν και δυναμιν του τιμιου και ζωοποιου σταυρου μη αποδεχεσθαι, αλλα μυριαις ὑβρεσι περιβαλλειν· ἡν και οἱ δαιμονες, και εν αερι μονον χαραττομενην, βλεποντες τρομῳ δραπετευουσι. Of *Gegnæsius.* Λεγει, Αναθεμα τον μη προσκυνουντα και μη σεβομενον τον τιμιον και ζωοποιον σταυρον· ελεγε δε σταυρον τον Χριστον, τῃ εκτασει των χειρων σταυρον αποτελουντα.	IV. Και τον ζωοποιον δε σταυρον δυσφημουντες, φασιν αυτον προσκυνειν και αποδεχεσθαι, σταυρον οἱ πλανοι και γοητες αυτον αναπλαττοντες τον Χριστον. Και γαρ αυτος, φασιν, εις σταυρου σχημα τας χειρας εξηπλωσε. Τον αληθως δε σταυρον, ἁτε δη ξυλον, φασι, και κακουργων οργανον, και ὑπο αραν κειμενον, ου δει προσκυνειν και ασπαζεσθαι.
V. Πεμπτον, το μη αποδεχεσθαι αυτους την οιανουν Βιβλον παλαιαν, πλανους και ληστας τους προφητας αποκαλουντας. . . Τας τε δυο καθολικας του μεγαλου θεμελιου της εκκλησιας, του κλειδουχου της των ουρανων βασιλειας, Πετρου του πρωταποστολου ου δεχονται, απεχθως προς αυτον διακειμενοι, και ὑβρεσι και ονειδισμοις μυριοις περιβαλλοντες.	V. Αλλα γαρ και τους ἱερους προφητας, και πασαν την παλαιαν γραφην, και τους αλλους αποστρεφονται ἁγιους, ληστας αυτους και κλεπτας αποκαλουντες. Μαλιστα δε τον κορυφαιον των αποστολων Πετρον δυσφημουσιν, ὁτι γεγονεν εξαρνος, φασι, της εις τον διδασκαλον και Χριστον πιστεως . . . . .
VI. Ἑκτον, το τους πρεσβυτερους της εκκλησιας αποτρεπεσθαι. Φασι δε ὁτι τηνικαυτα οἱ πρεσβυτεροι κατα του Κυριου συνηχθησαν. Of *Gegnæsius:* Εκκλησιαν καθολικην τα συνεδρια των Μανιχαιων αποκαλων.	VI. Καθολικην δε εκκλησιαν τα ἑαυτων καλουσι συνεδρια, ἡνικα μαλιστα προς τους ευσεβεις λογους και συζητησεις κινουσι. Καθ' ἑαυτους γαρ προσευχας καλουσιν αυτων τα συνεδρια.
VII. Of *Gegnæsius.* Περι του βαπτισματος ελεγε, τον Κυριον Ι. Χριστον ὑπαρχειν το βαπτισμα, και ουκ αλλο· ὁτι γεγραπται, Εγω ειμι το ὑδωρ το ζων.	VII. Ου μην αλλα και το σωτηριον διαπτυοντες βαπτισμα, ὑποπλαττονται παραδεχεσθαι αυτο· τα του Ευαγγελιου ῥηματα τῃ του βαπτισματος φωνῃ ὑποβαλλοντες. Και γαρ, φασιν, ὁ Κυριος εφη, Εγω ειμι το ὑδωρ το ζων.

[1] Besides the less definite charges of denying the orthodox faith, and not acknowledging the Catholic Church, the specific charges made against *him* will be seen from the Tabular View to have been those only of not adoring the cross,—not worshipping the Virgin Mother of God,—not partaking in, but discsteeming, the body and blood of Christ,—and also similarly derogating from baptism. This, let us remember, was near a century after the formation of the sect; and when consequently there had been ample time to have discovered the tenet spoken of, had it existed.—Gegnæsius' explanations on the above points were so far deemed satisfactory that he was discharged.

truth of the charge what Photius himself states respecting the Paulikians' tenets, that instead of professing, like the Manichees, two similarly eternal self-existent and independent Principles,[1] they represented the

FORMULA OF ABJURATION.	CEDRENUS.
the words of the doctrine of Christ, which he spoke when communicating to the apostles; Take, eat, and drink.	Take, eat, and drink! offering his words to the apostles, and not bread and wine.' And they say that bread and wine ought not to be employed. Elsewhere he says;—Yet some coming into our orthodox church, communicate, without being detected, that they may the better deceive.
IV. Anathema to those who revile the venerable cross, pretending to reverence it; whereas they mean, instead of it, Christ; who, they say, with his hands extended, formed the figure of a cross.	IV. They also blaspheme against the precious cross, saying that Christ is the cross; and that we ought not to worship the cross of wood, inasmuch as it is an accursed instrument. Elsewhere he says; The sick sometimes lay it on themselves; and on recovery break or burn it.
	V. They reject the Prophets and other holy men, and especially revile and express aversion from St. Peter, the great Prot-Apostle;—saying, that no one of *them* is included among them that are saved.
VI. Anathema to those who reject the Catholic Church, saying that they honour it; whereas they mean, instead of it, their own conventicles and assemblies.	VI. They designate their assemblies the Catholic Church, in their allegorizing to us; calling them *Prayer-houses* (προσευχας) to one another.
VII. Anathema to those who express a detestation of baptism, pretending to value it greatly: whereas they mean, instead of it, Christ; who, they say, said, I am the living water.	VII. Baptism they consider to be the words of the Gospel; according to the saying of the Lord, I am the living water. Elsewhere he says; Some of them have their children baptized by our Presbyters.

The statements in the 3rd and 4th columns are copied from Mr. Dowling's Pamphlet, pp. 36, 16; not however without looking at the original in Coteler.

This was under the reign of *Leo the Isaurian.* Under a Prince of *anti-iconoclastic* principles the result might have been quite different. See Petr. Sic. pp. 36, 37.—I have alluded to this examination of Gegnæsius more than once before; pp. 317, 328, &c. suprà. See also the Tabular View.

[1] ισοσθενη και αντιθετον δυαδα Θεοτητος. Tim. Presb. Bib. Pat. (Paris) iv. 452.

Evil Principle to have originated from darkness and fire;[1] admitted this originating fire to have been itself not without beginning, nor eternal;[2] nay, and spoke of the Heavenly Father as *the only living* and *true God?*[3]—As to the assertion ascribed to them that the *evil Spirit* was the *framer of this world*, supposing it correct, it was a dogma quite different from that of Manes, who represented the *good God* as the former of the *earth*, though not of *man:* a point of difference deemed so important by Gieseler, as to have mainly induced his substituting a Marcionitic for the Manichæan anti-Paulikian hypothesis. But I care not to dwell on it; being persuaded that the real gist of the charge (and my reader needs but inspect the Tabular View to see reasons for it) turned not on the original *creation* of the world, but on its *subsequent evil constitution*, and the *present spiritual ruling power* in it. And in regard to this I have elsewhere, I trust, clearly shown that they held *two principles* only as the *Bible* holds them:—*God* as the author of all *good;* the *Devil, now dominant in the world*, of all *evil*.[4]

Of the Paulikian sectaries in *Western Europe*, whither, as the name, so the odium and the charge of Manicheism followed them,[5]

[1] "They say that the Evil Principle has sprung from darkness and fire." εκ του σκοτους τε και του πυρος. So Photius, ii. 148.—Mosheim (ix. 2. 5. 6) refers to this as his authority for the same statement: "Ex Photio hoc constat, docuisse eos auctorem malorum ex tenebris et igne procreatum esse: non igitur æternus erat, et originis expers." [2] Phot. ibid.

Mosheim (ix. 2. 5. 6, Note *a*) speaks of it as a thing evident that the Paulikians, like the Gnostics and Manichees, considered *eternal matter* to be the source of all evil; "Radicem omnis mali gens Paulicianorum, cùm philosophis Orientalibus Gnosticorum et Manichæorum parentibus, in æternâ ponebat materiâ. Quod evidens est." The proof he has not given: and I am persuaded, after carefully considering both Petrus Siculus's book and Photius', that it is a *total mistake*. Not only particular statements and facts, like the above from Photius, but the whole genius of the Paulikian religion is opposed to Mosheim's asserted fact.

Dr. Maitland, though with the original Latin before him, (for he quotes from it,) yet copies Maclaine's exaggerated translation of Mosheim's simple "evidens est," ("*it is evident beyond all contradiction,*") without observation, and in italics. Facts and Doc. 69. Of course this was a mere act of inadverteney. But Dr. Maitland has not always shown himself inclined to make allowance for similar inadvertencies on the part of others.

[3] So the Paulikian woman, charging the Greek Catholics with having forsaken τον μονον ζωντα και αθανατον Θεον' (Phot. i. 105:) a passage already elsewhere cited and commented on by me. They designated him also as the God "who always was, and is, and shall be; and who is both invisible and incomprehensible." Φασιν ὁτι ὁ αγαθος Θεος ην αει, και εστι, και εσται, και ὁτι αορατος και ακαταληπτος. Ib. B. ii. p. 147. [4] See p. 322, &c. suprà.

[5] The following allusions to Manichæism occur in a curious profession of faith made by Gerbert, on election to the Archbishopric of Rheims, A.D. 991. "Christum passum esse verâ carnis passione, mortuum verâ corporis sui morte, resurrexisse verâ carnis suæ resurrectione, et verâ animæ resurrectione. . . Novi et Veteris Testamenti

exculpation on this head seems the less needful, as the solution for the *East* may be applied to the *West:* besides which the self-contradiction and inconsistency of the accusers nullify for the most part their own accusations. Thus, if the *Orleanist* Paulikians were charged with the old accusation of holding the *dualistic principle*, yet the same narrative, in its most authentic part, records them to have solemnly spoken of God so as true Manichees could not; viz. as the "*conditor omnium*," the framer of all things.[1] Again, we find the Paulikians at *Cologne* arguing on the fact of God (not the Evil Dæmon) having joined together our first parents in marriage;[2] a statement as aliene as the former from the Manichæan dualistic doctrine.

But what I would here wish specially to impress on the inquirer's mind is this;—that to that fundamental dogma of Manes on the creation, which asserted the imprisonment of divine particles of light, or ethereal souls, by the Dæmon in human bodies, there is not so much as an allusion, from the very commencement of the sect to the epoch which bounds our present inquiry, full five centuries after, of Petrus Valdensis: nor the shadow of any other such doctrines in as-

unum eundemque credo auctorem, et Dominum et Deum. . . Credo hujus quam gestamus, et non alterius, carnis resurrectionem. . . Nuptias non prohibeo. . . Carnium præceptionem non culpo. . . In baptismo omnia peccata, id est tàm illud originale contractum quàm ea quæ voluntariè admissa sunt, dimitti credo. Et extrà ecclesiam catholicam nullum salvari posse confiteor." Harduin Concil. vi. 726.—I the rather note this, as Dr. Maitland says that he has been unable to find any notice of the existence of the (supposed) Manichæan heresy in Europe, before the case of the Canons at Orleans, A.D. 1022, for more than 400 years. Facts and Doc. p. 89.

[1] See p. 274, Note [4]. Mr. Faber reasons on this as I do. To which Dr. Maitland replies thus: "If Mr. Faber had read a little about the matter, he would have known that a Manichæan might talk with perfect sectarian orthodoxy of God as the *conditor* omnium; and he would have known how to translate that phrase better than by the "*Creator* of all things." Letter to Mill, p. 39.—Dr. Maitland's objurgation would have had more weight, had he *proved* that such an expression was accordant with Manichæism. In looking into Augustine, I find the very phrase *omnipotens conditor* used by *him*, in opposition to the Manichees, of God as *Creator;* ("ad nutum omnipotentis conditoris:" and again; "Nos universam naturam corporis ab omnipotente conditore Deo esse profitemur:" Sermo xii. 10, 12. Bened. Ed.)* On the other hand, the *Manichean* is stated to deny God's creation of man's body: (ibid: also De Genes, contrà Manich. ii. 38, Contra Faust. xx. 5, &c.:) and consequently could not consistently have used the Orleanist expression, "conditor *omnium*," of God.

[2] . . . "quoting for this [the propriety of the marriage between two virgins] the words of our Saviour, wherewith he answers the Pharisees, 'What God hath joined together let no man separate;' as if God did only join such together, as He did our first parents: as likewise those words of our Saviour, 'From the beginning it was not so.'" Evervinus apud Maitland, Facts and Doc. p. 348.

* Similarly in the account of the heretics at Arras, given in Dacher i. 610, *conditor* is repeatedly used of the good God, the Creator of all things.

sociation as must, I conceive, have grown out of it, had this essential Manichæan doctrine been admitted. On the contrary there appears continually and prominently in the doctrine alike of the Eastern and Western Paulikians the idea of *sin* and *guilt* attaching to man,—of his standing in the relation of a moral and responsible agent to God as a moral Governor,—and having in that relation fallen, so as to need God's gracious forgiveness and pardon;—which were ideas quite opposite to the former. For example, in one of the few brief fragments of *Sergius*' letters that have been selected by Petrus Siculus with a view to his inculpation, and which have been given in full elsewhere, there is an allusion, under the Scripture figure of fornication or adultery, to our first father's *originally self-willed apostasy* from God, and its *transmission* from Adam to his posterity.[1] Again at *Orleans*, *Arras*, *Cologne*, *Oxford*, the *method of forgiveness* is a topic prominent on the face of the Paulikian doctrine.[2] And these are ideas and views not only different from, but, as I said, altogether repugnant to, the whole Manichæan doctrine of man's original creation and constitution.[3]

2. As to the *mode of deliverance* of man's soul from existing evil,—not one word do we read in any of the extant records of the Eastern Paulikians, of that rule of bodily mortification and abstinence from certain foods and marriage, which was laid down by Manes as essential to that great object, and so the badge of his *elect*, including all Manichæan *ministers*.[4] On the contrary we are told both by Photius in the ninth century, and by Cedrenus in the eleventh, that the Paulikian *ministers* differed from the rest of their community neither in respect of dress, *food*, nor *any other particular of common life*;[5] and

[1] ἡ πρωτη πορνεια ἡν εκ του Ἀδαμ περικειμεθα. Pet. Sic. p. 50. Cited already p. 263. How could he write this, had he believed that evil originated in eternal matter?

Contrast Augustine's statements about the Manicheans, as distinctly denying any such transmission of sin and moral apostasy, from our first father Adam to his descendants. "Manichæi consentiunt Pelagianis non crimen primi hominis transisse in genus humanum; neque per carnem, quam nunquam fuisse dicunt bonam, neque per animam." Contra Duas Epist. Pelag. iv. 6.

[2] See the historical sketches which precede in my chapter vii. § 4.

[3] Compare Augustine contrà Julian. Lib. vi. 14. (Op. Imperf.) "Ea," i. e. the evils of life, "Manichæi tribuunt alienæ naturæ malæ; Catholici vero et bonæ et nostræ, sed peccato vitiatæ meritoque punitæ."

[4] See the sketch of Manicheism abstracted from Mosheim, p. 509 suprà.

[5] Photius i. 31.—Photius' accusation of the sectaries generally, as living a life full of intemperance, shows that with them there was no rule of abstinence in *food*.—Mr. Dowling quotes Cedrenus, speaking of the Paulikian priesthood to the same effect as Photius, p. 19.

this without any intimation of the *general* and *lay* members of the sect being in these respects marked by any peculiarity. Indeed there occur incidental notices in the narratives that furnish a direct negative to the supposition of their practising any one of the Manichean rules of abstinence. Thus it is mentioned somewhere that one of their eminent ministers, I mean Joseph, surnamed Epaphroditus, was (like the prophet Amos)[1] a *goatherd*;[2] and the *milking* of the goats a part of the routine of managing them, with him as with others:[3] whereas *milk* was an article of *food* utterly proscribed by the Manichees, as polluted. Again, the *children* of the sectaries (as in the case of Paul, the most eminent then living member, indeed *minister* of the sect) are noticed in connexion with their parents, as a circumstance quite of course, and not calling for particular remark:[4] also, in contrast with the rest, some that were born out of wedlock; the latter, as well as the *adulteress* mothers, with a certain opprobrium attaching to them in consequence:[5]—all alike indicating *marriage* to have been recognised among them, and common.—Further we read of their *abounding in labours*, instead of cultivating that *inertness* which Petrus himself, in his introductory sketch, notices like others as a characteristic of the real Manichees;[6] and of their exhibiting an energy of mind and feeling the very contrary to that *listlessness* and *impassiveness of*

[1] "I was no prophet, but a herdsman." Amos vii. 14.

[2] ὁυτος (viz. the Paulikian minister Gegnæsius) εσχεν . . μισθιον αιγας νεμοντα· a goatherd afterwards called Joseph and Epaphroditus; and who succeeded Gegnæsius, or Timothy, in the ministry. Petr. Sic. p. 38.

[3] Ιωσηφ τας αμαξας ενστρεφει . . και φησι . . ὡς επι γαλουργια και βουκολια εξεληλυθεναι. P. S. pp. 38, 39.

[4] So of the parents sometimes bringing their children to the Greek priests for baptism, &c. Photius i. 30. Again, *Paul*, "the reviver of the sect," (as Mr. Dowling calls him, p. 13,) after the martyrdom of Simeon, and its chief minister, was the *father* of Gegnæsius; whom, under the name of *Timothy*, he dedicated to the ministry. P. S. 36.

[5] Thus of *Joseph*: μισθιον αιγας νεμοντα, ὁν ποτε επι της ὁδου εὑρε (sc. Gegnæsius) κειμενον εσπαργανωμενον, δια το εκ παρανομου και μεμιαμμενης προελθειν κοιτης. P. S. 38.—Gegnæsius' seclusion with his followers in Mananalis, from the rest of his countrymen, renders it probable that this was an adulteress of their own body, who thus strove to hide her shame. At any rate Petrus does not say whether she belonged to the one body or the other; thus showing that the fact might have been true of the Paulikians, as well as of the Greeks of the Church Catholic.—So too *Baanes*' mother is spoken of as μοιχευθεισα with some of the Paulikian body: and to him, as illegitimate, names of stigma seem also to have attached.

[6] αργιας εγγονα Μανιχαιοι, οἱ μη εργαζομενοι, και τα των εργαζομενων κατεσθιοντες. P. S. 23. It is really curious to contrast this account of the *real* Manicheans with that of the Paulikians which follows. So little does the one agree with the other.—Compare Ebrard's similarly absurd charge against the Waldenses, p. 398, Note [1] suprà.

spirit which on the elect of the Manicheans, just as on the monkish devotees of the Egyptian and Syrian churches of the fourth and fifth centuries, was enjoined as another act of discipline;—it being in fact supposed a further help to the emancipation of the imprisoned soul. Indeed among their labours and occupations we read in Sergius' case, the most eminent of all the Paulikian ministers, of that of *wood-cutting:* whereas, according to Augustine's report, the Manichees, as a consequence of their doctrine of transmigration, and supposing that the souls of the departed might transmigrate into any of the plants nourished by the earth, looked on trees as animate and sentient; and on the destroying them as an act of homicide.[1]—Thus let it be well noted by the Reader, that against the Paulikians of the *East* there exists not even the *charge* of following *in a single point* the Manichean ascetic discipline.

And what then of the branches of the sect in *Western* Europe? Is it credible that they should all suddenly have adopted it on their migration? No doubt the charges were now at length made frequently enough against them: but still, as on the *dualistic* point, almost always self-contradictorily. Thus, if it be related by John of Fleury, in his epistolary fragment, against those at *Orleans*, that they disparaged marriage, and abstained from meats and fat which God had created, as from impurities,[2] we find that in this charge he stands alone: and, in particular, that Arefaste's own account (as we may call that in the Chartulary, when separated from the monkish legends interwoven) says nothing of it. Besides which, the very circumstance of the persons accused being *Canons* of the Church is of itself almost a guarantee against the truth of that part of it respecting *meats*. For it was a rule of the order of Canons to eat at a common table;[3] and, if any new rule of diet had been adopted by them, it must needs, ere the lapse of at least three years,[4] have excited observation and inquiry in the fraternity.—Again, at *Arras*, if the charge was made against the dissentients there examined, not indeed of abstaining from *meats*, but of *execrating legitimate marriage*, yet, on

[1] "Herbas atque arbores sic putant vivere, ut vitam quæ illis inest et sentire credant, et dolere cum lædentur." De Hæres. 46. "Arborem necare, ut vos dicitis, homicidium est." De Mor. Manich. ii. 54. Also Confess. iii. 10. [2] See p. 269 suprà.

[3] See Mosheim viii. 2. 2. 14; who there notes the origin in the 8th century of the order of *canons*, "sacerdotum genus inter *monachos* (sive *regulares*) . . et *sæculares sacerdotes* medium:" adding; "qui quidem monachorum disciplinam et vitæ formam ex parte æmulabantur; id est *communi domo et mensâ* utebantur."

[4] So Ademar's report, p. 269 suprà.

comparing this on the one hand with the recorded statement respecting their brethren at *Cologne*, that some had their *wives* with them,[1] and on the other with the form of the charge when made against the sectaries shortly after at *Oxford*, as disparaging marriage in its character of one of the *sacramental* remedies for the moral disease of human nature,[2] we may reasonably infer two things as to the accusation made at *Arras*:—viz. 1st, that there was no actual disallowance of marriage among them; 2nd, that the objection made to marriage was made to it only in its asserted character of a *sacrament*,[3] and as solemnized in the *Romish Churches*, by *Romish Priests*, and with *Romish superstitious ceremonies*:[4] (for such only were then deemed *legitimate*:)[5] objections savouring of Protestantism rather than of Manicheism.—It is not in fact till the case at *Cologne*, A.D. 1147, that there appears any at all credible report of Paulikian sectaries practising rules of abstinence. And then (I allude to the charge respecting *meats*) it is distinctively related of but *one* out of *two* branches of them, in contrast with the other:[6] it being perhaps all the while (such I strongly suspect to have been the fact) the asceticism

[1] See p. 288. [2] See p. 293.

[3] The Council of Trent declares that the Fathers, Councils, and tradition of the Universal Church ever made marriage a *sacrament*; to constitute which the priest's action was of course always necessary.

[4] Thus, a little after the time of which I am speaking, viz. A.D. 1208, in the Constitutions of the Archbishop of Paris, it was decreed that before the solemnization of marriage the parties must *confess* to the Priest. Harduin Concil. vi. ii. 1979.

[5] In the Decretal Epistle to Calixtus I, Pope from 218 A.D. to 223,—a Decretal Epistle now admitted to be spurious, but which had force through the middle ages,—the person that married without the *Priest's benediction* ("quisquis absque benedictione sacerdotis constat copulatus") is classed with the infamous and the incestuous. Hard. i. 112.

Similarly in later times the Council of Trent thus decreed: "Qui aliter quàm præsente parocho, vel alio sacerdote, matrimonium contrahere attentabunt, . . . hujusmodi contractus irritos et nullos esse decernit." Hard. x. 150. So too the Catechism of the Council of Trent ii. 8. 29.

Let me add that in a Council of Cambray, held A.D. 1586, it is ordered, with a view to the following up of the Decrees of the Council of Trent, that in countries occupied by heretics, and in which the Decrees of that Council had been published, the *marriages contracted* should be ipso facto *null and void*: and that, whichever of the parties so married might return to the Catholic Church, they should be at liberty, even during the life of the other, to contract a new and legitimate marriage. Hard. ix. 2163.

And so even to our own times. In the Turin "Opinione" newspaper of July 23, 1852, it is announced that the Archbishop of Chambery and Bishops of Aosta, Tarentaise, Maurienne, and Annecy, after the example of their Piedmontese colleagues, published a declaration proclaiming the Piedmontese Marriage Act (one allowing of Civil marriages) to be unconstitutional, immoral, anti-social, and anti-Catholic: and declare that if any Catholic in their dioceses should presume to marry in a form different from that prescribed by the Church, he shall ipso facto incur excommunication; and (besides other penalties) the woman, unless the marriage be canonically repeated, shall be deemed his concubine, and his children illegitimate.

[6] See pp. 287, 288.

of *other separatists*, intermixed among the former, of *quite a different character and origin*.

3. With regard to the *prospects held out beyond death*, the difference is marked still as strongly as before. Not one word do we find in any of the existing records of the Paulikians, throughout the long period of 500 years now past in review, either of *purgatory*, or *transmigration of souls*, or a final *consummation*, such as that set forth by Manes and the Manichees. On the contrary we find the profest Paulikian Justus represented as speaking with Symeon, in familiar conversation, of the coming judgment; and of the manner in which they would have to give account of the doctrine they had taught to the souls committed to their charge.[1] Further, we read in the Paulikian woman's characteristic conversation with Sergius, a faithful Scriptural statement of the judgment at the last day:—speaking as she does of Christ as then presiding in it, in his character of King and Judge; separating at that time between the false professing Christians and the true; and excluding the one, and admitting the other, *into the kingdom of heaven*.[2]—Which heavenly *kingdom to come* is marked to us, in what is elsewhere recorded of them, as the great object of their future anticipations: that of which it was their consolation to believe themselves chosen members in this its *initiatory* state on earth, out of the mass of professing but apostate Christians; ("We are *Christians*, ye *Romans;*"[3]) and for Christ's establishment of which, according to the Paulikian woman's quotation from Scripture, they looked at the last day. It is in the *world to come*, they said, that the good God (Christ) is to have authority.[4]

[1] Του Ιουστου λεγοντος αρα, μηπως . . ψυχας ανθρωπων ασυνετως απολωμεν, ἑτερα διδασκοντες παρα τα αποστολικα ῥηματα, ὠν ψυχων το κριμα επι της φοβερας δικης ἡμεις αποτισομεν. P. S. 35.

[2] See pp. 257—259 suprà; or P. S. 41—43, Photius i. 100—105. In this conversation the Greek Catholics are spoken of as "children of the kingdom," evidently as having been outwardly admitted into the professing Christian Church by baptism; and of their being at the last day rejected by Christ, as persons never known to him, into outer darkness; while others were admitted into the kingdom of heaven.

[3] So both P. S. and Photius; as cited p. 527 suprà.

[4] Sometimes they say the αιων ὁ μελλων, sometimes the κοσμος ὁ μελλων. So P. S. p. 12; Θεον . . πατερα επουρανιον λεγουσι, μη εχοντα εξουσιαν εν τωδε τω κοσμω, αλλ' εν τω μελλοντι αιωνι. Also Photius i. 17, 18.—Compare Christ's appellation in Isa. ix. 6, עַד־אֲבִי, rendered in some copies of the Septuagint πατηρ μελλοντος αιωνος:*

* Dr. Lowth says of this version; (the Septuagint version, as he calls it, without notice of the different reading in the Vatican Septuagint codex;) "As the Hebrew words admit of it, I cannot but have a particular regard for it; because I am persuaded it is from the authority of this text that the . . kingdom of the Messiah is called in the New Testament by the title of μελλων αιων, *the age*, or *world, to come*. See Matt. xii. 32, Heb. ii. 5, vi. 5."

And then too, with a reverence and affection which excited the jealousy of the Greek Mariolatrists, they spoke of the *Jerusalem above*, the Mother of us all, as that from whence Christ the forerunner, having for us entered it, would surely come again.[1]

In Western Europe, as before observed, among the very superstitions protested against by the sectaries, we find that, which was alike *Manichean* and *Romish*, of *purgatory*. So at Arras, and at Cologne; so by the Petrobrussians, and by those of Oxford.[2] The then prevalence of *that* error called out their sentiments on the state of the soul *immediately after death;* which was this, that it entered *forthwith* into a state of rest or punishment. Thus Evervinus quotes their argument to this effect from the Old Testament Scripture; "Where the tree falleth there it lieth."[3] A similar report is made by Eckbert.[4] And the reader will not have forgotten the Orleanists' expectation of *speedy* joy on their condemnation to the stake: "Even now we see our King reigning in the heavenly places; who with his right hand is conducting us to immortal triumphs and heavenly joys."[5]—Of course this doctrine did not interfere, any more than it now does among ourselves, with that just before ascribed to their Eastern brethren respecting the great consummation, and Christ's establishment of his heavenly kingdom in *the age to come*. "Blessed," said the condemned ones at Oxford, "are those that are persecuted

a version followed in Jerome's Vulgate, and familiar to the Greek ecclesiastics of the times of Paulikianism. So Hesychius, in his Homily on the Virgin Mary; Πως ὁ του μελλοντος αιωνος πατηρ νηπιον; Bib. Patr. ii. 418.—Which being so, and no expression in the *New* Testament so closely similar to that which the Paulikians used to designate Christ, does it not seem reasonable to believe that they borrowed it from the Septuagint? If so, it is a fresh proof of their receiving the *Old* Testament.

[1] "From which He *went out*," is the version of the anti-Paulikian writers: in which case the Paulikians must be supposed to have referred to the heavenly City, as one begun to be formed and prepared by Christ for his people *before his incarnation;* a view not unaccordant with Scripture. (So the *Civitas Dei* in St. Augustine.) But I presume the more exact version to be that which I have here given.

It may be interesting to compare the petition, "Thy kingdom come," in the Lord's Prayer,—what is said of the *world to come* in the Epistle to the Hebrews,—and what in that to the Galatians and in the Apocalypse of the *Holy Jerusalem*,—with these Paulikian anticipations.

[2] In *Ralph of Coggeshal's* notice of the Oxford heretics, he speaks of them, in common with others, as of a sect which protested against *purgatory*. See my p. 294.

[3] See above, p. 289.

[4] "Concerning the souls of the dead, they hold that at the time of their death, they pass either to everlasting blessedness or eternal damnation. For they do not receive what the Universal Church believes; viz. that there are certain purgatorial punishments, in which some of the souls of the elect are for a time tried for their sins, from which they are not wholly purified in this life by due satisfaction." Facts and Doc. 354.

[5] See p. 274.

for righteousness' sake; for theirs is *the kingdom of heaven.*" In either view they were alike un-Manichean.

4. We have to compare the Paulikian sect with the Manichees, in respect of the *sacred books*, or *writings*, by it received as of divine authority. But what indeed the need of further statement on this head? We have already seen that, instead of receiving Manes' writings, the Eastern Paulikians in the strongest terms disowned belief in, and anathematized them; in this ever acting according to the injunction and example of their first founder Constantine:[1]—further, that the only authority they admitted on religious doctrine was the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament: their copies of the New Testament being indeed at first incomplete, just as put into Constantine's hand by the Syrian deacon; but, as all allow,[2] with the text pure and unadulterated.—Again, in the sectaries of Western Europe we find marked the same implicit and exclusive deference to the inspired Scriptures. The contrast on this point between the Paulikians and the Manichees is direct and total.

On the whole, I think the reader will by this time agree with me, (without going further, as we might, into evidence in disproof,)[3] not only in most fully exculpating the Paulikians from the charge of *Manicheism*, but in wondering how such a charge could have been ever made against them; and, yet more, how, after having been made, it could have been maintained and generally believed in, as it has, even to the present time.—The facts seem to be as follows. True religion has ever had its names of opprobrium. At the rise of Paulikianism, and afterwards, *Manichee* was the opprobrious term most in vogue. The *Origenist*, *Eutychian*, *Monophysite* were reviled as Manichees;[4] the *Iconoclast* as a Manichee.[5] What else then the *Paulikian* dissident?—The charge once originated, the bigotry of the apostate churches in Greek and Roman Christendom pretty much insured its continuance. So at least through the middle ages. As to its general

[1] See p. 252.—Petrus Siculus, in stating the Paulikians' rejection of Manes and Manes' disciples, uses the strong terms, Σκυθιανον Βουδδαν τε και Μανητην προθυμως αναθεματιζουσι. P. S. 32. Also, τας αθεους Μανιχαικας βιβλους απορριπτουται. Ib. 26. [2] So alike Photius, Petrus Siculus, and Cedrenus. See p. 253 suprà.

[3] Especially we must remember that remarkable fact of Photius' own admission as to the Paulikians generally admitting Christ's true incarnation in human flesh; noted by me p. 329 suprà. [4] Gibbon, vii. 57; Hard. ii. 1333.

[5] See Dowling, p. 50, &c.—In latter times, I think, Pope Boniface the 8th even condemned as *Manichees* all that asserted the prerogative of Kings, as independent of and not subject to the *Pope*.

credence since the revival of literature, not only by writers of the Romish Church, but by Protestants of learning and candour, we may account in a measure, in so far as the *Eastern* Paulikians are concerned, from that slow and partial development on which Mr. Dowling has well observed,[1] of the literary records concerning them. —Further, of the Paulikians of the *West*, antecedent to the time of Petrus Valdensis, the character has greatly suffered from the subsequent rise or notoriety of fanatical sects holding doctrines not unlike some of the Manichean, which are asserted to have been off-shoots of Paulikianism. Of these there are extant records, more or less full, and more or less credible, written by Ermengardus, A.D. 1200, Peter of Vaux Sernai, A.D. 1218, Reinerius Saccho, A.D. 1254, and, above all, in the Codex Tolosanus, or Record of the examinations and sentences of heretics by the Inquisition at Toulouse, from A.D. 1307 to 1323.[2] And, though it needs of course that great deductions be made from the statements of chroniclers and officials so bigotted, and sometimes so absurd,[3] yet, after every allowance, it must be admitted that the evidence is sufficient to affix on some of the sectaries the character of fanaticism and heresy. Which being so, the odium of their heresy has been reflected back on those before them:—by Mosheim indeed on none more early than the Albigenses and Cathari of the *close* of the twelfth century;"[4] but by Maitland, so as to include the earlier Paulikians of Lombers, Oxford, Cologne, &c., as far back at least as the year 1119.[5]—But to what extent is the retrospective inference to be carried? Is it just or reasonable, even supposing these fanatics to have sprung out of them, to involve those earlier Paulikians in the same condemnation, on whom contemporary authentic history affixes no such stigma? As well might we argue that Calvin and his Genevese Church were Socinians, from the Socinianism of their mo-

[1] p. 10. "I cannot help observing how slowly and gradually the evidence has come to light. The *Centuriators* derived all they knew from Zonaras and the Continuator of Paulus Diaconus: &c." Now how could the Centuriators have formed a correct judgment simply from *Zonaras*, on the character of the Paulikian sect? It was their honour to be among the first to direct the inquiries of Protestants to the existence of witnesses for Christ in preceding ages. The full unfolding of the witnesses was to be the gradual work of the three centuries following.—It was not till A.D. 1604 that the Tract of Petrus Siculus was published, though Baronius had previously made use of it: nor till 1722 that Wolf first published the perhaps yet more important work of Photius. [2] All given in Dr. Maitland's Facts and Documents.

[3] In this way Peter of Vaux Sernai has specially distinguished himself.

[4] See Mosh. xi. 2. 5. 2, with the appended Note; also xiii. 2. 5. 7, with Note l. Mr. Hallam, if I remember right, has done the same.

[5] See Facts and Doc. p. 90, &c.

dern successors; or Luther a Neologist, because of the Neology of more modern Lutherans. What do we find in the records of the heretics at Lombers, Cologne, Oxford, Arras, or Orleans, of the *endura*,[1] or *convenenza*,[2] or senseless *bowings* and *adorations of the minister*, which, as Dr. Maitland justly observes,[3] are the things most prominent in the religion, if it may be so called, of the heretics of the Tolosan Codex?—The truth deducible from historic evidence seems, as before intimated, to have been this:—that from about the time of Evervinus, A.D. 1147, there was observable a diversity and division among the sectaries *reputed* of Paulikian origin;[4] (though I more and more think that others were even then intermixed, just like the Gnostics among the early Christians, of quite a different original;) one of the most obvious points of difference being the adoption by some of a rule of abstinence and asceticism, which the others did not follow:—that, as time went on, the differences became wider and more diversified; the ascetics deviating at length into the fanaticism that was unfolded in its matured absurdities before the Inquisition of Toulouse:—but that, on the other hand, a pure stream of doctrine and morals was all along continued by the *real* Paulikians; until these last commingled at length, though informally, and only from the natural effect of similarity of sentiment, with the followers of Petrus Valdensis.[5] This is a solution which will account for the facts of the case, and I believe the only one.—As to the charge of *Manicheism*, made against these pre-Valdensian Paulikians, both in the East and West, and made by such a list of writers as Mr. Dowling specifies, it appears to me, (as I must here beg to repeat,) if considered in a mere *literary* point of view, to be nothing less than one of the most extraordinary mistakes in the history of Literature.

And will the modified charge against them of *Gnosticism*, or *Marcionitism*, set forth by other writers, he found at all better to bear examination? This is the next subject of our inquiry.

[1] i. e. "A *fasting themselves*," as Limborch says, "to death."

[2] An *agreement* that near the end of life they would be received as *perfect* members into the sect.

[3] Facts and Doc. p. 452.

[4] "One might expect," says Dr. M., "that they (the Albigenses examined) would have recollected some exhortations, for instance, against lying and stealing, some admonitions not to do or speak evil, not to do to others what they would not that others should do to them;—but nothing is I believe to be found." Ib. p. 453. Contrast this with the Paulikian statement of morals at Arras.

[5] See pp. 357, 383, 384 suprà.

§ 2. Gieseler's Anti-paulikian Marcionitic Theory.

The Gnostic theory respecting the sect in question was, I believe, first suggested by Mosheim. More recently it has been elaborated under the specific *Marcionitic* form by Prof. Gieseler, in his Essay on the Paulikians in the Berlin Studien und Kritiken of 1829.

It is the *Syro-Marcionites* whom he settles on, as the one particular Gnostic sect best suiting the conditions of the case;[1] a sect this, which mixed up certain of the Syrian *Saturninus*' notions with those of Marcion; more especially as its dogmas were set forth by one Mark, in two of the *Dialogi contra Marcionitas* attributed to Origen.[2] —The reasons advanced by Gieseler for this hypothesis are as follows. As Constantine was a reformer, and a reformer professedly on the principles of the written Gospels, therefore his new or Paulikian system must needs have been more conformable with gospel-doctrine than that of which it was the reform. Hence the latter could not have been Manicheism: because on one important particular the Manichean dualistic doctrine was more accordant with the New Testament than was the Paulikian;—viz. in that it represented our world to have been the *good* God's creation, whereas the Paulikians (he says) represented it as the *evil* God's. Now on this characteristic point Mark agreed with the Paulikians. Deviating from his master Marcion, who had admitted *three* principles, and taught that our visible world was the work of an intermediate God between the good one and the evil, Mark admitted only two principles, the good and evil; and regarded the latter as the demiurge of the world.—Besides this "remarkable" and "striking" point of agreement, it appears further that the earlier Marcionitic system and later Paulikian agreed in regarding St. Paul as the chief preserver of pure Christianity: and that, whereas Marcion's New Testament Canon comprehended merely the Gospel of St. Luke and ten letters of St. Paul, (all, however, in a form different from the Catholic text,) so from a marginal note on

[1] On the original Marcionitic doctrine in Olshausen's Introduction to the Gospels, Vol. i. pp. xx—xxii. Clarke's English Edition. The reader, on reading his sketch, will sufficiently see the inconsistency of the recorded facts and doctrines of Paulikianism with it, just as with all other forms of Gnosticism or Manicheism.

[2] The Edition of these Dialogues that I use in the present critical Essay, is Wetstein's, Basle, 1674.

Petrus Siculus, which appears to have been written, Dr. Gieseler thinks, after the Paulikian settlement at Philippopolis, and consequently not earlier than near the end of the tenth century, it would seem that the Paulikians then used only two Gospels, and chiefly that of St. Luke.—Yet once more, he observes, the recorded fact seems to favour this hypothesis, that there were Marcionites, as well as Manicheans, resident in the fourth and fifth centuries in the neighbourhoods of Cyrus and Edessa; either town not very far from Samosata. Hence, argues Dr. Gieseler, it is very possible that there may still have remained survivors of the Marcionitic sect as late as the seventh century in that district; and perhaps the Manicheans and Marcionites there by this time have coalesced together, or perhaps the common Manichean appellative attached to all: also that, their own Gnostic books having been lost, and their teachers having perished in different persecutions, the Marcionitic remnant near Samosata may have been prepared gladly to welcome Constantine, when coming among them as a teacher with his newly acquired copy of the Gospels and Epistles; and so the sect been formed.[1]—In the latter part of his Essay[2] I observe yet another coincidence, noted by Dr. Gieseler, between the Paulikian system and that of Mark the Marcionite: viz. that, whereas the Paulikian Sergius speaks of Adam's falling into sin as in the result a *ενδαιμονια*, so Mark makes the statement that it was on man's transgressing the law of the *evil* God, and having been in consequence condemned by him, that the *good* God was moved to pity.[3]

I believe I have here specified the whole ground-work of Dr. Gieseler's theory. And surely, before looking more largely and carefully into the subject, the marked and essential difference between the two systems as to their rule of faith and doctrine,—the one founding theirs on the various books of the New Testament, (Peter's Epistles, and perhaps the Apocalypse, alone even according to their enemies excepted,) and all these unadulterated, and in the Catholic text,—the other on Luke's Gospel alone, and ten of St. Paul's Epistles, all *adulterated*, and adulterated, as the Dialogue in which Mark appears as a disputant shows us, most flagrantly,[4]—I say this one mighty dif-

[1] See pp. 102—107 of his Essay in the Stud. und Krit. [2] Ibid. p. 116.

[3] Thus Gieseler takes the same view of Sergius' statement as myself at p. 263.

[4] On the counter-disputant urging Christ's words Matt. v. 17, that he came not to abrogate the law, but to fulfil it, *ουκ ηλθον καταλυσαι αλλα πληρωσαι*, the Marcionite Mark replies that the Judaists so wrote, but that Christ said (viz. in the *Mar-*

ference, which appears on the face of Dr. Gieseler's own statement of coincidences, may well startle the inquirer; and make him feel obliged to look a little deeper into the evidence, before accepting the learned Professor's theory as plausible, or even possible. And then, on further investigation, the following marked differences on other most important points will meet his eye.

1st, whereas Mark's dualism recognised two Gods, an evil and a good, each alike *self-existent* and *without beginning*,[1] the Paulikian system recognised (as I have before observed) but *one* living and immortal God, who ever was, and is, and shall be: their evil God having had a beginning; a beginning, according to Photius' report of their belief, out of darkness and fire.[2]—2ndly, whereas Mark would have that the evil God, as well as the good, was extended illimitably everywhere,[3] his dominion and presence were in the Paulikian system, according to Petrus and Photius, restricted to the visible universe.—3rdly, whereas Adam's transgression was, according to the Marcionite Mark, an offence against the evil God,[4] (a notion naturally flowing from the view of that God as man's demiurge or creator,) the Paulikian system regarded man's transgression as an apostasy from the good and true God.[5]—4thly, whereas, according to Mark, there was this difference between the bad and the good God, that the bad saves them that believe in him, but judges and punishes transgressors, while the good saves them that believe on him, but does not condemn those

cionite Gospel,) ουκ ηλθον πληρωσαι τον νομον, αλλα καταλυσαι. On which Adamantius exclaims against him: Εστι και τουτο της ὑμετερας τολμης, ὡσπερ τα λοιπα, και τουτο εναλλαξαι.

[1] At the opening of the Dialogue, p. 43, Mark defines his two Αρχαι as αυτοφυεις και αναρχοι και απεραντοι. [2] See my Notes [3] and [1] p. 531 suprà.

[3] *Adamant.* Παντη ουν και ὁ Πονηρος επεκτεινεται, και ὁ Αγαθος; *Marc.* Παντη εστι και το Αγαθον και το Πονηρον. Ib. p. 43.

[4] *Eutrop.* Τινι ησαν ἡμαρτηκοτες οἱ ανθρωποι; *Marc.* τῳ Πονηρῳ. Ib. 46.

[5] See p. 533 suprà.—That the word πορνεια means there a *religious defection* appears from Sergius' speaking in the next clause of the second πορνεια as a departure from wholesome doctrine, and the traditions of the body of Christ, (that which the Paulikians regarded themselves to be, their traditions being the written traditions of the Gospels and Epistles,) to teachers of other and different doctrine:—that this πρωτη πορνεια, the state or consequences of which had past downwards from Adam to his descendants, was a religious departure, not from the *Evil God*, (so as the Gnostics would have it,) but from the true and good God, appears not otherwise only, but very directly from this, that the Paulikian woman speaks of the sin of the Greek Catholics as consisting in the forsaking of "the only living and immortal God:" (see again p. 531:)—and that Sergius must have regarded this good God as Adam's Creator appears, I think, from this, that it could only be this relationship of God to Adam that could have given him a claim on Adam's faithfulness and obedience, and consequently have rendered the latter's infidelity and disobedience an act of spiritual adultery.

that disbelieve,[1]—the Paulikians, on the contrary, regarded the good God as the only Saviour, and moreover as both judging and condemning all impenitent sinners at the last day.[2]—5thly, as regards the method of salvation, whereas both Marcion and Saturninus made it depend on a rigid rule of asceticism, very much like Manes, and of abstinence from meats and marriage,[3] there was not, as I have before observed, and as Dr. Gieseler indeed admits, the shadow of any such rule among the Paulikians.—Besides all which doctrinal objections to his theory, Dr. Gieseler's historical argument in favour of it, from the fact of Marcionites as well as Manicheans being recorded to have existed up to within *two centuries* before Constantine's commencement of teaching, in districts not far from Samosata, whose descendants might have supplied the first disciples to the new sect,—I say this meagre historical argument is reduced to nothing by the statement of both Petrus Siculus and Photius that it was not at Samosata, or in its near neighbourhood, that Constantine began his preaching and formed his first church, but far away at Cibossa, near Coloneia, in the first Armenia.[4]

In truth it may be easily shown, if I mistake not, from what history tells us on this head, that the Paulikians in their first origin sprung, not out of a reform of a *Manichæan* or *Marcionitic* sect, so as has been again and again asserted, but out of a reform of members of the established *Greek* Church.

For, setting aside the absurd story told about Paul and John, the sons of Callinice, as if in some way or other the ancestral originators of the Paulikian name and sect, (a story which every sensible person will, I think, agree with Dr. Gieseler in regarding as a mere Catholic invention and fable,) and turning to the real founder, Constantine, what read we in Photius about him and his first proceedings in the matter? We read that an Armenian, a deacon of the Greek Church, returning from captivity in Syria, took up his abode as a guest in Constantine's house at Mananalis, near Samosata; stayed there for "not a few days;" and on departure gave him his own copy of the Gospels and Epistles, "not knowing," says Photius, "the impious heresy of his host."[5]—Now the truth of this last point in Photius'

[1] *Marc.* Ὁ αγαθος τους πιστευσαντας αυτῳ σωζει, ου μην κατακρινει τους απειθησαντας αυτῳ. [2] See Note [6] p. 537, referring to [1] pp. 257—259 suprà.

[3] See Mosheim ii. 2. 5. 6, 7. [4] P. S. p. 32; Photius i. 66.

[5] So Photius i. 62: επι ἡμερας ουκ ολιγας εξενισε· . . και, αγνοων του ξενισαντος τυ δυσσεβες της θρησκειας, τας ἱερας αντεδωρειτο βιβλους.

statement seems at once to approve itself to the judgment. For, had the deacon been aware that he was a Manichæan, would he have chosen out that house to lodge in, knowing the odium, and the severe laws too, existing against Manichæans; and this, moreover, when the episcopal city of Samosata (not to speak of the houses of Greek Catholics at Mananalis) was close at hand to give him hospitality? Which question so answered, however, another rises necessarily after it. Could the deacon have failed of hearing or seeing something of the Manicheism, or Marcionitism, of Constantine and his household, *supposing him really to have been a Manichæan or Marcionite?* I must say it seems to me almost incredible: considering that Mananalis was no mere recent place of sojourning to Constantine, in which case he might have been less intimately known; but, as Photius tells us, his country and home:[1]—considering, further, that a deacon coming from captivity among the Saracens in Syria must have been a person whom many would eagerly seek out to talk with, more especially of his brethren in the priesthood of the Greek Church; from some of whom intimation could scarce fail to be given of his being lodged in a nest of Manichæan heretics, had such been the case: —considering, yet once again, that the prolongation of his visit for the many days that Photius seems to assign to it, would give him good opportunities to discover the fact, if fact it were, from the want at least of the usual ecclesiastical observances in a Greek Catholic family.—So as to Constantine himself. And, then, as to the ingathering of his first proselytes, we find it expressly related that this occurred neither at Mananalis and its neighbouring town Samosata, where there had lived Manichæans some time before, in the days of Callinice, (a remnant of whom, says P. S., still remains,)[2] and where Dr. G. infers that two centuries earlier there had been also a remnant of Marcionites; nor yet at Phanaroa, where Photius reports that the sons of Callinice had at some previous epoch carried the seeds of Manicheism: but (as just before stated) at Cibossa, near Coloneia in the first Armenia;[3] a town some 70 miles S. S. E. of Trapezus, as I see it placed in a map of Cellarius, full 300 miles from Samosata, and perhaps 200 miles from Phanaroa. Add to this the various declared facts,—1*st*, that from Constantine's time, downwards, all idea of a Manichæan origin was most vehemently repudiated by the sec-

[1] Μαναναλις, κωμη Σαμοσατων, πατρις αυτῳ επιγραφεται. Phot. i. 61.
[2] P.S. p. 30, Photius i. p. 60. [3] Ib. i. 5, 66.

taries; (and this, certainly, not from motives of fear, and with a view to escape punishment, inasmuch as to be a Paulikian came very soon to be a crime as amenable to severest punishment as to be a Manichæan;) 2*ndly*, that the second president of the sect, Symeon, was notoriously a Greek Catholic before joining them, and so, too, Sergius, and multitudes of other proselytes; 3*rdly*, that the charge of anything like Manicheism seems never to have been preferred against them till the time of Petrus Siculus, some 230 years after Constantine;[1]—and I think, it will be allowed by the considerate inquirer, that the probabilities are abundantly strong in favour of my opinion, that the sect originated from a Greek Catholic's reformation among his fellow-religionists; not that of a Manichæan, or Marcionite, among theirs.

I now make my appeal to the candid reader, whether the Marcionite anti-Paulikian theory elaborated by Dr. Gieseler has not been shown, like the direct Manichæan before it, to have entirely broken down?—To myself it is in no little degree surprising that so learned and experienced a writer should have deliberately adopted and advocated so ill-sustained a theory. It surprises me too that he should have so imperfectly informed his readers of the objections against it, from the many and essential points of difference between the two systems, such as I have here particularized and argued from.[2] Yet more am I surprised at the use he has made of it, to conclude unfavourably of the Paulikian tenets and character on points where the only existing evidence (that of bitter enemies) was either wanting against them, or dubious, or on the whole favourable.[3] Thus, 1st, if Photius represents the Paulikians as believing the Evil One to have sprung from darkness and fire, and so not to have been eternal, Dr. Gieseler

[1] Petrus Siculus' declaration, p. 29, is most explicit to the effect that this was a new discovery made in his own time, in answer to the ceaseless prayers of the Greek orthodox princes. Τα παλαι κεκρυμμενα δηλητηρια, και σχεδον παντας ανθρωπους διαλανθανοντα, περι των μυσαρων Παυλικιανων, νυν φανερως θριαμβευονται ταις αγρυπνοις προσευχαις . . των ορθοδοξων μεγαλων βασιλεων ημων. Παντας γαρ τους προβεβασιλευκοτας διαλαθων ὁ εγκεκρυμμενος δολος της μυσαρης ταυτης αιρεσεως κ. τ. λ.—Photius too, at the beginning of his Book, speaks of the very various and hesitating opinions, even then prevalent when he wrote, as to the origin and character of the Paulikian heresy.

[2] He notices none, I think, of the differences specified by me, except that which regards the Marcionitic rule of asceticism.

[3] After observing at p. 111 how little Photius gives us of the Paulikian interpretations, and consequently how little we are acquainted with those sectaries' manner of interpreting, Dr. G. makes the direct statement that the existing remains of the earlier Marcionitic exegesis, especially that of Mark, offers an analogy after which we may best gain an idea of it.

gives an explanation which is founded wholly and only, I believe, on his own Gnostic hypothesis about them; to the effect that their idea must have been, that in matter (ὑλη), subsisting unconsciously from eternity, consciousness and personality unfolded themselves in the course of time only.[1] Now I do not remember to have seen anywhere, either in Petrus Siculus or Photius, any charge against the Paulikians of believing in eternal matter: nor does Dr. Gieseler refer to any. 2ndly, with regard to Christ's crucifixion, Dr. Gieseler broadly states that the Paulikian Christ had not really suffered;[2] a view this founded on his own idea as to the Paulikians, like the *Gnostics*, disbelieving any real incarnation. Yet, beside other constructive and I may say decisive evidence to be found in Petrus Siculus and Photius against the notion, it is, as we have seen, distinctly allowed by Photius, *that it was but a part of the Paulikians* that believed in such a fantastic incarnation.[3] 3rdly, led by the same hypothesis, and viewing them through the same jaundiced Gnostic medium, Dr. Gieseler makes their Christ to have systematically played the hypocrite, in professing to be the Christ of Old Testament prophecy, in order thereby to insure a reception among the Jews; though all the while knowing the Old Testament books and prophets to have been but the work and servants of the Evil God, or Demiurge.[4] Yet neither does Photius nor Petrus charge them with so awfully profane an idea about Christ.[5]—Nor is this idea supposed by Dr. Gieseler to have been without its practical fruits. For, 4thly, he is thereby induced to yield a favourable ear to Photius' charge of hypocrisy against the Paulikians in the matter of baptism; and, 5thly, the same too in regard of the charges made against the Paulikians of abominable impurities. On which latter point of accusation he thus argues:—"The Paulikian system had its dangerous sides, from which even such aberrations may have proceeded. For the Mosaic law, as having

[1] p. 114. [2] p. 118.

[3] iii. 19, 20. Εστι γαρ, εστι, τις της αποστασιας ταυτης ουκ ολιγη μοιρα και ταυτην την λυσσαν κατα της ενσαρκου του Λογου παρουσιας προφερουσα· i. e. of Christ's appearing εν σχηματι και ὑποκρισει, as contrasted with his appearing εν αληθεια και ὑπαρξει. A passage referred to already, p. 329 suprà. [4] p. 121.

[5] On the contrary when Photius, i. 24, is arguing against the Paulikians visiting on St. Peter his denial of Christ by rejecting and speaking ill of him, he urges on them Manes' declaration, (their own originator, as he would have it,) as a plea for Peter: Manes having said that he would approve of any of his disciples denying him falsely before men, with a view to their own safety. Had Photius been able to suggest as a parallel the hypocrisy of the Paulikians' Christian profession, is it likely that he would have omitted an example so much more pertinent to point his sarcasm?

proceeded from the demiurge, had no obligatory force on them ; nay, we may easily believe that they purposely violated it. . . No doubt they regarded the New Testament moral code as obligatory. But Christ's conduct above noted [i. e. his supposed systematic hypocrisy!] may have had the bad influence of taking away their obligatory force from many of the moral precepts of the Gospel." And yet Dr. Gieseler might have found abundant evidence in the historical treatises of both Petrus and Photius, to furnish contradiction to such shameful imputations ;—imputations which, as I have shown elsewhere, were but just the same, and with just as much foundation, as those cast by the heathens of old on the early Christians.[1]

[1] Before dismissing the subject of the Paulikians let me observe, as what may be interesting to my readers, that there still exists a remnant of the sect at Philippopolis. So I have heard from some of the American Missionaries at Constantinople ; and to the same effect is a recent notice of them in Mr. Spenser's Travels in European Turkey, Vol. ii. pp. 352, 353. "Philippopoli," he writes, "is the head-quarters of another religious sect, the *Paulinists ;* who say that *they alone profess the true doctrine*, as *preached to their forefathers by St. Paul.* They are very numerous here, occupying a large district of the town ; and said to be wealthy and industrious, moral in their habits, and well educated. I found numbers of this religious sect in Modern Greece, and in nearly all the large towns in European Turkey ; and, as far as I could learn, they are charitable and tolerant to all who differ from them in faith. Previous to the conquest of these Provinces by the Turks they suffered for their religious opinions alike from the Oriental and Latin Churches." .

Thus, as of his *Waldensian* witnesses, so of the *Paulikians*, God has preserved a remnant in their ancient place of refuge, even to the present day.

APPENDIX.

No. V.

SUBSTANTIAL IDENTITY OF THE THREE WALDENSIAN VERSIONS IN THE LIBRARIES OF DUBLIN, GRENOBLE, AND ZURICH WITH EACH OTHER; AND IDENTITY IN RESPECT OF DIALECT WITH THE NOBLA LEYCON.

(*See Page* 376, *suprà.*)

1. In proof of the 1st point it will only need to copy from Dr. Gilly a few verses from the 1st chapter of St. John in each version.

The Dublin MS.

1. Lo filh era al comenczament, e lo filh era enapres Dio, e Dio
2, 3. era lo filh. Aiczo era al comenczament enapres Dio. Totas cosas son faitas par luy; e alcuna cosa non es faita sencza luy.
4. Co que fo fait en luy era vita, e la vita era lucz de li home.
5. E la lucz lucit en las tenebras, e las tenebras non cumpreseron
6, 7. ley. Home fo trames de Dio, alqual era nom Johan. Aquest venc en testimoni, qu'el dones testimoni de lume, que tuit
8. cresesan par luy. El non era lucz, mas qu'el dones testimoni
9. de lume. Lucz era vraya, laqual enlumena tot home venent en
10. aquest mont. El era al mont, e lo mont fo fait par luy, e lo
11. mont non conoc luy. El venc en las proprias, e li seo non
12. receopron luy. Mas qualque qual receopron luy, done a lor
13. poesta esser fait filh de Dio, aquilh liqual creseron al nom de luy: Liqual non son de sang, ni de volunta de carn, ni de deleit de babron, mas son na de Dio.

Grenoble MS.

1. Lo filh era al comenczament.
   E lo filh era enapres dio e dio
2. era lo filh. Aiczo era al co-
3. menczament enapres dio. to-
   tas cosas son faitas par luy e
   alcuna cosa non es fayta sencza
4. luy. Czo que fo fayt en luy
   era vita, e la vita era lucz de
5. li home. E la lucz luczic en
   las tenebras: e las tenebras
6. non cumpreseron luy. Home
   fo trames de dio alqual era
7. nom Johan. Aquest venc en
   testimoni, quel dones testimo-
   ni de lume que tuit cresessan
8. par luy. El non era lucz, mas
   quel dones testimoni de lume.
9. Lucz era veraya laqual enlu-
   mena tot home venent en
10. aquest mont. El era al mont,
    e lo mont fo fayt par luy, e
11. lo mont non conoc luy. El
    venc en las proprias: e li seo
12. non receopron luy. Mas cals-
    que quals receopron luy, done
    a lor poesta esser fayt filh de
    dio, aquilh liqual creô al nom
13. de luy. Liqual non son de
    sanc, ni de volonta de carn, ni
    de deleit dôme [sic] mas son
    na de dio.

Zurich MS.

1. Lo filh era al comenczament.
   E lo filh era enapres Dio. E
2. Dio era lo filh. Aiczo era al
   comenczament enapres Dio.
3. Totas cosas son faitas par luy.
   E alcuna cosa non est faita
4. sencza ley. 'Czo che fo fait en
   luy era vita, e la vita era lucz
5. de li home. E a lucz luczit en
   las tenebras, e las tenebras
6. non cumpreseron luy. Home
   fo trames de Dio, alqual era
7. nom Johan. Aquest vene en
   testimoni, chel dones testi-
   moni de lume, que tuit crese-
8. san par luy. El non era lucz,
   mas quel dones testimoni de
9. lume. Lucz era vraya laqual
   enlumena tot home venent en
10. aquest mont. El era al mont,
    e lo mont fo fait par luy, e lo
11. mont non conoc luy. El venc
    en las proprias, e li seo non
12. receopron luy. Mas quanti
    quanti receopron luy done a
    lor potesta esser fait filh de
    Dio: aquilh liqual creon al
13. nom de luy. Liqual non son
    de sanc, ni de volonta de carn,
    ni de deleit de baron, mas son
    na de Dio.

II. In proof of the similarity, and substantial identity, of the dialect in these three with that of the Noble Lesson, I think it will suffice to cite as follows from Dr. Gilly.

"The Noble Lesson (as printed in Raynouard) quotes the New Testament in terms corresponding almost verbatim with texts in

the Dublin MS. of the Romaunt Version. Consequently the original copy which served as the basis of the Dublin Codex must have been older than the Noble Lesson, and been extant in the 12th Century." And, as to the similarity between the text of the Dublin MS., and that cited in the Noble Lesson, the following examples will show it.

Noble Lesson.	*Dublin MS. of N. T.*
1. Q'ue en la crepia lo pauseron cant fo na lo'fantin De pan l'enveloperon . . l. 218, 219.	1. E envulpe en pan e pause luy en la crepia. Luke ii. 7.
2. E carta de refu se degressa donar. l. 239.	2. Donca moysent perque comande esser dona carta de refu. Mark x. 4.
3. E neun non departa, co que Dio a ajorta. l. 241.	3. Home non departa czo que Dio ajoste. Matt. xix. 6.
4. Ma la novella di, al postot non jurar. l. 245.	4. Yo dic a vos non jurar al postat. Matt. v. 34.
5. Ama il tuo amic, e aures en odi li enemic. l. 252.	5. Amares lo teo proyme, e aures en odi lo teo enemic. Matt. v. 42.
6. Ma ama li vostre enemic, e facze ben ha aquilli lical ayreron vos E aura per li perseguent, e per li ocaisonant vos.	6. Ama li vostre enemic, e facze ben a aquilli que eyran vos, e ora per li perseguent, e per li aquesonant vos. Matt. v. 43, 44.
7. l. 254, 255. Car, segont l'escriptura son era fait moti antichrist. l. 460.	7. E moti antichrist son ara faict. 1 John ii. 18.

APPENDIX.

No. VI.

(*See pp.* 363, 390.)

LA NOBLA LEYCZON.

TEXT FROM THE GENEVAN MS., AS IT IS PRINTED IN RAYNOUARD'S CHOIX DES POESIES DES TROUBADOURS, VOL. II. pp. 73—103.

O frayres, entende una nobla leyczon:
Sovent deven velhar e istar en oreson,
Car nos veyen aquest mont esser pres del chavon;
Mot curios devrian esser de bonas obras far,
Car nos veyen aquest mont de la fin apropriar.
Ben ha mil e cent ancz compli entierament
Que fo scripta l'ora car sen al derier temp;
Poc devrian cubitar, car sen al remanent.
Tot jorn veyen las ensegnas venir a compliment,
Acreisament de mal e amermament de ben.
Ayczo son li perilh que l'escriptura di:
L'Evangeli o reconta, e Sant Paul asi,
Que neun home que viva non po saber sa fin;
Per czo deven mais temer, car nos non sen certan
Si la mort nos penre o encuey o deman;
Ma cant venre Yeshu al dia del jujament,
Un chacun recebre per entier pajament,
E aquilh que auren fait mal e que auren fait ben.
Ma l'escriptura di, e nos creire o deven,
Que tuit home del mont per dui chaminz tenren:
Li bon iren en gloria e li mal al torment.
Ma aquel que non criere en aquel departiment,
Regarde l'escriptura del fin commenczament,
Depois que Adam fo forma entro al temps present;

Aqui poire trobar, si el aure entendament,
Que poc son li salva, a ver lo remanent.
Ma chascuna persona, lacal vol ben obrar,
Lo nom de dio lo paire deo esser al commenczar,
E appellar en ajuda lo seo glorios filh car,*
Filh de sancta Maria,
E lo Sant Spirit, que nos done bona via.
Aquisti trey, la sancta Trinita,
Enayma un dio deven esser aura
Plen de tota sapientia e de tota poisencza e de tota bonta.
Aquest deven sovent aurar e requerir
Que nos done fortalecza encontra l'enemic,
Que nos lo poisan vencer devant la nostra fin,
Co es lo mont e lo diavol e la carn,
E nos done sapiencza acompagna de bonta,
Que nos poisan conoisser la via de verita,
E gardar pura l'arma que Dios nos ha dona,
L'arma e lo cors en via de carita,
Enayma que nos aman la santa Trinita
E lo proyme, car dio ho ha comanda,
Non sol aquel que nos fay ben, mas aquel que nos fay mal,
E aver ferma sperancza al rey celestial
Que a la fin nos alberge al seo glorios hostal:
Ma aquel que non fare czo que se conten en aquesta leiczon
Non intrare en la sancta maison.
Ma czo es de greo tenir a la cativa gent
Lical aman trop l'or e l'argent,
E han las empromessions de Dio en despreziament,
E que no gardan la ley e li comandament
Ni la laissan gardar a alcuna bona gent,
Ma, segont lor poer, hi fan empachament.
E per que es aquest mal entre humana gent?
Per czo que Adam peche del fin comenczament,
Car el manje del pom otra deffendament
E a li autre germene lo gran del mal semencz;

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* Champollion suggests that the line and the measure run thus :—

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

E ap el ar en ai da lo seo glorios filh car

El aquiste a si mort e a l'autre enseguador,
Ben poen dire que aqui ac mal bocon.
Ma Xrist a reemps li bon per la soa passion,
Ma enperczo nos troben en aquesta leyczon
Que Adam fo mescresent a Dio lo seo creator;
De aqui poen ver que ara son fait peior,
Ce il habandonan Dio, lo paire omnipotent,
E creon a las ydolas al lor destruiment,
Co que deffent la ley que fo del comenczament,
Ley de natura s'appella, comuna a tota gent,
Lacal Dio pause al cor del seo primier forma;
De poer far mal o ben li done franqueta;
Lo mal li a deffendu, lo ben li a comanda:
Aiczo poes vos ben veer qu'es ista mal garda,
Que aven laisa lo ben, e lo mal aven obra,
Enayma fey Caym, lo primier filh de Adam,
Que aucis son frayre Abel senza alcuna rason,
Ma car el era bon
E avia sa fe al Segnor e non a creatura;
Ayci poen penre exemple de la ley de natura
Lacal haven coropta, passa haven la mesura;
Pecca aven al Creator e offendu a la creatura.
Nobla lay era aquela lacal dio nos done,
Al cor d'un chascun home scripta la pause,
Que el leges e gardes e ensegnes dreitura,
Ames dio al seo cor sobre tota creatura,
E temes e serves, non hi pauses mesura,
Ce non es astroba en la santa scriptura;
Gardes ferm lo matrimoni aquel noble convent;
Agues pacz au li fraire e ames tota autra gent,
Ayres orguelh e ames humilita,
E fes a li autre enayma votria esser fait a si;
E, si el fes per lo contrari, qu' el en fossa puni.
Panc foron aquilh que la ley ben garderon,
E moti foron aquilh que la trespasseron;
E lo Segnor habandoneron, non donant a li honor,
Ma creseron al demoni e a la soa temptation:
Trop ameron lo mont, e poc lo paradis,

E serviron al cors maiorment que a l'esprit;
Emperczo nos troben que moti en son peri.
Ayci se po repenre tot home que di
Que dio non fe las gencz par laissar li perir;
Ma garde se un chascun que non entrevenga enayma a lor,
Ce lei dulivi venc e destruis li fellon.
Ma Dio fey far archa en lacal el enclaus li bon;
Tant fo creisu lo mal e lo ben amerma
Que en tot lo mont non ac mas que oyt salva:
Grant exemple poen penre en aquesta sentencza
Que nos nos gardan de mal e faczan penedencza.
Ce Yeshu Xrist ha dit, e en san Luc es script,
Que tuit aquilh que no la faren periren tuit;
Ma aquilh que scamperon, Dio lor fey empromession
Que jamay en aiga non perera lo mont.
Aquilh creisseron e foron multiplica;
Del ben que Dio lor fey poc foron recorda,
Ma agron tan poc de fe e tant grant la temor,
Qu'illi non creseron ben al dit de lor Segnor,
Ma temian que las aygas nehesan encar lo mont
E disseron de far torre per redure se aqui,
E ben la comenczero segont czo qu'es script,
E dician de far la larga e tan hauta e tant grant
Qu'ilh pervengues entro al cel, ma non poyron far tant.
C'ela desplac a dio, e lor en fey semblant.
Babelonia avia nom aquella grant cipta.
E ara es dicta confusio per ja soa malvesta.
Adonca era un lengage entre tota la gent,
Ma qu'ilh non s'entendesan Dio fey departiment.
Qu'ilh non fessan la torre qu'ilh avian comencza.
Li lengage foron per tot lo mont scampa.
Poi pecheron greoment, habandonant la ley, co es ley de natura,
Enayma se po provar par la santa scriptura;
Que cinc ciptas periron lascal fasian lo mal;
En fuoc e en solpre dio li condampne;
El destruis li fellon, e li bon deslivre
Co fo Loth e aquilh de son hostal que l'angel en gitte;
Quatre foron per nombre, ma l'un se condampne,
Co fo la molie, pur car se reguarde otra defendement.

Aysi ha grant exemple a tota humana gent
Qu'ilh se deon gardar de czo que Dio deffent.
En aquel temp fo Abram, baron placzent a Dio,
E engenre un patriarcha dont foron li Judio;
Nobla gent foron aquilh en la temor de Dio,
En Egips habiteron entre autra mala gent;
Lay foron apermu e costreit per lonc temp,
E crideron al Segnor, e el lor trames Moysent,
E delivre son poble e destruis l'autra gent:
Per lo mar ros passeron, com per bel eysuyt;
Ma li enemic de lor, lical li perseguian, hi periron tuit.
Motas autras ensegnas dio al seo poble fey;
El li pac quaranta an al desert, e lor done la ley;
En doas taulas peyrientes la trames per Moysent:
E troberon la y scripta e ordena noblament.
Un segnor demonstra esser a tota gent,
E aquel deguessan creyre e amar de tot lo cor,
E temer e servir entro al dia de la fin;
E un chascun ames lo proyme enayma si,
Conselhesan las vevas, e li orfe sostenir,
Alberguesan li paure, e li nu revestir,
Paguesan li fameiant e li errant endreycesan,
E la ley de lui mot fort deguessan gardar;
E a li gardant promes lo regne celestial.
Lo serviment de las ydolas lor mes en defension,
Homecidi avoteri e tota fornigacion,
Mentir e perjurar e falsa garentia,
Usura e rapina e mala cubiticia,
Enamps avaricia e tota fellonia;
A li bon empromes vita, e li mal aucia.
Adonca era justicia en la soa segnoria,
Cor aquilh que trapassavan ni faczian malament
Eran mort e destruit sencza perdonament:
Ma l'escriptura di, e mot es manifest,
Que trenta milia foron li remas al desert;
Trenta milia e plus, segont que di la ley,
Ilh foron mort de glay, de fuoc e de serpent,
E moti autre periron del destermenament,
La terra se partic, e li receop l'enfern.

Ayci nos nos poen repenre del nostre grant soport.
Ma aquilh que feron ben lo placzer del Segnor
Hereteron la terra de l'enpromession.
Mot fo de nobla gent en aquela faczon,
Enayma fo David e lo rey Salamon,
Ysaia, Jeremia e moti autre baron,
Lical combatian per la ley e faczian deffension,
Un poble era a Dio eyleit de tot lo mont :
Li enemic qui li perseguian eran moti d'entorn ;
Grant exemple poen penre en aquesta leyczon :
Cant ilh gardavan la ley e li comandament,
Dio combatia per lor encontra l'autra gent ;
Ma cant ilh peccavan ni faczian malament,
Ilh eran mort e destruit e pres de l'autra gent.
Tant fo alarga lo poble e plen de gran ricor
Qu'el vay traire li caucz encontra son Segnor :
Emperczo nos troben en aquesta leyczon
Que lo rey de Babelonia li mes en sa preyson ;
Lai foron apermu e constreit per lonc temp,
E crideron al segnor au lo cor repentent :
Adonca li retorne en Jerusalem ;
Pauc foron li obedient que gardesan la ley
Ni arguessan la temor d'offender lo lor rey :
Ma hi ac alcuna gent plen de si grant falsita ;
Co foron li Pharisio e li autre scriptura ;
Qu'ilh gardesan la ley mot era de mostra.
Que la gent o veguessan, per esser plus honra ;
Ma poc val aquel honor que tost ven a chavon :
Ilh perseguian li sant e li just e li bon ;
Au plor e au gemament oravan lor segnor
Qu'el deisendes en terra per salvar aquest mont,
Car tot l'uman lignage anava a perdicion. [rey ;
Adonca Dio trames l'angel a una nobla donczella de lignage de
Noblament la saluda, car s'apartenia a ley ;
Enamps li dis : " Non temer, Maria,
" Car lo Sant Sperit es en ta companhia ;
" De tu nayssere filh que apellares Yeshu ;
" El salvare son poble de czo qu'el ha offendu."
Noo mes lo porte al seo ventre la vergena gloriosa,

Ma qu'ilh no fos represa, de Joseph fo sposa:
Paura era Nostra Dona e Joseph atresi;
Ma ayczo deven creire, car l'evangeli ho di,
Que en la crepia lo pauseron, cant fo na lo fantin,
De pan l'enveloperon, paurament fo alberga:
Ayci se pon repener li cubit e li avar
Que de amassar aur non se volon cessar:
Moti miracle foron, cant fo na lo segnor,
Car Dio trames l'angel annunciar a li pastor,
E en Orient aparec una stella a li trey baron;
Gloria fo dona a Dio al cel, e en terra pacz a li bon;
Ma enamps un petit sufferc persecution;
Ma lo fantin creisia per gracia e per eta
E en sapiencia divina en lacal el era ensegna;
E apelle doze apostol lical son ben nomna,
E vole mudar la ley que devant avia dona;
El non la mude pas, qu'ilh fos habandona,
Ma la renovelle, qu'ilh fos malh garda.
El receop lo baptisme per donar salvament,
E dis a li apostol que bapteyesan la gent;
Car adonca comenczava lo renovellament.
Ben deffent la ley velha fornigar e avoutrar,
Ma la novella repren veser e cubitar.
La ley velha autreia partir lo matrimoni,
E carta de refu se deguessa donar;
Ma la novella di non penre la leysa,
E neun non departa co que Dio a ajosta.
La ley velha maudi lo ventre que fruc non a porta;
Ma la novella conselha gardar vergeneta.
La ley velha deffent solament perjurar;
Ma la novella di al pos tot non jurar,
E plus de si o de no non sia en ton parlar.
La ley vella comanda combater li enemis e render mal per mal;
Ma la novelha di, "Non te volhas venjar,
"Ma laisa la venjaneza al rey celestial,
"E laisa viore en pacz aquilh que te faren mal,
"E trobares perdon del rey celestial."
La ley velha di: "Ama li tio amic, e aures en odi li enemic;"
Ma la novella di: "Non fares plus en aisi,

" Ma ama li vostre enemic e facze ben ha aquilh lical ayzeron vos,
" E aura per li perseguent e per li acaisonant vos."
La ley velha comanda punir li mal faczent ;
Ma la novella di : " Perdona a tota gent ;
" E trobares perdon del Paire omnipotent ;
" Car si tu non perdonas, non aures salvament."
Neun non deo aucir ni irar neuna gent ;
Manc ni simple ni paure non deven scarnir,
Ni tenir vil l'estrang que ven d'autrui pais,
Car en aquest mont nos sen tuit pelegrin ;
Ma car nos sen tuit fraire, deven tuit Dio servir.
Co es la ley novella que Yeshu Xrist a dit que nos deven tenir.
E apelle li seo apostol, e fe a lor comandament
Que anesan per lo mont, et ensegnesan la gent,
Judios e Grec prediguesan e tota humana gent ;
E done a lor posta desobre li serpent,
Gittesan li demoni e sanesan li enferm,
Rexucitesan li mort e mondesan li lebros,
E fesan a li autre enayma el avia fait a lor ;
D'or ni d'argent non fossan possesent,
Ma au vita e vistimenta se tenguesan content ;
Amesan se entre lor e aguesan bona pacz :
Adonca lor enpromes lo regne celestial
E aquilh que tenren poverta spiritual ;
Ma qui sabria cals son, ilh serian tost numbra,
Que volhan esser paure per propria volunta.
De czo que era a venir el lor vay annunciar,
Cossi el devia morir e pois rexucitar,
E lor dis las ensegnas e li demonstrament
Lical devian venir devant lo feniment ;
Motas bellas semblanczas dis a lor e a la gent
Lascals foron scriptas al Novel Testament.
Mas, si Xrist volen amar e segre sa doctrina,
Nos convent a velhar, e legir l'Escriptura.
Aqui poyren trobar, cant nos auren legi,
Que solament per far ben Xrist fo persegu ;
El rexucitava li mort per divina virtu,
E faczia veser li cec que unca non havian vist ;
El mundava li lebros e li sort faczia auvir,

E gittava li demoni, faczent totas vertucz ;
E cant el faczia mais de ben, plus era persegu :
Co eran li Pharisio lical lo perseguian
E aquilh del rey Herode e l'autra gent clergia ;
Car ilh avian envidia car la gent lo seguia :
E car la gent creyan en li e en li seo comandament,
Penseron lui aucire, e far lo trayment.
E parlleron a Juda, e feron con li convenent
Que, si el lo lor liores, el agra trenta argent :
E Juda fo cubit e fey lo tradiment,
E liore son Segnor entre la mala gent.
Li Judio foron aquilh que lo crucifiqueron ;
Li pe e las mas forment li clavelleron,
E corona de spinas en la testa li pauseron ;
Diczent li moti repropri, ilh lo blastemeron :
El dis que avia se, fel e aci li abeoreron.
Tan foron li torment amar e doloyros
Que l'arma partic del cors per salvar li peccador.
Lo cors remas aqui pendu sus en la crocz
Al mecz de dui layron.
Quatre plegas li feron, sencza li autre batament,
Poys li feron la cinquena, per far lo compliment ;
Car un de li cavalier vent e li uberc la costa :
Adonca ysic sanc, e ayga ensemp mescla.
Tuit li apostol fugiron, ma un hi retorne,
E era aqui an las Marias istant josta la crocz.
Gran dolor avian tuit, ma Nostra Dona maior
Cant ilh veya son filh mort, nu, en afan sus la crocz.
De li bon fo sebeli, e garda de li fellon ;
El trays li seo d'enfern, e rexucite al tercz jorn ;
E aparec a li seo, enayma el avia dit a lor.
Adonca agron grant goy, cant vigron lo segnor.
E foron conforta, car devant avian grant paor,
E converse con lor entro al dia de l'ascension.
Adonca monte en gloria lo nostro Salvador ;
E dis a li seo apostol, e a li autre ensegnador,
Que entro a la fin del mont fora tota via au lor.
Mas cant venc a Pendecosta, se recorde de lor,
E lor trames lo sant Sperit local es consolador ;

E ensegne li apostol per divina doctrina,
E saupron li lengage e la santa scriptura.
Adonca lor sovenc de czo qu'el avia dit,
Sencza temor parlavan la doctrina de Xrist;
Judios e Grec predicavan, faczent motas virtucz,
E li cresent baptejavan, al nom de Yeshu Xrist.
Adonca fo fait un poble de novel converti:
Cristians foron nomna, car ilh creyan en Xrist.
Ma czo troben que l'Escriptura di;
Mot for li perseguian Judios e Saragins.
Ma tant foron fort li apostol en la temor del Segnor,
E li home e las fennas lical eran cum lor,
Que per lor non laisavant ni lor fait ni lor dit,
Tant que moti n'auciseron enayma ilh avian Yeshu Xrist.
Grant foron li torment, segont czo qu'es script;
Solament car ilh demostravan la via de Yeshu Xrist:
Ma lical li perseguian non lor era de tant mal temor,
Car ilh non avian la fe de nostre segnor Yeshu Xrist,
Coma d'aquilh que queron ara caison, e que perseguon tant,
Que Xrestian devon esser, ma mal en fan semblant,
Ma en czo se pon reprener aquilh que perseguon, e confortar li [bon;
Car non se troba en scriptura santa, ni per raczon,
Que li sant perseguesan alcun, ni mesesan e preson.
Ma encamps li apostol foron alcun doctor
Lical mostravan la via de Xrist lo nostre Salvador.
Ma encar s'en troba alcun al temp present,
Lical son manifest a mot poc de la gent,
La via de Yeshu Xrist mot fort volrian mostrar,
Ma tant son persegu que a pena o poyan far;
Tant son li fals Xristians enceca per error,
E maiorment que li autre aquilh que devon esser pastor,
Que ilh perseguon e aucion aquilh que son melhor,
E laysan en pancz il fals e li enganador!
Ma en czo se po conoyser qu'ilh non son bon pastor,
Car non aman las feas sinon per la toyson;
Ma l'Escriptura di, e nos o poen ver,
Que si n'i a alcun bon que ame e tema Yeshu Xrist,
Que non volha maudire ni jurar, ni mentir,
Ni avoutrar, ni aucir, ni penre de l'autruy,

Ni venjar se de li seo enemis,
Ilh dion qu'es Vaudes e degne de punir,
E li troban cayson en meczonja e engan.
Cosi ilh poirian toller czo qu'el ha de son just afan:
Ma forment se conforte aquel que suffre per l'onor del Segnor;
Car lo regne del cel li sere aparelha al partir d'aquest mont:
Adonca aure grant gloria, si el ha agu desonor;
Ma en czo es manifesta la malvesta de lor,
Que qui vol maudir, e mentir, e jurar,
E prestar a usura, e aucir, e avoutrar,
E venjar se d'aquilh que li fan mal,
Ilh diczon qu'el es prodome, e leal home reconta.
Ma a la fin se garde qu'el non sia enganna:
Cant lo mal lo costreng tant que a pena po parlar,
El demanda lo prever, e se vol confessar;
Ma, segont l'escriptura, el ha trop tarcza, lacal di,
"San e vio te confessa, e non atendre a la fin."
Lo prever li demanda si el ha negun pecca;
Duy mot o trey respont, e tost ha despacha.
Ben li di lo prever que el non po esser asot,
Si el non rent tot l'autruy e smenda li seo tort.
Ma cant el au ayczo, el ha grant pensament,
E pensa entre si que, si el rent entierament,
Que remanra a li seo enfant, e que dire la gent;
E comanda a li seo enfant que smendon li seo tort.
E fay pat au lo prever qu'il poisa esser asot:
Si el a cent lioras de l'autruy, o encara dui cent,
Lo prever lo quitta per cent sout o encara per menz,
E li fai amonestancza, e li promet perdon;
Qu'el facza dire mesa per si, e per li sio payron,
E lor empromet pardon sia a just, o sia a fellon:
Adonca li pausa la man sobre la testa;
Cant el li dona mais, li fai plus grant festa,
E li fai entendament que el es mot ben asot.
Ma mal son smenda aquilh de qui el ha agu li tort.
Ma el sere enganna en aital asolvament;
E aquel que ho fay encreyre hi pecca mortalment;
Ma yo aus o dire, car se troba en ver,
Que tuit li papa que foron de Silvestre entro en aquest,

E tuit li cardinal, e tuit li vesque, e tuit li aba,
Tuit aquisti ensemp non han tan de potesta
Que ilh poissan perdonar un sol pecca mortal:
Solament Dio perdona, que autre non ho po far.
Ma acyzo devon far aquilh que son pastor:
Predicar devon lo poble e istar en oracion,
E paiser li sovent de divina doctrina,
E castigar li peccant, donant a lor disciplina,
Co es vraya amonestancza qu'ilh ayan pentiment;
Purament se confesson sencza alcun mancament,
E qu'ilh faczan penitencia, en la vita present,
De junar, far almonas, e aurar au cor bulhent;
Car per aquestas cosas troba l'arma salvament
De nos caytio crestians lical haven pecca;
La ley de Yeshu Xrist haven habandonna,
Car non haven temor, ni fe, ni carita.
Repentir nos convent e non y deven tarczar;
Au plor e au pentiment nos conven smendar
L'offensa que haven fayta per trey pecca mortal,
Per cubitia d'olh, e per deleyt de carn,
E per superbia de vita per que nos haven fait li mal;
Car per aquesta via nos deven segre e tenir,
Se nos volen amar ni segre Yeshu Xrist,
Paureta spiritual de cor deven tenir.
E amar castita, e Dio humilment servir;
Adonca segrian la via del segnor Yeshu Xrist,
E aurian la victoria de li nostre enemics.
Breoment es reconta en aquesta leyczon
De las tres leys que Dio done al mont.
La premiera ley demostra a qui ha sen ni raczon,
Co es a conoiser Dio, e honrar lo seo Creator;
Car aquel que ha entendament po pensar entre si
Qu'el no s'es pas forma ni li autre atresi:
D'ayci po conoiser aquel que ha sen ni raczon
Che lo es un Segnor Dio local a forma lo mont;
E, reconoisent lui, mot lo deven honrar,
Car aquilh foron dampna que non ho volgron far.
Ma la seconda ley, que Dio done a Moysent,
Nos ensegna a tenir Dio e servir luy fortment,

Car el condemna e punis tot home que l'offent.
Ma la tercza ley, lacal es ara el temp present,
Nos ensegna amar Dio de bon cor, e servir purament;
Car Dio atent lo peccador, e li dona alongament
Qu'el poysa far penitencia en la vita present.
Autra ley d'ayci enant non deven plus aver,
Sinon en segre Yeshu Xrist, e far lo seo bon placer,
E gardar fermament czo qu'el a comanda,
E esser mot avisa cant venre l'Antexrist,
Que nos non crean ni a son fait ni a son dit;
Car, segont l'escriptura, son ara fait moti Antexrist.
Car Antexrist son tuit aquilh que contrastan a Xrist.
Motas ensegnas e grant demonstrament
Seren dos aquest temp entro al dia del jujament:
Lo cel e la terra ardren, e murren tuit li vivent,
Poys rexucitaren tuit en vita permanent,
E seren aplana tuit li hedificament.
Adonca sere fayt lo derier jujament:
Dio partire lo seo poble, segont czo qu'es script;
A li mal el dire: "Departe vos de mi,
Ana al fuoc enfernal que mays non aura fin:
Per trey greos condicions sere constreit aqui,
Per moutecza de penas, e per aspre torment,
E car sere dempna sencza defalhiment."
Del cal nos garde Dio per lo seo placzament,
E nos done auvir czo qu'el dire a li so enant que sia gaire,
Diczent: "Vene vos en au mi, beneit del mio Payre,
A possesir lo regne aparelha a vos del comenczament del mont.
Al cal vos aure deleit, riqueczas, e honors."
Placza ha aquel Segnor, que forme tot lo mont,
Que nos siam de li esleit per istar en sa cort!
Dio gracias. Amen.

APPENDIX.

No. VII.

ON THE VARIOUS BOHEMIAN SECTARIES AT THE OPENING OF THE XVITH CENTURY; AND THE DISTINCTIVE WITNESS-CHARACTER OF THE BOHEMIAN OR MORAVIAN UNITED BRETHREN.

(*See page* 443.)

It is to the *United Brethren* that I distinctively refer in the main body of my Book as Witnesses for Christ, towards the close of the xvth and beginning of the xvith century. I say distinctively, as contrasted with the *Calixtines*. The point is one of the greatest importance; because, as indeed it needs hardly to be stated, a person or a sect might in many and various cases have been counted heretical by Rome, and yet in no wise have answered to the character of *witnessing for Christ*. So it was in regard to the great body of the Bohemian *Calixtines*, at the time referred to.

Let me briefly sketch the history of the two Sects. Some 80 or 100 years then before the period under discussion, i. e. about the time of the Council of Constance, A.D. 1414, the question of the necessity of the sacramental *cup* (*calix*), as well as *bread*, to the salvation of the laity, had been mooted in Bohemia; and the affirmative asserted by Huss, as well as by Jacobellus and other Bohemian divines. Hence, soon after Huss's death, the first Bohemian religious war: a war in which *Zisca's* name became famous; and under whom the mountain city of *Tabor* was founded, as the dissidents' strong hold. Not long after this, there arose a separation between the more decided dissentients of the party, and those who differed from Rome only, or almost only, on the question of the cup: a separation which continued ever after; the former being called henceforth *Taborites*, the latter *Calixtines*, or *Utraquists*. In the Council of Basle, held A.D. 1431, the use of the cup having been accorded to the Bohemian

laity, there was a reconciliation between the Calixtines and the Catholics; and war made by them conjointly on the Taborites, who were in the year 1434 defeated, and forced to submit. The Pope however and Emperor Sigismund having soon after refused to admit the allowance of the cup, agreeably with the Basle "Compact," dissentions again arose between the Calixtines and Catholics: in the midst of which dissensions, and very much through the influence of the Calixtine chief and Archbishop Rokyczan, *George Podiebrad* ascended the Bohemian throne; and had a consequently stormy reign of some 13 years, from 1458 to 1471.—It was shortly before his accession, A.D. 1453, that Tabor was subdued, in an internal war between the Calixtines and Taborites: after which the Taborites, as a distinct party, very much disappear from history. Their purer and more spiritual doctrines, however, having in the mean while made some progress among the Calixtines themselves, a new party arose to which many of the Taborite survivors also united themselves: and which at length in 1457, under the name of the "*United Brethren*," separated itself entirely from the Roman Church. Under Podiebrad and Rokyczan a severe persecution arose from the side of the Calixtine chiefs against them: the latter thus wishing to reconcile themselves with the Pope, though without the abandonment of their one and almost only point of difference. And so, during the remainder of Podiebrad's reign, "the Brethren were compelled to conceal themselves," says Comenius, "in deserts and caves."[1]—Then in 1471 began, on Podiebrad's death, the long reign of the Polish prince *Wladislas:* who in 1490 became king of Hungary, as well as king of Bohemia; and lived to the year 1516, or near to the close of the Lateran Council. Although himself a Roman Catholic, (and from the date of his accession, as Cochlœus states at the close of his Hussite history, *Catholic* kings continued *thenceforward* to sit on the Bohemian throne,) yet, after certain Calixtine insurrectionary disturbances, it was agreed by him to adhere to the compact of the Basle Council, and permit the use of the cup to the Calixtine laity: whence a general peace between Catholics and Calixtines, (except during a sharp temporary outbreak of Calixtine spirit during the years 1504, 1505,)[2] to the end of his reign.—Not so however with the little despised sect of the United Brethren. In 1499 Romish In-

[1] Hist. Persec. p. 67. The whole brief chapter is very interesting.
[2] Raynaldus, Vol. xi., ad ann. 1504.

quisitors persecuted them, under the appellation of *Waldenses* and *Picards*. In 1503 their meetings were interdicted by the king, and they were required either to join themselves to the Catholics or Calixtines. Then began their touching and beautiful Apologies, addrest to king Wladislas. They had already in 1494 discussed among themselves the important question, "Why separate from the Roman Church? Is it right?" And they had come to the conclusion that the duty was incumbent on them, not so much on account of the godless life of many of the Romanists; but much more because of the false opinions held by Romanists about religion generally, and the Roman Church's forcing all to receive them. This conclusion come to, they persisted in their course, and braved the consequences. Then persecution followed. It seems that it was more especially on account of their views respecting the Holy Sacrament, and because they would not fall down before the consecrated host, that they had been calumniated before King Wladislas; and this with such bitterness, as if "they were men not worthy even of fire, but only to be thrown to wild beasts."[1]

Their *first* Apology was written and sent after the King, who had then gone into his kingdom of Hungary, in consequence of an order issued by him that they should be expelled from all the towns, their assemblies forbidden, and no intercourse allowed with them. It was unsuccessful: and shortly after the King issued a more stringent command, that they should be brought up for judgment before the secular and spiritual powers at Prague; and expelled from the land, even "as murderers and heretics." Then in 1507 and 1508 they drew up, and sent to him, two fresh and fuller Apologies. And I feel it right to subjoin a brief statement of their contents; in order that it may appear how truly, how admirably, they answered to the character of sackcloth-robed witnesses for Christ's truth, against the superstitions and errors of the Papacy. I abstract it from Schrökh.

In their 1st Apology, then, as a reason of separation from the Romish Church, they mentioned the frightful wickedness and pride of the Romish prelates, who had brought the whole kingdom into such disorder; repeated the same view that they had exprest before about the Lord's Supper, in which they could not see a trace of *transubstantiation*, the bread and wine being the *spiritual* body and blood of Christ; asserted, moreover, the need of participation in either kind;

[1] Schrökh, Theil 34, p. 750.

and denied the adoration of the sacrament, because never practised by the apostles. About the Virgin Mary they believed what the Scriptures said to her honour; not what idle men believed superstitiously about her and the saints. As to the saints, they reckoned them to be such who had the special testimony of Scripture; while, respecting all the rest, they considered that it should be left as a matter of opinion and of hope. On the whole they contended that they were no *heretics;* as their doctrine was all according to Scripture.

In their 2nd Apology they again combated the doctrine of transubstantiation, as against Christ's words of institution of the Lord's Supper; traced up the priests' consecration, as not from the Pope, but from Christ the Church's head; and repeated that, like the ancient saints, they gave not to the Virgin Mary that reverence which was only due to God and Christ. They then spoke of a double *purifying fire:—one* in *this* world, about which there is the certain warrant of Scripture; viz. when men in God's grace, and enjoying the benefit of Christ's merits and the Spirit's sanctification, with faith hope and love, are by the sufferings of this world, through God's word, with true repentance accompanying, and works of mercy in God's service, the enjoyment of sacraments also, and perseverance until death, purified unto eternal life: (for 1 Cor. iii. 13, they averred, was only meant of the troubles of this life:) the other in a *future* life: which is however uncertain; because Scripture says nothing about it, nor the primitive Church, nor indeed the Church for a long time after. They added that, not long before, Thomas Aquinas had discovered a *third* purifying fire in *hell;* though Augustine thought on that point very differently.—As regarded the appointed Church-ordinances, they observed not the many that led to error, and were a cause of idolatry, false hope, and superstition.—On the Lord's Supper they declared, as before, that it was not to be adored: that the highest reverence to God was the observance of his commandments; and adoration of the sacrament was never commanded by him. It was certain from Scripture that Christ with his body and blood, in his natural substance and personal essence, is not present here until the end of the world, but is at the right hand of God: in regard of which corporal substance he cannot be multiplied, but continues one and entire, truly and really, in heaven. Nor can he be eaten corporally, but only spiritually by the faithful; so as is said in John vi. 63. Spiritually however, and in respect of his strength and power to bless, he is present everywhere.—With regard to the charge of de-

generacy that they made against the Romish Church, it was shown by quotations from St. Bernard and Petrarch that they were not the first to urge them.[1]

Such were their Apologies.—The persecution, however, still continued. In 1510 another sanguinary edict was past, as I find stated in Comenius: "in the troubles whence arising nearly all the ministers of the United Brethren were expelled; nor could there be divine service *except in secret*."[2] He gives a list of six persons who were at this time seized by the Romanists, and burnt at the stake; men that exhibited on the occasion the genuine spirit of Christian martyrs: declaring Christ to be the Shepherd of their souls, not the Pope or the Priest; rejecting the offer of reprieve and of life, that was continually made them; and cheerfully undergoing the torturing death of fire.[3] The Calixtines, who now, says Comenius, "were obliged to fawn on the Roman Pope and Bishops,"[4] joined with the Romanists in the persecution. In 1511 they seized Andreas Poliwka, as related by the same historian Comenius;[5] and imprisoned, tortured, and in fine burnt him at the stake. He seems to have been the last of the Bohemian martyrs before the Reformation; at least the last whose name is on record.—Then, the next year, the 5th Lateran Council met at Rome.

It may be useful, ere quitting this subject, to add Pope Clement the 7th's testimony in 1524 to the statement given in my text, as to the little amount of doctrinal difference between the *Calixtines* and *Roman Catholics* in Bohemia, at the epoch of the Reformation: also as to his view of the Bohemian *Beghards*, (a term specially applied to the *United Brethren*, we have seen,) as in reality the grand enemies then and there of the Romish faith; and his delight and satisfaction at their being objects of persecution as well by Calixtines as Catholics. I cite from a letter of that Pope's, bearing date September 1524, and addrest to the Cardinal Archbishop of Strigonium, or

[1] See Schrökh Christl. Geschichte, Theil xxxiv. pp. 752—755. In Dupin's Bibliotheque, Tom. xiii. § 31, the reader will also find a copious notice of these Apologies.—Bost, in his Histoire des Frères Moraves, Vol. i. p. 95, mentions the interesting fact of the Brethren having made, and printed, a translation of the Bible into Bohemian, about the year 1490. (1st Ed. 1831.) [2] Comenius, p. 85. [3] Ib. 86.

[4] Ib. 96; "Quibus annis exactis [i. e. A.D. 1507] rursum Papæ et episcopis ejus blandiri coacti sunt. Tam misera fuit istorum servitus, qui ab Antichristo recessisse videri volentes, sub signis ejus tamen militare non dubitabant."—"*Les Frères*," says Bost on the year 1510, "*resterent les seuls defenseurs de la verité* en Boheme et en Moravie." Ib. i. 103. [5] pp. 90—92.

Gran; the same person that I have in my Chapter on the Witnesses' Death already spoken of.

"Venerabilis frater; Quæ fuerit tua adversus impiam et jam isthic proserpentem sectam Lutheranorum opera non ignoramus; et quantum quoque his proximis annis laboraveris, ut in Bohemiæ regno Calixtini, qui parvis admodum in rebus à fide Catholicâ dissentiunt, ad reconciliationem Christianæ charitatis, et unionem Dominici corporis reverterentur, planè cognitum habemus. Ac novissimè tuo potissimum consilio scimus, et tuâ industriâ, fuisse factum, ut perfidum atque pestiferum Pighardorum genus, quâ labe illa inclyta diu oppressa est Bohemia, à cœtu et civitate Pragensium tumultu prope populari, sancto quidem et pio, expellerentur." And then the Pope goes on to charge him to prevent the success of certain efforts, which he says he heard were about being made, to reconcile together the Bohemian Calixtines and Bohemian Beghards.

Raynald, from whom I copy this, then speaks of these Beghards' Waldensian origin, and Wicliffite connexion. "Hanc sectam à Petro Waldensi conditam refert Dubravius: siquidem Lugduno in Pichardiam, cum sectatoribus quos Pauperes Lugdunenses appellabat, commigrasse, seduxisseque Pichardos ut cupiditatibus fræna relaxarent; cumque ad supplicium quærerentur, in Germaniam, tum in Bohemiam profugisse; ubi clandestina lustra tenuere, in omne libidinum genus effusi. Quorum hæresim absurdam Joannes Wiclefus postea sophisticis argumentis condivit; adeo ut pro temporum varietate dogma permutarint, uti hæreticorum mos est. Quinimmo Lutherum initio hos parum honestos hæreticos, quibus se consociaret, censuisse vidimus; quocirca Eckium rogavit ne sibi eam maculam inureret: utque etiam in eos quos infelices hæreticos vocat ultro scriberet, dein vero societatem eorum affectaret: turpissimisque hominibus turpissimè his verbis est blanditus; . . . 'Obtestor vos per charitatem Christi, ne meum scriptum in eam partem accipiatis quasi vestris erratis me titillarim: sed tamen cum sciatis vos in toto orbe hactenus tanquam pestilentissimos hæreticos proclamatos, hìc testimonium vobis perhibere volui, quòd proprius accedatis ad puritatem evangelii quàm omnes alii quos ego cognoverim.'"

Raynaldus himself affirms the very near agreement of the Bohemian Calixtines and the Roman Catholics, in the words following: "Ii [Calixtini] quidem catholicum de transubstantiatione dogma venerabantur: ac vel omnino cùm Ecclesiâ Romanâ consentiebant; vel tantummodo de usu calicis dissidebant." Annal. ad Ann. 1524; § lxv—lxviii.

APPENDIX.

No. VIII.

ON THE WORD ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ IN APOC. XI. 19, AND ELSEWHERE IN HOLY SCRIPTURE, MEANING *COVENANT*, NOT *TESTAMENT*.

(*See page* 495, *Note* [3].)

In corroboration of the opinion exprest by me at p. 495 to the effect that the proper rendering of διαθηκη, alike in Apoc. xi. 19, in the Hebrews, and elsewhere, is *covenant*, not *testament*,[1] the late Vice-Chancellor of England, Sir Lancelot Shadwell, was so good as to draw up and communicate to me the Paper following.[2] It is a list of all the passages in the Old Testament where the corresponding Hebrew word ברית occurs, and all the passages in the Apocrypha and in the New Testament where the Greek word διαθηκη occurs: there being noted in it on the Old Testament passages every deviation in the Greek Septuagint from its usual rendering of ברית by the word διαθηκη, and in the English authorized version every deviation from its usual

[1] Sometimes perhaps it may be thought that the word might more fitly be rendered by *arrangement*, or some such English word; viz. in cases where *no conditions* are exprest, or implied, on the side of *some second party*. But, I believe, in the Bible it will almost always be found that ברית, or διαθηκη, has reference to two parties; and with conditions implied on the side of the second party, for whose benefit the διαθηκη is made.

[2] It was given me on the last occasion but one on which I saw him, only some four or five months before his death; and accompanied with strong expressions of interest in my Book.

May I be allowed here the melancholy satisfaction of copying out the testimony to the high and excellent character of the late Vice-Chancellor, given soon after his death by Vice-Chancellor Bruce.

On taking his seat in the Court formerly occupied by the late Sir Lancelot Shadwell, His Honour Sir J. K. Bruce addressed the Attorney-General with feelings of very strongly-manifested emotion, in the following words:—

"It is impossible for me to enter this Court to-day without renewal of sorrow for the loss of one so lately taken from us; by whom for so many years this chair was filled, and from which it is almost startling to hear another voice than his. In these feelings I am sure the bar participate. We have lost, at once, a friend dear to us all, and a Judge distinguished for his great knowledge of the law he administered; distinguished for varied learning and acquirements; distinguished for judicial patience; 'swift to hear and slow to err,' pure and blameless in life; an example of courtesy, of gentleness and amenity; who never said a word intended to give pain, nor ever har boured an unkind thought, or an acrimonious feeling. But he is gone. 'Flere et meminisse relictum est.'"

rendering by *covenant:* also on the Apocryphal and New Testament passages every deviation in our English Versions from the rendering of διαθηκη by *covenant.* Sir L. S. seems to have deemed the point important, with reference to the prophetic purport of the symbol of the manifestation of *the ark of the covenant.*

In order to the right understanding of the Paper, it must be remembered by my readers that in the subjoined list, wherever notice is not given to the contrary, the Hebrew is ברית, the Greek διαθηκη, the English authorized version *covenant:* also that where in the same verse the word occurs more than once the same is signified by the small subjoined numeral [2] or [3]. The summing up numerals are those of the *Greek* word διαθηκη.

OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES WITH ברית, διαθηκη, COVENANT.

GENESIS. (26.)

vi. 18; ix. 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17; xiv. 13;[1] xv. 18; xvii. 2, 4, 7_2, 9, 10, 11, 13_2, 14, 19_2, 21; xxi. 27, 32; xxvi. 28; xxxi. 44.

EXODUS. (12.)

ii. 24; vi. 4, 5; xix. 5; xxiii. 32; xxiv. 7, 8; xxxi, 16;[2] xxxiv. 10, 12, 27, 28.

LEVITICUS. (10.)

ii. 13; xxiv. 8; xxvi. 9, 15, 25, 42_3, 44, 45.

NUMBERS. (5.)

x. 33; xiv. 44; xviii. 19; xxv. 12, 13.

DEUTERONOMY. (26.)

iv. 13, 23, 31; v. 2, 3; vii. 2, 9, 12; viii. 18; ix. 9, 11, 15;[3] x. 8; xvii. 2; xxix. 1,[4] 9, 12, 14, 21, 25; xxxi. 9, 16, 20, 25, 26; xxxiii. 9.

JOSHUA. (21.)

iii. 3, 6_2, 8, 11, 14; iv. 7, 9, 18;[1] vi. 6, 8; vii. 11, 15; viii. 33;[2] ix. 6, 7, 11, 15, 16;[3] xxiii. 16; xxiv. 25.

JUDGES. (4.)

ii. 1, 2, 20; xx. 27.[4]

1 SAMUEL.[5] (3.)

iv. 3, 4_2, 5; xi. 1; xviii. 3;[6] xx. 8; xxiii. 18.

2 SAMUEL. (6.)

iii. 12, 13, 21; v. 3;[7] xv. 24; xxiii. 5.

1 KINGS. (10.)

iii. 15; v. 26;[8] vi. 19; viii. 1, 6, 9,[9]

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[1] δ. wanting; Engl. *confederate.*

[2] δ. is also in verse 17; but not ב.

[3] Sept. μαρτυριων, instead of διαθηκης.

[4] This is xxviii. 69 in the Hebrew: in which also the verses in xxix. are one short of the number in the English and Septuagint versions.

[1] In v. 16 the Greek has δ. μαρτυριου. But no ב in the Hebrew, answering to the δ.

[2] In the Greek Septuagint verse 33 of Josh. viii. is included in Josh. ix.

[3] Here ב and δ.; but in the English *league* not *covenant*, in all the five verses.

[4] The word *Baal-berith* occurs Judg. viii. 33, ix. 4, 46.

[5] The word does not occur in Ruth.

[6] In iv. 3, 4, 5, and xviii. 3, ב and *covenant*, in the Hebrew and English, but no δ. in the Greek.

[7] English, *a league*, in these four places.

[8] In the Sept. and Eng. version this is v. 12, and rendered in Engl. *league.*

[9] In verse 6 δ. wanting; in verse 9 ב.

21, 23; xi. 11;[1] xv. 19;[2] xix. 10,[3] 14; xx. 34_2.[4]

2 Kings. (11.)

xi. 4, 17; xiii. 23; xvii. 15,[5] 35, 38; xviii. 12; xxiii. 2, 3_3, 21.

1 Chronicles. (13.)

xi. 3; xv. 25, 26, 28, 29; xvi. 6, 15, 17, 37;[6] xvii. 1; xxii. 19; xxviii. 2, 18.

2 Chronicles. (15.)

v. 2, 7;[7] vi. 11, 14; xiii. 5;[8] xv. 12; xvi. 3;[9] xxi. 7; xxiii. 1,[40] 3, 16; xxix. 10; xxxiv. 30, 31_2, 32.

Ezra. (1.)

x. 3.

Nehemiah. (4.)

i. 5; ix. 8, 32;[11] xiii. 29.

Job.[12] (2.)

v. 23;[13] xxxi. 1; xli. 4.[14]

Psalms. (21.)

xxv. 10, 14;[15] xliv. 18;[16] l. 5, 16;[17] lv. 20; lxxiv. 20; lxxviii. 10, 37; lxxxiii. 5; lxxxix. 3, 28, 34, 39; ciii. 18; cv. 8, 10; cvi. 45; cxi. 5, 9; cxxxii. 12.

Proverbs. (1.)

ii. 17.[1]

Isaiah. (12.)

xxiv. 5; xxviii. 15, 18; xxxiii. 8; xliii. 6; xlix. 8; liv. 10; lv. 3; lvi. 4, 6;[2] lix. 21; lxi. 8.

Jeremiah. (18.)

iii. 16; xi. 2, 3, 6, 8, 10;[3] xiv. 21; xxii. 9; xxxi. 31, 32_2, 33; xxxii. 40;[4] xxxiii. 20_2, 21, 25;[5] xxxiv.[6] 8, 10, 13, 15, 18_2; l. 5.[7]

Ezekiel. (17.)

xvi. 8, 59, 60_2, 61, 62; xvii. 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19; xx. 37;[8] xxx. 5;[9] xxxiv. 25; xxxvii. 26_2; xliv. 7.

Daniel. (7.)

ix. 4, 27; xi. 22,[10] 28, 30_2, 32.

Hosea. (5.)

ii. 18;[11] vi. 7;[12] viii. 1; x. 4; xii. 1.[13]

Amos[14] i. 9; Obadiah 7;[15] Zechariah ix. 11; xi. 10.

Malachi. (6.)

ii. 4, 5, 8, 10, 14; iii. 1.

Altogether in the Old Testament, 259.

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[1] Here ב and *covenant*, but δ. wanting.
[2] Engl. *league*. [3] δ wanting.
[4] Corresponds with xxi. 34, Sept.
[5] δ wanting.
[6] In verse 16 *covenant*, but no ב er δ.
[7] Verse 10 διεθετο, and *covenant;* but ב wanting.
[8] מלח, ἁλος, *covenant of salt.*
[9] ב and *league* twice; δ once.
[10] δ wanting.
[11] In verse 38, Sept. διατιθεμεθα πιστον, Engl. *covenant;* but ב is wanting.
[12] In Esther the word does not occur.
[13] δ wanting; Engl. *league.*
[14] This is xl. 28 in the Hebrew.
[15] In the Sept. this is Ps. xxiv.
[16] So the Hebr. numeral. In the Sept. it is xliii. 7; in the Engl. xliv. 17.
[17] In the Sept. this is Ps. xlix. Similarly in all the succeeding Psalms, cited from, the number of the Psalm in the Septuagint is one less than in the Hebr. and Engl.

[1] The word does not occur in *Ecclesiastes*, or *Solomon's Song.*
[2] In lvii. 8, where we have *covenant* in the English, ב and δ. are wanting in the Hebr. and Greek.
[3] In Sept. δ. is not in verse 8; but it is in verse 6.
[4] Ch. xxxi. xxxii. xxxiii. = Ch. xxxviii. xxxix. xl. in Sept.
[5] These verses wanting in the Sept.
[6] Same as Ch. xli. in Sept.
[7] Here δ wanting. [8] δ wanting.
[9] ב, δ, *league.*
[10] See v. 23 והתברות, συναναμιξεων, *league.*
[11] This is verse 20 in the Hebr.
[12] v. 8 in the Hebr.
[13] v. 2 in the Hebr.
[14] The word occurs not in *Joel, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, or *Haggai.*
[15] Engl. Vers. *confederacy.*

BOOKS OF APOCRYPHA.

Διαθηκη is not in the 1st Book of Esdras. The 2nd Book of Esdras is not extant in Greek.—In TOBIT vii. 14 συγγραφην is rendered in our version *a book of covenants;* in JUDITH ix. 13 δ. *covenant.* In WISDOM OF SOLOMON, i. 16, is συνθηκη, *covenant;* xviii. 22, δ.

ECCLESIASTICUS. (20.)

xi. 20; xiv. 12, 17; xvi. 22; xvii. 12; xxiv. 23; xxviii. 7; xxxix. 8; xli. 19; xlii. 2; xliv. 11, 18, 20$_2$, 22; xlv. 5, 7, 15, 24, 25.

BARUCH, ii. 35; SONG OF THREE CHILDREN, 10.

SUSANNA, BEL AND THE DRAGON, and PRAYER OF MANASSEH, are not in the Greek.

1 MACCABEES. (8.)

i. 11, 15, 63;; ii. 20, 27, 54; iv. 10; xi. 9.

2 MACCABEES. (2.)

vii. 36; viii. 15.

IN THE GREEK TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.

Διαθηκη rendered in our version *covenant.*

Luke i. 72; Acts iii. 25; vii. 8; Rom. ix. 4; xi. 27; Gal. iii. 15, 17; iv. 24; Eph. ii. 12; Heb. viii. 6, 8, 9$_2$, 10; ix. 4$_2$; x. 16, 29; xii. 24; xiii. 20.

Διαθηκη rendered in our version *testament.*

Matt. xxvi. 28; Mark xiv. 24; Luke xxii. 20;, 1 Cor. xi. 25; 2 Cor. iii. 6, 14; Heb. vii. 22; ix. 15$_2$, 16, 17, 20; Rev. xi. 19.

Thus, summing up, in the *Hebrew Old Testament Scriptures* ברית, διαθηκη, *covenant*, occurs 259 times. In the *Apocrypha* διαθηκη, rendered *covenant*, occurs 35 times. (In one or two passages in the Apocrypha there may be a difference in the Greek word in different Editions of the Septuagint.) In the New Testament Scriptures διαθηκη is rendered by our translators by the word *covenant* in 20 places; by *testament* in 13.

END OF VOL. II.

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